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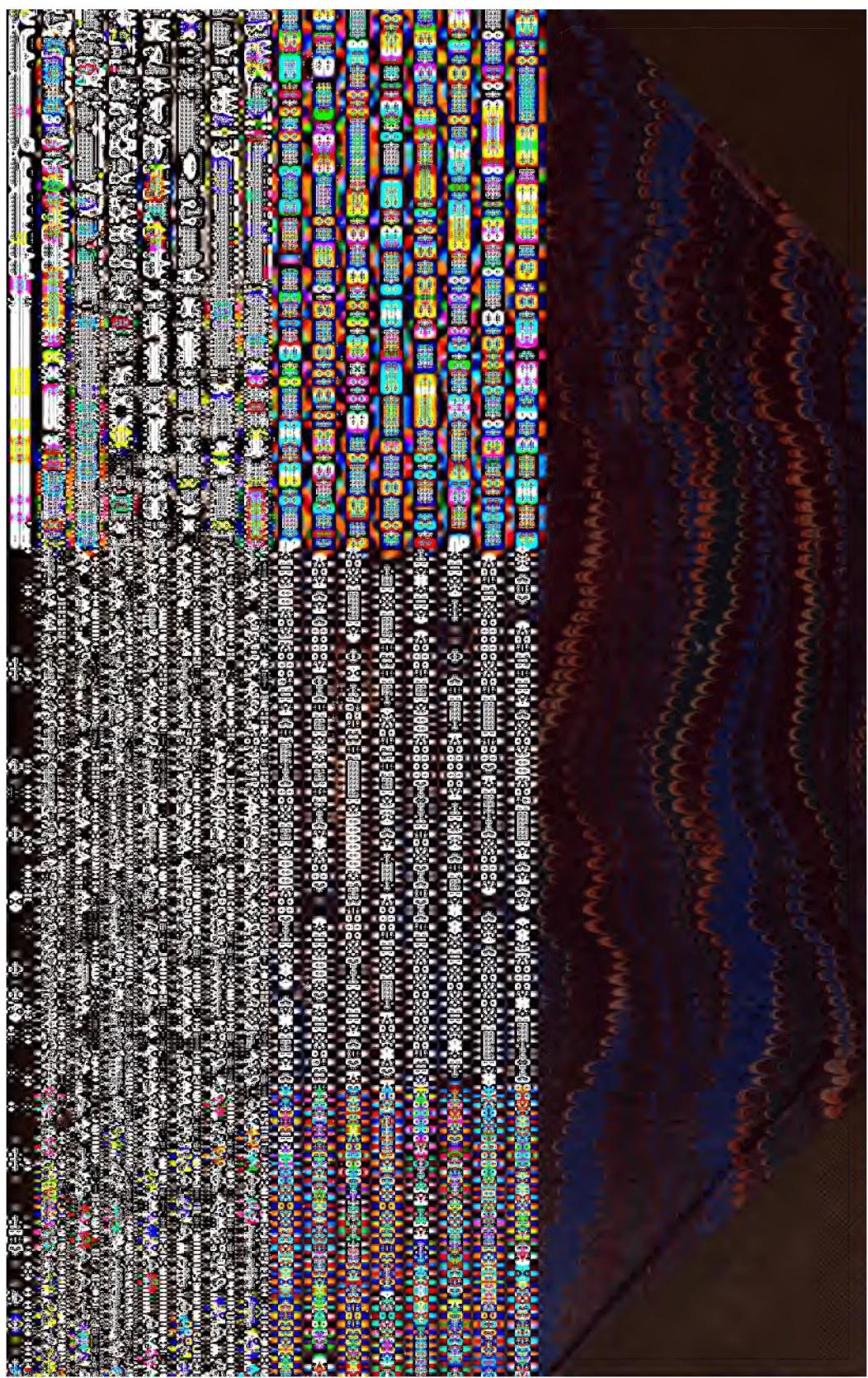
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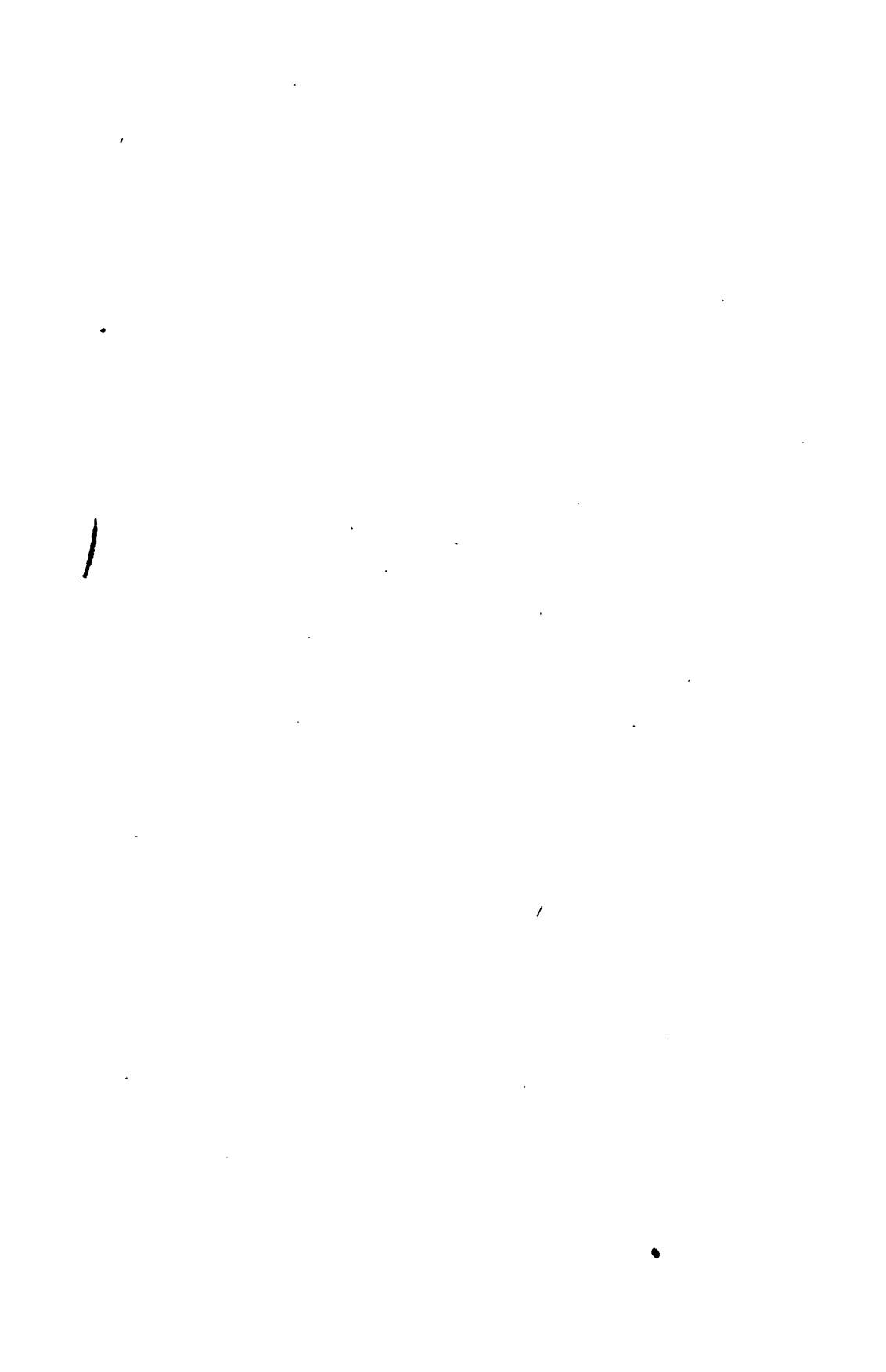
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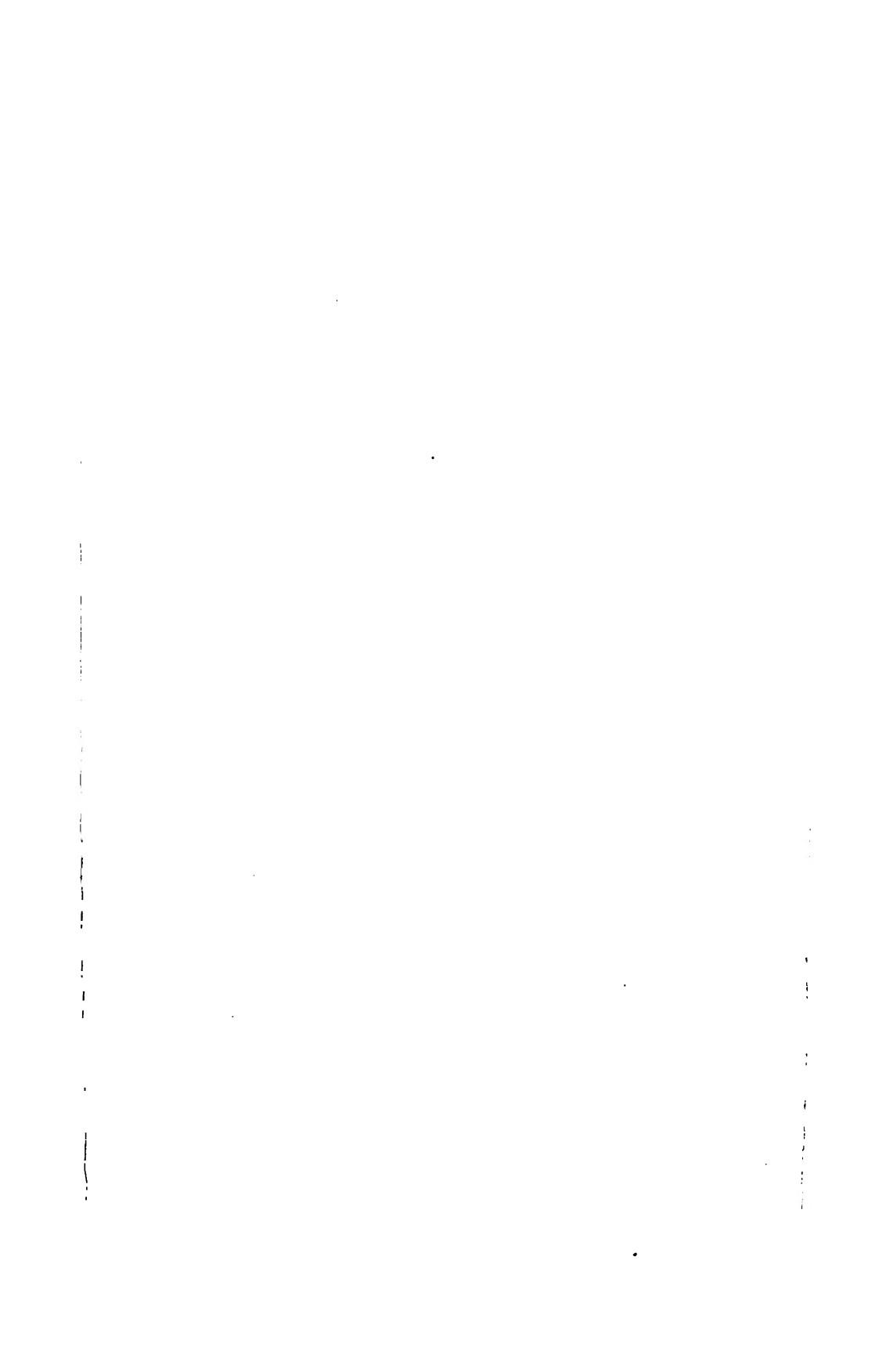
*This book belonged to the
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Bent Professor of Colonial
History in the University of
Oxford from 1905 to 1920*

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1777

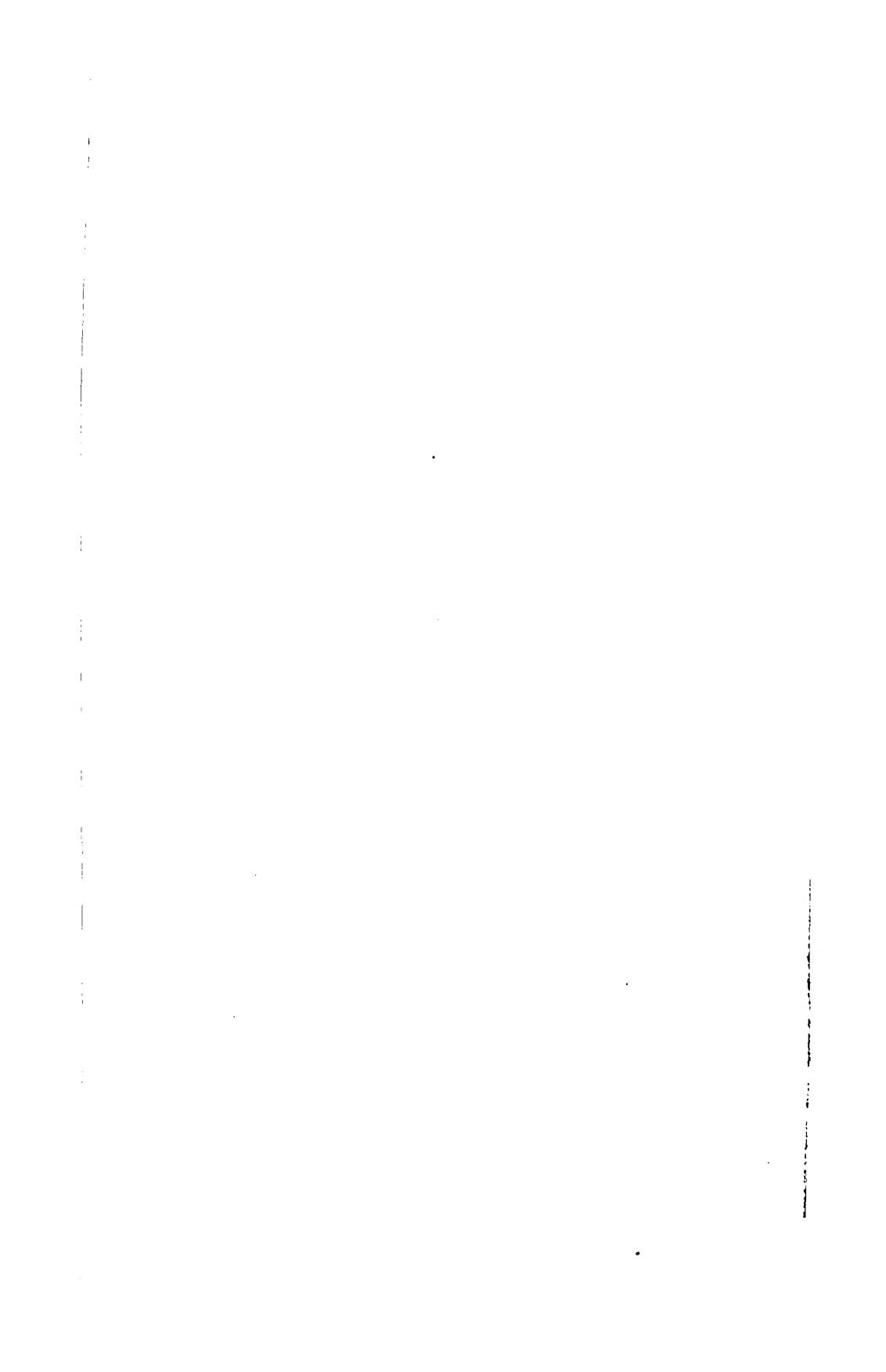
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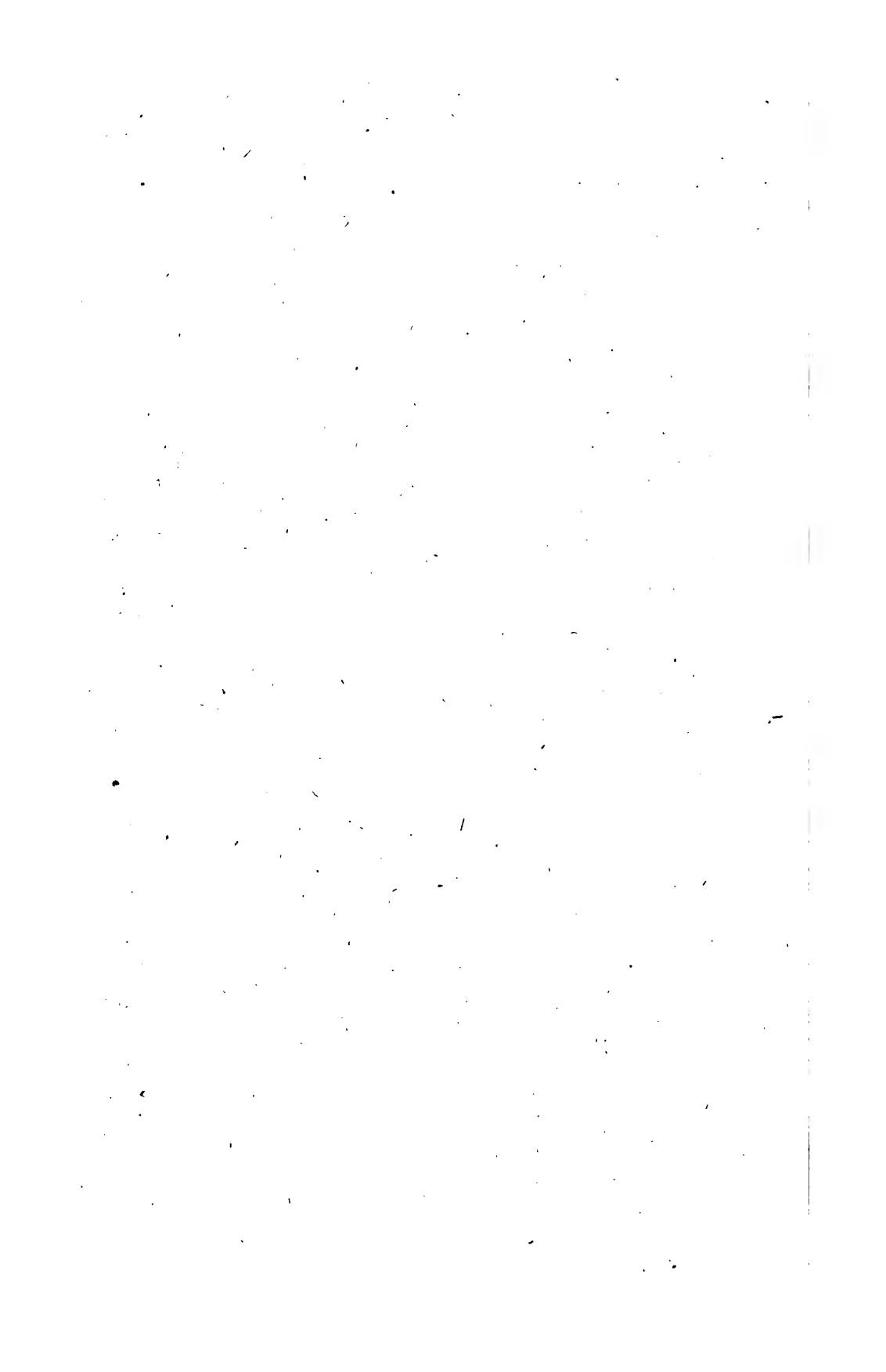












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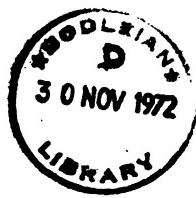
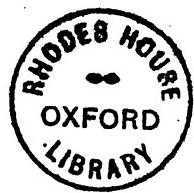
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P R E F A C E.

HAVING now arrived at the conclusion of our Twentieth Volume, we should have been disposed to have celebrated this year as a sort of jubilee, and season of self-congratulation, if the awful aspect of the times had not forbidden every emotion bordering upon levity, and afforded matter of the most serious consideration and reflection to every member of the community. No circumstance of time, nor state of affairs, can, however, repress our gratitude, or restrain our acknowledgements to the Publick, for that continued favour, which, as it has during so many years, constantly increased with our labours, so it has alone enabled us to encounter the arduous task of appearing annually before them in so many successive publications, upon each of which, their former esteem, and future approbation, were, of course, in some degree hazarded.

The importance and magnitude of our historical busness have unhappily risen to nearly the highest pitch at which they seem capable of arriving. We relate events, in which every member of this wide and divided empire is deeply interested; in which many thousands are immediately and personally concerned; and wherein its best blood is too copiously shed. The incidents are numberless, and the parties concerned in every incident numerous. It is

not easy to steer a safe course of history, through the rage of civil contest, and amidst the animosity and malignity of contending factions. Under these circumstances, we are obliged to as much caution as will not be injurious to truth. And whilst publick affairs continue of such extent and importance, and that materials of all kinds both political and military grow upon us in the manner they do at present, we shall be much more solicitous to fulfil our duty, and preserve our reputation with the Publick, by a due attention to the matter which we lay before them, than at all concerned as to the inconsequential circumstance of a later or earlier publication.

Our Publisher has made an observation to us, which he says escapes most readers, who have not some acquaintance with what is technically termed the business of the press. He says, that the Historical Article is at present swelled to such an extent, that if it were printed separately, and in the common mode of publication, it would fill a volume of nearly the same size, with that in which it is now included; whilst from the circumstance of close printing, and its being considered only as a comparatively small part of a diffuse and large work, the dimensions which it would acquire in its natural growth, are not perceived in its present contracted state. Under this consideration, the quantity of matter, independent of any merit in the arrangement or composition, may account, if it does not atone, for the lateness of our publication this year.

THE

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1777.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

Retrospective view of American affairs in the year 1776. Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain. State of the American force. Engagement near the isle Valicour. Arnold retires; pursuit; overtaken; burns his vessels. Crown Point destroyed and abandoned. General Carleton lands there with the army. Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga. General Carleton returns with the army to Canada. Situation of affairs to the southward. General Lee taken. Perseverance of the Congress. Measures for renewing their armies. Lands allotted for serving during the war. Money borrowed. Address to the people. Petitions from the inhabitants of New-York, and from those of Queen's county in Long Island, to the Commissioners. Critical state of Philadelphia. Congress retire to Baltimore. Divisions in Pennsylvania. Defections. Surprise at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis returns to the Jerseys. Prevented from attacking the enemy at Trenton by impediments of situation. General Washington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princeton. Lord Cornwallis returns from the Delaware to Brunswick. Americans over-run the Jerseys. British and Auxiliary forces keep possession of Brunswick and Amboy, during the remainder of the winter. Indian war. Articles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen revolted Colonies.

TH E efforts to remove those obstacles that had restrained the progress of the British arms on the side of Canada, in the summer of 1776, were equal to the importance of the objects in view, and the greatness of the difficulties

2] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

The weight and execution of the naval equipment, fell of course upon the officers and men of that department, whose ability, zeal, and perseverance in the performance, can never be too much applauded. The task was indeed arduous. A fleet of above thirty fighting vessels, of different kinds and sizes, all furnished with cannon, was to be little less than created; for though a few of the largest were re-constructions, the advantage derived from thence depended more upon the use of materials which the country did not afford, than upon any saving as to time, or lessening of labour. When to this is added, the transporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of St. Thereze and St. John's, 30 long-boats, a number of flat boats of considerable burthen, a gondola, weighing 30 tons, with above 400 barrels, the whole presented a complexity of labour and difficulty, which seemed sufficient to appal even the spirit of British seamen. However it must be allowed that the labour did not fall solely on them. The soldiers had their part; and what is to be lamented, the peasants and farmers of Canada were taken from their ploughs, and compelled by power to bear a share in toils, from whence they could derive no honour or advantage.

Though the equipment was completed in about three months, the nature of the service, as well as the eagerness of the commanders and army, required, if it had been possible, a still greater dispatch. The winter was fast approaching, two inland seas to be passed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be subdued,

and the strong posts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, defended and supported by an army, to be encountered sword in hand. To add to these impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the passage of those vessels of force, which, after being successful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all those difficulties were surmounted, and Lake George passed, there still remained a long and dangerous march through intricate forests, extensive marshes, and an uncleared country, still in a state of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the first post to the southward that could afford them rest and accommodation.

The spirit of the commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the desire of their attainment seemed to lessen or remove obstacles, which to a cold or lukewarm speculation would have appeared insuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany possessed, before the severity of the winter set in, the northern army would hold a principal share in the honour of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. It was conceived that they could then pour destruction at will, into the heart either of the middle or the northern colonies, each of which would be exposed to them in its most tender and defenceless part. Whilst the possession of Hudson's river would establish and secure their communication with General Howe, it would equally sever and disconnect the southern and portions

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thern provinces, leaving thereby the latter to sink under the joint weight of both armies, or to accept of such terms as they could obtain, without the participation of the others. Nor could General Washington attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys, with such a superiority of force as already oppressed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. The successes of their fellows on the side of New York, increased the impatience, and excited the jealousy of this army, every one apprehending that the war would be brought to an end, before he could have an opportunity of sharing in the honour of that happy event.

With all this ardour, and the most unremitting industry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very considerable with respect to the place and service, extraordinary in regard to the little time spent in its formation, and such as, a very few ages ago, would have been deemed formidable even upon the European seas. The ship Inflexible, which may be considered as Admiral, had been re-constructed at St. John's, from whence she sailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One schooner mounted 14, and another 12, six-pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carried six 24, and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola, 7 nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field pieces from 9 to 24 pouasters, or were armed with howitzers. Some

long-boats were furnished in the same manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Those we have taken notice of, were all intended for, or appertaining to battle; we omit the vast number destined for the transportation of the army, with its stores, artillery, baggage, and provisions.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The guns were served by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. In a word, no equipment of the sort was ever better appointed, or more amply furnished with every kind of provision necessary for the intended service.

The enemy's force was in no degree equal, either with respect to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Sensible, though they were, of the necessity of preserving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that design by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increase, their intentions in that respect were counteracted by many essential, and some irremediable deficiencies. They wanted timber, artillery, ship builders, and all the materials necessary for such an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged at the sea-ports

4] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

in the construction and fitting out of privateers, whilst the remoteness, and difficulty of communication, rendered the supply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we consider the difficulties on their part, we think it not just to deny the Americans the praise, of having combated, and in part overcome them, with an assiduity, perseverance, and spirit, which did not in the least fall short of what had been employed against them. For their fleet amounted to 15 vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner, mounted 12 six and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support upon a new element, that renown which he had acquired on land in the Canada expedition.

General Carleton was too full of zeal, and too anxious for the event, not to head the British armament, and having proceeded up the Lake, discovered Oct. 11. 1776. the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, being very advantageously posted, and forming a strong line, to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. Indeed they had at the beginning placed themselves with so much skill behind the island, that an accident only discovered their position. The King's squadron, without this seafarable discovery, would have left them behind; an event, which if it had happened, might have been attended with the most serious consequences. It is said, that the unexpected sight of a three masted ship of such force, upon the Lake, threw the

enemy into the utmost, and most visible consternation. It does not seem, however, probable, that a matter of such public notoriety in Canada, should have been so long withheld from them.

A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for some hours; but the wind being unfavourable, so that the ship Inflexible, and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the schooner Carleton and the gun-boats, which they sustained with the greatest firmness, such extraordinary efforts of resolution being displayed both by men and officers, as merited and received the highest applause from their commanders. It is to be presumed, that when so much praise was due and given to the conduct and valour of a superior force on our side, the enemy must not have acted their part amiss.

The detachment belonging to the corps of artillery, were highly distinguished, and did most essential service in the gun-boats. But the same impediments still continuing, which prevented their being seconded by the other vessels, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the General, thought it necessary for the present, to withdraw those that were engaged from the action. At the approach of night, he brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, and as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

In this engagement the best schooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns sunk, from whence we may form some reasonable conjecture of the execution done

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done upon their other vessels. Being now fully sensible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded, of endeavouring to escape from their present imminent danger, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at Crown Point. Arnold concerted and executed this design with ability, and fortune seemed at first so favourable to his purpose, that they were out of sight by the next morning. The chase being, however, continued without intermission both on that and the succeeding day, the wind, and other circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the Lake, which had been at first in favour of the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that they were overtaken and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point, about noon on the 13th.

A very warm engagement ensued, and continued about two hours, during which those vessels that were most a-head, pushed on with the utmost speed, and passing Crown Point, escaped to Ticonderoga; but two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a desperate resistance. During this action, the Washington galley, with Waterburg, a Brigadier General, and the second in command, on board, struck, and was taken. Arnold, at length, finding it was impossible to withstand the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal, with which he was overborne, and finding himself but ill seconded by the Captains of some of his vessels, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor the vessels a prey to the enemy. He

executed this design with equal resolution and dexterity, and ran the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas, on shore in such a manner, as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both.

Loss and defeat were so far from producing their usual effect with respect to Arnold, that his conduct in this command raised his character still higher than it was before with his countrymen. They said that he not only acted the part of a brave soldier, but that he also amply filled that of an able naval commander. That the most experienced seaman could not have found a greater variety of resources, by the dexterity of manœuvre, evolution, and the most advantageous choice of situation, to compensate for the want of force, than he did; that when his vessels were torn almost to pieces, he retreated with the same resolution that he fought, and by the happiest and most critical judgment, prevented his people and them from falling into the hands of the enemy. But they chiefly gloried in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice point of honour, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the enemy should have boarded and struck it.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley, and three small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderoga. The enemy, upon the rout of their fleet, having set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing which they could not carry off, at Crown Point, evacuated that place, and retired

5] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. Gen. Carleton took possession of the ruins, where he was soon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month; and, besides several reconnoitring parties, pushed on at one time strong detachments on both sides of the Lake, who approached within a small distance of Ticonderoga, at the same time that vessels appeared within cannon shot of the works, to examine the nature of the channel, and found its depth, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt that place. The strength of the works, the difficulty of approach, the countenance of the enemy, and the ignorance of their number, with other cogent reasons, prevented this design from taking place.

It was evident that this post could not be forced in its present state, without a very considerable loss of blood, whilst the benefit arising from success would be comparatively nothing. The season was now too far advanced to think of passing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable, and impracticable wilds to the southward. As Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the most that could be expected from success, would be the reduction of works, more indebted to nature than art for their strength, and perhaps the taking of some cannon; whilst the former would be restored, and the latter replaced by the enemy, before the army could interrupt their proceedings in the ensuing summer. But if the defence should

be obstinate, although the army were in the end successful, it would probably thereby be so much weakened, that all prospect of advantage in the future campaign would, in a great measure, be annihilated. The difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and subsisting the army during the winter, was obvious. General Carleton therefore reembarked the army without making any attempt, and returning to Canada, cantoned them for the winter in the best manner the country afforded.

It is fit that we should now turn our attention to the important transactions in the South. We saw towards the conclusion of the last campaign, that Lord Cornwallis had not only overrun the Jerseys, but that the Delaware was the only apparent obstacle, which seemed capable of retarding the progress of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining provinces. The American army was indeed no more. It is said that the greatest number which remained embodied did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men. This was all that remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted, as it is said, to at least twenty-five thousand. There are some who represent it as having been at that time much stronger. The term of their engagement being expired, which, along with the obligation of duty, discharged all apprehension of disgrace, there was no keeping together, at the heel of a ruinous campaign, troops broken and dispirited, equally unaccustomed to subordination, and to a long absence from their countries and families,

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miles. Those small bodies, who from personal attachment, local circumstances, or a superior perseverance and bravery, still continued with the Generals Washington and Lee, were too inconsiderable in force, to demand much attention on the one side, or to inspire confidence on the other; whilst the support to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious, to afford much present consolation to the Americans.

Dec. 13th. In this critical situation of their affairs, the capture of Gen. Lee seemed to render them still more hopeless. That officer, at the head of all the men which he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join General Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania militia to secure the banks of the Delaware, was, from the distance of the British cantonments, betrayed into a fatal security, by which, in crossing the upper part of New Jersey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay carelessly guarded, at some distance from the main body. The operation of zeal, or desire of reward in an inhabitant, having communicated this situation to Col. Harcourt, who commanded the light horse, and had then made a desultory excursion at the head of a small detachment to observe the motions of that body, he conducted his measures with such address and activity, and they were so well seconded by the boldness and rapidity of motion which distinguish that corps, that the guard was evaded, the sentries seized without noise, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off, though all that

part of the country was in his favour, and that several guarded posts, and armed patrols, lay in the way.

The making of a single officer prisoner, in other circumstances, would have been a matter of little moment; but in the present state of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance than the lack of discipline in the soldiers, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprise was directed by great knowledge in his profession acquired by actual service, was of the utmost importance, and the more distressing, as there was little room to hope it could be soon supplied.

The rejoicing in Great Britain on this occasion was equal at least to the dejection of the Americans. It was conjectured, that some personal animosities between this General and several officers in the army, as well as persons of power at court, contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation of that time.

The capture of Gen. Lee was also attended with a circumstance, which has since been productive of much inconvenience to both sides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or something of that nature, had some time before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the Generals Howe and Washington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, so far as time and other circumstances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was said, and is supposed, that Gen. Howe was tied

1777.

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make any effectual stand against veteran troops, and their present critical situation afforded too alarming an experience, of the fatal consequences which might attend that period of utter imbecility, between the extinction of the old army, and the establishment of the new. To guard against this evil in future, which could not be remedied for the present, they issued orders about the middle of September, for the levying of 88 battalions, the soldiers being bound by the terms of enlistment to serve during the continuance of the war.

The number of battalions which each colony was by this ordinance appointed to raise and support, may be considered as a pretty exact political scale of their comparative strength, framed by those who were interested in its correctness, and well acquainted with their respective circumstances. Massachusetts Bay and Virginia were the highest on this scale, being to furnish 15 battalions each; Pennsylvania came next, and was rated at twelve; North Carolina 9, Connecticut and Maryland 8 each, New York, and the Jerseys, the latter considered as one government, were, in consequence of their present situation, set no higher than 4 battalions each.

The liberality of the Congress in its encouragement to the troops, was proportioned to the necessity of speedily completing the new army. Besides a bounty of twenty dollars to each soldier at the time of enlisting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were slain in action, in different stated proportions, from 500 acres, the allot-

ment of a Colonel, to 150, which was that of an Ensign; the private men, and non-commissioned officers, were to have 100 acres each. As a bar to the thoughtlessness and prodigality incident to soldiers, and to prevent the most worthless and undeserving from obtaining trifles, those rewards due to the brave for their blood and services, all these lands were rendered unalienable during the war, no assignment or transfer being to be admitted at its conclusion.

The Congress had before, as an encouragement to their forces by sea and land, decreed that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were or might be disabled in action, should receive, during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the service, at the time of meeting with the misfortune. Notwithstanding these encouragements, it seems as if the condition of serving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was not generally agreeable, to a people so little accustomed to any kind of subordination or restraint; so that in the month of November, the Congress found it necessary to admit of another mode of enlistment for the term of three years, the soldiers under this compact receiving the same bounty in money with the others, but being cut out from any allotment of lands.

With all these encouragements given by the Congress, the business of recruiting went on, however, but heavily; and it must not be imagined, that the army actually raised, did at any time bear any proportion in effective men to that which was voted.

The holding out a promise of lands

[50] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

lands as an inducement to fill up their armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a similar measure which had some time before been adopted on the side of the crown, large grants of *vacant* lands, to be distributed at the close of the troubles, having been promised in its name to the Highland emigrants, and some other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the rebellious colonies. A measure which tended more to increase and excite the animosity of the people, than any other perhaps which could have been proposed in the present circumstances. For they universally considered the term *vacant*, as signifying *forsaken*, which being an effect of the treason laws yet unknown in America, excited the greater horror; the people being well aware from the experience of other countries, that if the sweets of forfeiture were once tasted, it would be equally happy and unusual, if any other limits, than those which nature had assigned to their possessions, could restrain its operation.

The annual supplies raised in the different colonies by their respective assemblies, being insufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of so large an army, together with the other numerous contingencies, inseparable from such a war, the Congress found it necessary to negotiate a loan to answer these purposes. They accordingly passed a resolution to borrow five millions of dollars, at an interest of four per cent. the faith of the united states

being pledged to the lenders for the payment both of principal and interest.

As the situation of their affairs became extremely critical, and the preservation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeless, at the time that Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerseys, and that the British forces had taken possession of the towns and posts on the Delaware, the Congress published Dec. 10th. an address to the people in general, but more particularly to those of Pennsylvania and the adjacent states. The general objects of this piece, were to awaken the attention of the people, remove their despondency, renew their hopes and spirits, and confirm their intentions of supporting the war, by shewing that no other means were left for the preservation of those rights and liberties for which they originally contended. But it was particularly and immediately intended to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries to the defence of Philadelphia.

For these purposes they enumerated the causes of the troubles, the supposed grievances they had endured, the late oppressive laws which had been passed against them, dwelt much upon the contempt with which all their petitions and applications for redress had been treated; and to shew that no alternative but war, or a tame resignation of all that could be dear to mankind remained, they asserted, that even the boasted Commissioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor did yet

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yet offer, any terms but pardon or absolute submission. From this detail and these premises, they deduced the necessity of the act of independency, asserting, that it would have been impossible for them to have defended their rights against so powerful an aggressor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that assistance from other states which was absolutely necessary to their preservation, whilst they acknowledged the sovereignty, and confessed themselves the subjects of that power, against which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in so cruel a war.

They boasted of the success that had in general attended their cause and exertions, contending that the present state of weakness and danger, did not proceed from any capital loss, defeat, or from any want of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of those short engagements, which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the ease of the people. They assured them that foreign states had already rendered them essential services, and had given the most positive assurances of further aid. And they excited the indignation and animosity of the people, by expatiating upon the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner, in which, they said, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the British forces themselves.

Complaints of this kind held a distinguished place in all the American publications of that time. Some of them, indeed, contained nothing else but details of rapes, rapine, cruelty and murder. Though these accounts were undoubtedly

highly exaggerated, it is, however, to be apprehended, that too much room was afforded for complaints of that nature. The odium began with the Hessians, and has since stuck closely to them, though the British troops were far from escaping a share of the imputation. The former, naturally fierce and cruel, ignorant of any rights but those of despotism, and of any manners, but those established within the narrow precinct of their own government, were incapable of forming any distinction between ravaging and destroying an enemy's country, where no present benefit was intended but plunder, nor no future advantage expected but that of weakening the foe, and the reducing of a malevolent people, (who, though in a state of rebellion, were still to be reclaimed, not destroyed) to a due sense of obedience to their lawful sovereign.

It has been said, that in order to reconcile them to so new and strange an adventure, some idea had been held out to them in Germany, that they should obtain large portions of the lands which they were to conquer in America, and that this notion, however absurd, made them at first consider the ancient possessors as their natural enemies; but that when they found their error, they considered the moveable plunder of the country, not only as a matter of right, but an inadequate recompence for undertaking such a voyage, and engaging in such a war.

Military rapine may be easily accounted for without any recourse to such a deception. It had been observed from the beginning, that the most mortal antipathy subsisted between the Americans and Hes-

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fians. The former, contending themselves for freedom, and filled with the highest notions of the natural rights of mankind, regarded with equal contempt and abhorrence, a people, whom they considered as the most sordid of all mercenary slaves, in thus resigning all their faculties to the will of a petty despot, and becoming the ready instruments of a cruel tyranny. They reproached them with the highest possible degree of moral turpitude, in thus engaging in a domestic quarrel, in which they had neither interest or concern, and quitting their homes in the old world to butcher a people in the new, from whom they never had received the smallest injury; but who, on the contrary, had for a century past afforded an hospitable asylum to their harassed and oppressed countrymen, who had fled in multitudes to escape from a tyranny, similar to that under which these were now acting, and to enjoy the blessings of a liberty most generously held out to them, of which these mercenaries would impiously bereave the German as well as English Americans.

Such sentiments, and such reproaches, did not fail to increase their natural ferocity and rapaciousness; and it is said that they continued in a course of plunder, until they at length became so encumbered and loaded with spoil, and so anxious for its preservation, that it grew to be a great impediment to their military operations.

However disagreeable this conduct was, and contrary to the nature of the British commanders, it was an evil not easily to be remedied. They could not venture to

hazard the success of the war, in so distant a situation, and such precarious and critical circumstances, by quarrelling with auxiliaries who were nearly as numerous and powerful as their own forces. Allowances were necessarily to be made for a difference of manners, opinions, and even ideas of military rules and service. Without opening any general ground of dislike or quarrel, it required all the constancy, and all that admirable unanimity of temper which distinguish General Howe's character, to restrain the operation of those piques, jealousies, and animosities, the effects of national pride, emulation, and a difference of manners, which no wisdom could prevent from springing up in the two armies.

It was scarcely possible that the devastation and disorders practised by the Hessians, should not operate in some degree in their example upon the British troops. It would have been difficult to have punished enormities on the one side, which were practised without reserve or apprehension on the other. Every successful deviation from order and discipline in war, is certainly and speedily followed by others still greater. No relaxation can take place in either without the most ruinous consequences. The soldier, who at first shrinks at trifling excesses, will in a little time, if they pass without question, proceed, without hesitation, to the greatest enormities.

From hence sprung the clamour raised in America of the desolation which was spread through the Jerseys, and which by taking in friends and moderate men, as well as enemies, did great injury to the

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the royal cause, uniting the latter more firmly, and urging to activity, or detaching, many of the former. Nor could the effect be confined to the immediate sufferers; the exaggerated details which were published of these enormities, serving to embitter the minds of men exceedingly through all the colonies. These accounts being also transmitted to Europe, seemed in some degree to affect our national character; in France particularly, where the people in general, thro' the whole course of this contest, have been strongly American, they were readily received and willingly credited. Among other enormities which received the censure of our neighbours in that country, the destruction of the public library at Trenton, and of the college and library at Princeton, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouse, said to be the best and finest in the world, were brought as charges of a Gothic barbarity, which waged war even with literature and the sciences.

In about a month after the taking of New York, the inhabitants of that city and island presented a petition to Lord and General Howe, the commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, signed by Daniel Horsemanden, Oliver De Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgement of the *Constitutional Supremacy* of Great Britain over the colonies; and praying, that in pursuance of the former declarations issued by the Commissioners, that city and county might be restored to his Majesty's peace and protection.

This petition to the Commiss-

sioners was followed by another to the same purpose, from the free-holders and inhabitants of Queen's County in Long Island. It was observed of these petitions, that the acknowledgment of the Constitutional Supremacy in one, and of the Constitutional Authority of Great Britain in the other, were very guardedly expressed, all mention of parliament being omitted, and the great question of unconditional submission left totally at large. It is also remarkable, that though the inhabitants of York Island and Queen's County, besides raising a considerable body of troops for the King's service, and establishing a strong militia for the common defence, had given every other testimony of their loyalty which could be expected or wished, yet these petitions were not attended to, nor were they restored to those rights which they expected in consequence of the declarations, as well as of the late law for the appointment of Commissioners.

The critical situation of Philadelphia, which a night or two's frost would have laid open to the British forces, obliged the Congress, about the close of the year, to consult their own safety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this state of external danger, the dissentions which sprung up among themselves were not less alarming to the Americans. We have formerly shewn that the declaration of independency had met with a strong opposition in Philadelphia, not only from those who were called or consider'd as Tories, but from many, who in all other matters had been among the most forward in opposing the claims of the crown and parliament. The carrying

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carrying of the question by a great majority throughout the province, was far from lessening the bitterness of those who opposed it, amongst whom were most of the Quakers, a great and powerful body in that colony; so that the discontented in this business, forgetting in the present their ancient animosity, with all its operating causes, coalesced with the Tories or loyalists, whom they had formerly persecuted, and considered as betrayers, and inveterate enemies of their country, thus composing all together a very formidable party.

In consequence of this dissension, and of the ill success of the rebellious' arms during the greatest part of the campaign, which disposed many to look to their safety, a Mr. Galloway, the family of Allens, with other leading men, either in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys, some of whom had been members of the Congress, fled to the Commissioners at New York, to claim the benefits of the general pardon which had been offered; expecting, as matters then stood, to return speedily home in triumph. These were, however, much less troublesome and dangerous to the Americans, than those who kept their ground, who were so numerous and powerful, that upon the approach of the British forces to the Delaware, they prevented the order for fortifying the city of Philadelphia from being carried into execution. This eccentric and alarming movement in the seat of life and action, obliged General Washington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments, under the command of Lord Sterling, effectually to quell the opposition of that party, and to give efficacy to the measure of fortifying

the city. This decisive conduct answered all its purposes, except that of fortifying the city, a design which seems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not necessary at that time.

As the season grew too severe to keep the field, and the frosts were not yet sufficiently set in for the passage of the Delaware, it became necessary towards the middle of December to put the British and auxiliary forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick on the Raritan to the Delaware, occupying not only the towns, posts, and villages, which came within a liberal description of that line, but those also on the banks of the Delaware for several miles, so that the latter composed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Pennsylvania.

Things were now in such a situation, that there seemed to be as little probability of interrupting the designs, or endangering the security on the one side, as of renewing the spirit, or retrieving the weakness, on the other. In this state of affairs, a bold and spirited enterprize, which shewed more of brilliancy than real effect in its first appearance, became capable in its consequences of changing in a great measure the whole fortune of the war. Such extraordinary effects do small events produce, in that last and most uncertain of human decisions.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was stationed with a brigade of Hessians, consisting of three battalions, with a few British light-horse, and 50 chasseurs, amounting in the whole to

14 or 1500 men, at Trenton, upon the Delaware, being the highest post which the royal army occupied upon that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower down the river; and at Burlington, still lower and within twenty miles of Philadelphia, a third body was posted. The corps at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge they had of the weakness of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held him, continued themselves in as perfect a state of security, as if they had been upon garrison duty in their own country, in a time of the profoundest peace. It is said, and seems probable, that this supposed security, increased that licence and laxity of discipline, of which we have before taken notice, and produced an attention to the possibility of a surprise, which no success of situation can justify in the vicinity of an enemy, however weak or contemptible.

These circumstances, if they really existed, seem not to have escaped the vigilance of General Washington. But, exclusive of these, he fully saw and comprehended the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province would be inevitably exposed, as soon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the enemy, by retaining possession of the opposite shore, were at hand to profit of that circumstance, whilst he was utterly incapable of opposing them in the field.

To ward off this danger, he with equal boldness and ability formed a design to prevent the enemy, by beating up their quarters; intending to remedy the deficiency of

force by the manner of applying it; by bringing it nearly to a point; and by attacking unexpectedly and separately those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. If the design succeeded only in part, it might, however, induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found it was not a sufficient barrier to cover their quarters from insult and danger; thus obtaining that security for Philadelphia, which, at present, was the principal object of his attention.

For this purpose, General Washington took the necessary measures for assembling his forces (which consisted mostly of drafts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia) in three divisions, each of which was to arrive at its appointed station on the Delaware, as soon after dark, and with as little noise, as possible, on the night of Christmas-day. Two of these divisions were under the command of the Generals Erwing and Cadwallader, the first of which was to pass the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other still lower towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by Mr. Washington in person, assisted by the Generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 small brass field pieces.

With this body he arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to pass the division and artillery over by midnight, and that it would then be no difficulty to reach that place long before daylight, and effectually to surprize Rall's brigade.

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gade. The river was, however, so incumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way through, which, with the extreme severity of the weather, retarded their passage so much, that it was near four o'clock before it was compleated. They were still equally delayed and incommoded in the march by a violent storm of snow and hail, which rendered the way so slippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of destination by eight o'clock.

The detachment had been formed in two divisions immediately upon passing the river, one of which, turning to the right, took the lower road to Trenton, whilst the other, with General Washington, proceeded along the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithstanding the delays they met, and the advanced state of daylight, the Hessians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced post at some distance from the town, was attacked by the upper division, the lower, about the same time, driving in the outguards on their side. The regiment of Rall, having been detached to support the picket which was first attacked, was thrown into disorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to rejoin the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the enemy, but being soon mortally wounded, the troops were thrown into disorder after a short engagement, and driven from their artillery, which consisted only of six battalion brass field pieces. Thus overpowered, and nearly surrounded, after an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princeton, the three regiments of Rall, Lossberg, and

Knyphausen, found themselves under the unfortunate necessity of surrendering prisoners of war.

As the road along the river side to Bordentown led from that part of Trenton most remote from the enemy, the light horse, chasseurs, a considerable number of the private men, with some few officers, made their escape that way. It is also said, that a number of the Hessians who had been out marauding in the country, and accordingly absent from their duty that morning, found the same refuge, whilst their crime was covered under the common misfortune.

The loss of the Hessians in killed and wounded was very inconsiderable, not exceeding 30 or 40 at the most; that on the other side was too trifling to be mentioned; the whole number of prisoners amounted to 918. Thus was one part of General Washington's project crowned with success; but the two others failed in the execution, the quantity of ice being so great, that the divisions under Erwing and Cadwallader, found the river, where they directed their attempts, impassable. If this had not been the case, and that the first, in pursuance of his instructions, had been able to have possessed the bridge over Trenton Creek, not one of those who made their way to Bordentown could have escaped. But if the design had taken effect in all its parts, and the three divisions had joined after the affair at Trenton, it seems probable that they would have swept all the posts on the river before them.

As things were, General Washington could not proceed any farther in the prosecution of his design. The force he had with him was

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was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a strong body of light infantry within a few miles, at Princeton, which by the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the nearest cantonments, would have soon overwhelmed his little army. He accordingly repassed the Delaware the same evening, carrying with him the prisoners, who, with their artillery and colours, afforded a day of new and joyful triumph at Philadelphia.

This small success wonderfully raised the spirits of the Americans. It is an odd but a general disposition in mankind, to be much more afraid of those whom they do not know, than of those with whom they are acquainted. Difference of dress, of arms (though less useful), of complexion, beard, colour of the hair or eyes, with the general manner, air, and countenance, have at different times had surprising effects upon brave, disciplined, and experienced armies. The Hessians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking of a whole brigade of them prisoners, seemed so incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the whole story was a fiction, and indeed that it could not be true. The charm was now, however, dissolved, and the Hessians were no longer terrible. In the mean time General Washington was reinforced by several regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with several new bodies of the Pennsylvania militia, who, with those of that province already under his com-

mand, were much distinguished in the hard service of the ensuing winter campaign.

The surprise at Trenton did not excite less amazement in the British and auxiliary quarters, than it did joy in those of the Americans. Blame was loosely scattered every where. That three old established regiments, of a people who make war their profession, should lay down their arms to a ragged and undisciplined militia, and that with scarcely any loss on either side, seemed an event of so extraordinary a nature, that it gave full scope to the operation of conjecture, suspicion, censure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently affected.

The General was blamed for laying so extensive a chain of cantonments; Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy; and the character of the Hessians, in general, did not rise in the opinion of their allies.

As to the first, the General had foreseen the objection, but he depended upon the weakness of the enemy, the good disposition of the inhabitants, the considerable force which was stationed in the advanced posts, and was besides influenced by a desire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cause. It may be added, that perhaps no line of cantonments or posts can be contrived to compact and secure, as not to admit the possibility of an impression in some one part, by a force much inferior to the aggregate power of the defensive.

With respect to Colonel Rall,
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if the charge against him was well founded, his misconduct sprung from an error which was generally prevalent among the officers and men both of the British and Hessian forces. The fact is, that from the successes of the preceding campaign, and the vast superiority which they perceived in themselves in every action, they had held the Americans in too great contempt both as men and as soldiers; and were too apt to attribute those advantages to some extraordinary personal virtue and excellence, which were in reality derived from the concurrence of a number of other, and very different causes; from military skill, experience, and discipline; from the superior excellence of their small arms, artillery, and of all other engines, furniture, and supplies, necessary for war; and still more particularly, to a better supply, and a more dexterous and effective use of bayonets, which gave them a great superiority over the Americans, who were poorly furnished with this kind of arms, and were by no means expert in the use of them.

The alarm now spread, induced the British and auxiliary troops immediately to assemble, and General Grant, with the forces at Brunswick and that quarter, to advance speedily to Princetown; whilst Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, found it necessary to defer his voyage, and return post to the defence of the Jerseys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter, for General Washington, encouraged by the reinforcements he had received, had again passed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack Jan. 2. the enemy, whom he found 1777. in a strong position, formed at the back of Trenton Creek, being in possession of the bridge and other passages, which were well covered with artillery. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides, which continued until night. A brigade of the British troops lay that night at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and another upon its march from Brunswick, consisting of the 17th, the 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, were at Princetown, about the same distance beyond Maidenhead.

In this situation on both sides, General Washington, who was far from intending to risk a battle, having taken the necessary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of still occupying his camp, and leaving small parties to go the rounds, and guard the bridge and the fords, withdrew the rest of his forces in the dead of night, and with the most profound silence. They marched with such expedition towards Princetown, that though they took a large circuit by Allentown, partly to get clear of the Trenton, or Assumpink Creek, and partly to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at sunrise the next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who had just begun his march. That officer not having the smallest idea of their force, the fogginess of the morning, or circumstances of the ground, preventing him from seeing its extent, considered it only as the attempt of some flying

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ing party to interrupt his march, and having easily dispersed those by whom he was first attacked, pushed forwards without further apprehension. But in a little time, he not only found that the 17th regiment which he led, was attacked on all sides by a superior force, but that it was also separated and cut off from the rest of the brigade, whilst he discovered, by the continued distant firing, that the 55th, which immediately followed, was not in better circumstances.

In this trying and dangerous situation, the brave commander, and his equally brave regiment, have gained immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greatest repeated exertions of courage and discipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickest ranks of the enemy, and pursued their march to Maidenhead undisturbed. The 55th regiment was little less pressed, and finding it impossible to continue its march, with great resolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillborough to Brunswick. The 40th regiment, which was still at Princeton when the action began, suffered less than the others, and retired by another road to the same place. The enemy acknowledged that nothing could exceed the gallant behaviour of the corps under Mawhood.

Though the number killed, considering the nature and warmth of the engagements, was not so considerable as might have been expected; yet, upon the whole, the three regiments suffered severely; their loss in prisoners amounting to about 200; the killed and wounded were much fewer. The

Americans had many more killed, among whom were some brave officers, particularly a General Mercer, belonging to Virginia, who was much esteemed and lamented.

It cannot escape the observation of any person who has attended to the circumstances of this war, that the number slain on the side of the Americans, has in general greatly exceeded that in the royal army. Though every defect in military skill, experience, judgment, conduct, and mechanical habit, will in some degree account for this circumstance, yet perhaps it may be more particularly attributed to the imperfect loading of their pieces in the hurry of action, than to any other cause; a defect, of all others, the most fatal; the most difficult to be remedied in a new army; and to which even veterans are not sufficiently attentive. To this may also be added the various make of their small arms, which being procured, as chance or opportunity favoured them, from remote and different quarters, were equally different in size and bore, which rendered their being fitted with ball upon any general scale impracticable.

This active and unexpected movement, with its spirited consequences, immediately recalled Lord Cornwallis from the Delaware, who was, not without reason, alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick. The Americans, still avoiding a general action, and satisfied with their present advantages, crossed the Millstone river, without any further attempt. In a few days, however, they overrun East Jersey as well as the West, spreading themselves over the Raritan; even

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even into Essex county, where, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became masters of the coast opposite to Staten Island. Their principal posts were taken and strengthened with so much judgment, that it was not practicable to dislodge them. The royal army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, the one situated a few miles up the Raritan, the other on a point of land at its mouth, and both holding an open communication with New York by sea.

Thus by a few well concerted and spirited actions, was Philadelphia saved, Pennsylvania freed from danger, the Jerseys nearly recovered, and a victorious and far superior army reduced to act upon the defensive, and for several months restrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. These actions, and the sudden recovery from the lowest state of weakness and distress, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raised the character of General Washington, as a commander, very high both in Europe and America; and with his preceding and subsequent conduct, serve all together, to give a sanction to that appellation, which is now pretty generally applied to him, of the American Fabius.

Nor was this change of affairs to be attributed to any error in the British Generals, or fault in the troops which they commanded; but depended entirely upon the happy application of a number of powerful and concurring circumstances, which were far beyond their reach or controul. Though many of these were foreseen and pointed out, by those who from

the beginning, either opposed in public, or regretted in private, this war, and that others are now obvious to every body, it may not, however, be amiss to specify some of those causes which clogged it with particular difficulties.

Among the principal of these may be considered the vast extent of that continent, with its unusual distribution into great tracts of cultivated and savage territory; the long extent of sea coast in front, and the boundless wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording resource or shelter in all circumstances; the numberless inaccessible posts, and strong natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, rivers, lakes, and marshes. All these properties and circumstances, with others appertaining to the climates and seasons, may be said to fit the battles of the inhabitants of such countries in a defensive war. To these may be added, others less local. The unexpected union, and unknown strength of the colonies; the judicious application of that strength, by suiting the defence to the nature, genius, and ability, of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country, thereby rendering it a war of posts, surprizes, and skirmishes, instead of a war of battles. To all these may be added, the people's not being bridled by strong cities, nor fettered by luxury to those which were otherwise, so that the reduction of a capital had no effect upon the rest of the province, and the army could retain no more territory than what it occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

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During the remaining winter, and the whole of the spring, the army under Lord Cornwallis continued much straitened at Brunswick and Amboy, the troops undergoing, with the greatest perseverance and resolution, the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty, whilst their ranks were thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, which were productive of no real advantage on either side, other than that of inuring the Americans to military service. In a word, every load of forage which was procured, and every article of provision, which did not come from New York, was sought or purchased at the price of blood.

The consequences of the late military outrages in the Jerseys were severely felt in the present change of circumstances. As soon as fortune turned, and the means were in their power, the sufferers of all parties, the well disposed to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and wavering, now rose as a man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and being goaded by a keener spur, than any which a public cause, or general motive, could have excited, became its bitterest and most determined enemies. Thus the whole country, with too few exceptions, became hostile; those who were incapable of arms, acting as spies, and keeping a continual watch for those who bore them; so that the smallest motion could not be made, without its being exposed and discovered, before it could produce its intended effect. Such were the untoward events, that in the winter damped the hopes of a victorious army, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing prosperous campaign.

We have formerly had occasion to shew the bad success which invariably attended the repeated attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the southern colonies from the support of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domestic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolina's, or of the Negroes in Virginia. We have also taken some small notice of the charges made by the insurgents in some of these provinces against their governors, of endeavouring to bring the savages down to further those designs.

The failure in these attempts was not sufficient to damp the zeal of the British agents among the Indian nations, nor to render them hopeless of still performing some essential service, by engaging these people to make a diversion, and to attack the southern Colonies in their back and defenceless parts. The Indians, ever light in act and faith, greedy of presents, and eager for spoil, were not difficultly induced, by a proper application of the one, and the hope of the other, concurring with their own natural disposition, to forget the treaties which they had lately confirmed or renewed with the colonists, and to engage in the design.

It was held out to them, that a British army was to land in West Florida, and after penetrating through the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee countries, and being joined by the warriors of those nations, they were jointly to invade the Carolinas and Virginia, whilst

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whilst another formidable force by sea and land was to make a powerful impression on the coasts. Circular letters to the same import, were sent by Mr. Stuart, the principal agent for Indian affairs, to the inhabitants of the back settlements, requiring all the well-affected, as well as all those, who were willing to preserve themselves and their families from the inevitable calamities and destruction of an Indian war, to be in readiness to repair to the royal standard, as soon as it was erected in the Cherokee country, and to bring with them their horses, cattle, and provisions, for all of which they were promised payment. They were likewise required, for their present security, and future distinction from the King's enemies, to subscribe immediately to a written paper, declaratory of their allegiance.

The scheme was so plausible, and carried such a probability of success, that it seemed to have had a very extensive operation upon the disposition of the Indians, and to have prepared them in a great measure for a general confederacy against the colonies. Even the six nations, who had before agreed to the observance of a strict neutrality, now committed several small acts of hostility, which were afterwards disowned by their elders and chiefs. The Creek Indians, more violent, began the southern war with all their usual barbarity, until finding that the expected succours did not arrive, they, with a foresight uncommon among Indians, stopped suddenly short, and repenting of what they had done, were, in the present state of affairs, easily excused; and being after-

wards applied to for assistance by the Cherokees, returned for answer, that they, the latter, had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.

But the Cherokees fell upon the adjoining colonies with determined fury, carrying, for a part of the summer, ruin and desolation wherever they came, scalping and slaughtering the people, and totally destroying their settlements. They were soon, however, checked, and severely experienced, that things were much altered, since the time of their former warfare upon the same ground, and that the martial spirit now prevalent in the colonies, was extended to their remotest frontiers. They were not only repulsed or defeated in every action, by the neighbouring militia of Virginia and the Carolinas, but pursued into their own country, where their towns were demolished, their corn destroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements, until the nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched survivors were obliged to submit to any terms prescribed by the victors; whilst the neighbouring nations of Indians were silent and passive spectators of their calamities.

Nor was this Indian war more fortunate, with respect to its effect on the well-affected in those quarters; who are not only said, to a man, to have expressed the utmost aversion to the authors, and abhorrence of the cruelty of that measure, but that some of the chief leaders of the tories avowed a recantation of their former principles, merely upon that account.

It was in the midst of the bustle and danger of the war, and when

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the scale of fortune seemed to hang heavily against them, by the defeat on Long Island, and the reduction of New York, at a time when a great and invincible force by sea and land carried dismay and conquest wherever it directed its course, that all the members Oct. 4 of the Congress ventured to sign that remarkable treaty of perpetual compact and union between the thirteen revolted colonies, which lays down an invariable system of rules or laws for their government in all public cases with respect to each other in peace or war, and is also extended to their commerce with foreign states. This piece, which may be considered as a most dangerous supplement to the declaration of independency, was published under the title of articles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen specified states, and has since received, as the necessary forms would permit, the separate ratification of each colony. Such was in general the state of affairs in America at the close of the year 1776.

C H A P. II.

State of affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. New peers. Change in the department for the education of the Royal Brothers. Extraordinary augmentation of the peerage in Ireland. Distresses of the West-India islands. Depredations of the American cruisers. Conduct observed in the French and Spanish ports. Armaments. Several men of war commissioned. Pres. Dispute between the city of London and the Admiralty. Account of John the Painter; he burns the hemp-house at Portsmouth; sets fire to some houses at Bristol. Speech from the throne. Addresses. Amendments moved. Great debates.

THE interval that elapsed during the recess of parliament was not much checkered with such domestic events as could greatly excite the attention of the public. As war seemed now as inevitable as it was fully provided for, the narrow alternative which was lodged in the hands of the Commissioners affording little room for other expectation, the attention of the nation was suspended for the present, and people only looked forward to the consequences of that event. Those who approved of hostility, saw their desires now gratified to the utmost, and those who differed with them in opinion

found it useless to repine. Thus, all former subjects of debate and discussion being swallowed up in the final decision, public affairs seemed to be scarcely thought of, and a degree of stillness prevailed among the people, perhaps unequalled in any country or age, during the rage of a foreign or domestic warfare.

War is seldom unpopular in this country; and this war was attended with some circumstances which seldom have accompanied any other. The high language of authority, dignity, and supremacy, which had filled the mouths of many for some years, fed the vanity

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nity of those who could not easily define, or who perhaps had never fully considered, the extent of the terms, or of the consequences which they were capable of producing; and the flattering idea of lessening the national burthens, by an American revenue, whilst it was fitted to the comprehension of the meanest capacity, was not less effective in its operation upon those of a superior class and order. To the powerful principles of national pride and avarice, was added a laudable disposition to support those national rights which were supposed to be invaded, and a proper indignation and resentment to that ingratitude and insolence which were charged upon the Americans, and to which only the present troubles were attributed by those, who were most active in fomenting the principles of hostility, which at that time prevailed, far more than they had done at the beginning of this contest,

In such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, if a majority of the people gave at least a kind of tacit approbation to the war; but as it was not attended with national antipathy or rivalry, established enmity, or even a present competition for glory, they did not feel themselves so much interested in its success, or altogether so anxious about its consequences, as they would in those of another nature. On the other hand, that great body of the people, who had at all times reprobated the measures which led to the present troubles, and who considered them as not less dangerous to the constitution, than ruinous to the power and glory of the nation, could not be supposed sanguine in their wishes for a

success, which they deemed liable to more fatal consequences than any loss or defeat. The great distance of the seat of war also rendered its effects less interesting. For distance produces in some degree the effect of time with respect to sensibility; and the slaughter, cruelties, and calamities, which would wring the heart if they happened in the next county, are slightly felt at three or four thousand miles distance. The distance also prevented all apprehension of immediate danger; the expences of the contest were not yet sensibly felt; and the bulk of mankind never think of remote consequences.

From these, and other causes, a general, and perhaps blameable, carelessness and indifference prevailed throughout the nation. Nor was it easily roused from this drowsy apathy, which like all other habits was confirmed by time. For when, at length, the American cruisers not only scour'd the Atlantic ocean, but spreading their depredations through the European seas, brought alarm and hostility home to our doors; when the destruction which beset the homeward bound richly laden West-India fleets poured equal ruin upon the planters in the islands and the merchants at home; when an account of the failure of some capital house in the city was almost the news of every morning; even in that state of public loss and private distress, an unusual phlegm prevailed, and the same tranquil countenance and careless unconcern was preserved, by those who had not yet partaken of the calamity. A circumstance which is not sufficiently accounted for,

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for, even from the vast numbers who thought themselves officially, or by connection, bound to give a countenance to the war as a favourite court measure, nor the still greater, of those who profited by its continuance.

In this state of public affairs and disposition at large, administration had acquired such an appearance of stability, as seemed to render them, for some considerable time to come, superior to the frowns of fortune. Supported by an irresistible majority in parliament, they were already armed with every power which they were capable of desiring or wishing for the establishment of their American system; whilst, as the nation was now too deeply engaged in their measures to be capable of retracting, it would be found equally difficult to commit the prosecution of them to any other hands. Thus the power which produced the measures, was insured during their continuance. All apprehension from the opposition of an ill-united minority had been long worn off; and it seemed now rather necessary to give a colour and sanction to their proceedings, by recording the vast superiority which decided every question in their favour, than as at all capable of counter-acting, or even impeding their designs.

In this strong state of security, no changes took place among the ministers. Though the force of government in the House of Lords seemed to require no addition, several new Peers were called up May 14, a few days before the recess. The Marquis of Carmarthen (son to the Duke of Leeds) was created

Baron Osborne; Lord Polwarth (son to the Earl of Marchmont) Baron Hume; Lord Mount Stuart (son to the Earl of Bute) Baron Cardiff; Sir Edward Hawke, Baron Hawke; Mr. Onslow, Baron Cranley; Sir Jeffery Amherst, Baron Amherst; Sir Brownlow Cutt, Baron Brownlow; Mr. George Pitt, Baron Rivers; Mr. Rider, Baron Harrowby; and Mr. Foley, Baron Foley. The Dukes of Hamilton and Argyll was created Baroness Hamilton, with descent to her heirs male. Her present husband, the Duke of Argyll, had some time before obtained the English barony of Sundridge.

Of these new creations, two were only anticipations of honour, the Marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Onslow being already in immediate succession to the peerage. Some exceptions were taken in discourses and writings, on the granting of English baronies to the Scotch nobility, or the immediate successors in their titles, with a view of enabling them to fill seats in parliament. It was urged as a very disputable measure, and considered by many as an evasion, if not direct violation of the conditions of union between the two kingdoms; yet many consider it as a proceeding, which may in time be productive rather of security than danger to the constitution. For whatever influence may at present operate upon those who hold themselves under an immediate obligation upon that account, it will of course wear away in a little time with them or their successors; and the more numerous they grow, the less liable to management; so that they may become in some degree a ballance to the sixteen Peers, who,

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who, under the name and form of an election, are avowedly nominated, and virtually appointed by the Minister, and accordingly considered as a dead weight in the scale of the crown.

28th. Within a few days after the recess, an unexpected change took place in the department for the education of the royal brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburgh; the Earl of Holderness, Governor, the Bishop of Chester, Preceptor, Mr. Smelt, Sub-Governor, and the Rev. Mr. Jackson, Sub-Preceptor, having all resigned their respective employments. This measure has been attributed to some disagreement between the Governor and Preceptor; but it seems as if the causes were not thoroughly known. As no new arrangement was in readiness, it also seems as if the court was not prepared for the event.

Lord Bruce was first appointed Governor, with a promise of being created Earl of Aylesbury, a title which he had for some time coveted. But this office not suiting his temper or inclination, he in a few days resigned, when his brother, the Duke of Montague, was appointed Governor to the Princes; Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Litchfield, Preceptor; Colonel Hotham, Sub-Governor; and the Rev. W. Arnold, Sub-Preceptor. Lord Bruce obtained his earldom, the government of Windsor, which had been held by the Duke of Montague, and was called to the privy council; the Marquis of Carmarthen, who was married to Lord Holderness's daughter, was appointed a Lord of the bed-chamber; and

towards the close of the year, upon the death of Dr. Drummond, the Bishop of Chester was promoted to the metropolitan see of York.

Though the government of Ireland was not yet disposed of, means were used to smooth the way for the future Viceroy. A great promotion in point of rank, and an enormous augmentation as to number, took place in the peerage of that country. Five Viscounts were advanced to earldoms, seven Barons to be Viscounts, and no less than eighteen new Barons created, in the course of one day. Towards the end of November, the Earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom.

The melancholy prognostications, which at the time had been treated rather as chimerical, and the exaggeration of party, than a well-founded deduction drawn from reason and a knowledge of the subject, relative to the calamities in which the American troubles would involve the West-India Islands, began already to be too sensibly fulfilled. Several of the most essential necessaries of life, particularly the articles of sustenance used for the support of the negroes, as well as of the poor and laborious whites, had risen from three to four times their customary price. Staves, which in the next degree to food were an object of the greatest necessity, were not to be procured in a sufficient quantity at any price. Other wants and distresses multiplied, and would have been more sensibly felt, had not the dread of famine absorbed all lesser considerations. The prizes taken from the Americans, and disposed of in those islands, prevented these distresses

tresses from being perfectly ruinous.

As there are seasons in which misfortunes seem to be epidemical, so in this period of distress, a conspiracy and insurrection of the Negroes in Jamaica, though happily discovered in good time, and easily crushed in the bud, yet in its consequences helped much to increase the general calamities both at home and in the islands. As the small military force in Jamaica had been weakened for the American service, and that the departure of a great fleet of merchantmen, amounting to about 120 sail, with a part of the small squadron on that station to be their convoy, would render the island still more naked and defenceless, the Negroes fixed upon that time for carrying their design into execution.

The fleet which was to have sailed in July, was detained in consequence of the discovery of the plot, for about a month, when the ships were loaded and just ready for the sea; a detention, which though an immediate heavy loss and expense to the owners, was productive of much greater misfortune. For they not only met with bad weather which scattered the ships and laid them open to danger, but the Americans thereby gained time to equip their privateers, and seize the critical stations for intercepting their passage. Some blame was also thrown upon the convoy; but, however it was, many ships of that rich fleet fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor was the trade from the other islands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their distant depredations till late in the year, the British loss in captures during 1776, ex-

clusive of transports and government store-ships, was estimated considerably higher than a million sterling.

In the mean time the French and Spanish ports, in Europe, began, some time before the close of the year, to swarm with American privateers, and to be crowded with their English prizes, which were at first openly sold without any colour of disguise. On remonstrances from this court, a little more decorum was observed; some check was given to the open and avowed sale of prizes; but the practice still continued. In the present unhappy state of affairs, it was thought necessary for a while to suspend the assertion of the national dignity. At no time had that dignity suffered such an eclipse. In the West-Indies, the American depredations were carried on to a much greater extent, and much more avowedly countenanced in all the French colonies. Even French ships took American commissions; and with few, and sometimes no American seamen on board, carried on a war upon the British commerce with impunity. In the mean time the King's ships, on their parts, took an infinite multitude of prizes from the Americans, mostly indeed of small value; but they proved a very timely relief to the suffering islanders.

The American declaration of independency afforded an opportunity to those to triumph much in their sagacity, who had at all times urged and supported the most coercive measures, and who now insisted that this had been the grand object and operative motive with the colonies during the whole contest, and the real source of all the

the present troubles. The knowledge of the fact, with these and other reasonings upon it, had also an effect upon many others, in reconciling them to the present measures, and leading them to consider the disagreeable situation of public affairs, rather as arising from an inevitable necessity, than proceeding from any error in their superintendence or conduct. It will be easily conceived that the great losses sustained by the capture of British ships, and which trade otherwise suffered by the prodigious rise of insurance, (that upon homeward bound West India ships now amounting to 23l. per cent.) must have exceedingly embittered the minds of the sufferers against the Americans; nor could it be without effect upon the temper of the nation in general.

The great armaments, which were continually increasing, in the French and Spanish ports, the avowed disposition of those states with respect to Portugal, and many other suspicious appearances, afforded very sufficient grounds of alarm to the ministers during the recess. The cause and effect increased with the season, until at length, towards the approach of winter, the political horizon appeared not a little gloomy.

In these circumstances, sixteen additional ships of the line were suddenly put into commission, and Oct. 25th. a proclamation issued, by which the reward to able seamen for entering in the navy was increased to five pounds per man. This was followed by another proclamation, recalling all seamen who were in any foreign service; by two others, laying an embargo on the exportation of pro-

visions from Great Britain and Ireland; and by a fifth, enjoining the observance of a general fast:

An hot press had attended the proclamation for the bounty to seamen. As the public conduct of the city of London in political matters, has for several years past, in various instances, drawn upon it the most marked and unequivocal indications of the resentment and indignation of government, so the present occasion afforded an opportunity for a squabble between that body and the admiralty.

The Lord Mayor claimed an exemption for the watermen of his barge. The city claimed an exemption from pressing within its jurisdiction. The court of King's Bench held that these claims did not appear to them supported by adequate proof. This dispute continued very hotly for a time, and ended without any definitive decision on several of the most material points of law. However, the right of pressing seemed to grow in strength, and all ideas of local or personal exemptions, to lose ground very considerably.

Towards the close of the year, and in the beginning of the ensuing, much confusion, apprehension, and suspicion was excited, by the machinery of a wretched enthusiast and incendiary, since well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whose real name was James Aitken. This man, who was born in Edinburgh, and bred a painter, possessing an extraordinary spirit of rambling, with a strong propensity to vice, had passed in the course of a few years thro' an uncommon variety of those scenes, which attend the most profligate and abandoned state of a vagabond

gabond life. A kind of life, for which a manual trade, however followed, affords the most perfect opportunity and cover.

Among his other exploits, he had passed through several marching regiments of foot, from each of which he deserted as soon as opportunity served, after receiving the bounty money. In his various peregrinations through the different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, rapes, and worked at his trade, as occasion invited, villainy prompted, or fear or necessity operated. Whether it proceeded from the apprehension of punishment, or that the original bent of his genius led him to new scenes of action, whatever was the operative motive, he shipped himself off for America, where he continued for two or three years. His being of a melancholy solitary nature, which neither sought for associates in crimes, nor admitted of partners in pleasure, as it contributed much to his preservation for so long a time from the justice of those laws which he was constantly breaking, served equally to throw in utter darkness all those parts of his life, which he did not himself think fitting or necessary to communicate. His transactions in America are accordingly unknown, any further, than that he traversed, and worked at his trade in, several of the colonies.

As his pilgrimage on that continent was in the beginning, and during the progress, of the present troubles, it may well be imagined, that the violence of the language and sentiments held in

political matters, by that order of the people with whom he lived and conversed, gave birth to that madness of enthusiasm in him, which afterwards became so dangerous. He accordingly returned to England with the most deadly antipathy to the government and nation, and soon after, if not originally, adopted the design of subverting, in his own single person, that power which he so much abhorred.

The scheme was as detestable, as could even be expected from the villainous character of the framer. It was to destroy the maritime force of this country, as well as its internal strength and riches, by setting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their shipping, of whatever sort, so far as it could possibly be done. In the prosecution of this atrocious design, he traversed the kingdom to discover the state of the several docks, and the nature of the watch by which they were guarded, which he in general found to be as lax and insufficient as he could have wished. He also took wonderful pains in the construction of fireworks, machines, and combustibles, for the purpose, but was strangely unsuccessful in all his attempts of this nature.

It was owing to this unaccountable failure in his machines, that the nation was saved from receiving some dreadful, if not irretrievable shock. One of them, which extinguished of its own accord, without any human interference, was found, several weeks after it had been laid, in the center of a prodigious quantity of one

one of the most combustible substances, in the great hemp house at Portsmouth. He, however, succeeded, in setting fire Dec. 7th. to the rope house in that yard, and had an opportunity, for several miles in his flight to London, to feast the malignity of his nature, in the contemplation of that dreadful conflagration which he had excited, and which from its prodigious appearance, he imagined had spread to all the magazines, buildings, and docks. The fire was happily subdued, with no other loss than that of the rope house and its contents.

The incendiary still pursued his design, but failed in his attempts upon the royal docks, and narrowly escaped being taken at Plymouth. The city of Bristol was at that time greatly divided between the two numerous parties of Tories and Whigs, as they were called, the former of which eagerly supported, and the latter as highly detested, the present court measures against America. The former carried up an address of congratulation upon the late successes of his Majesty's arms, which the latter condemned in the strongest terms, representing it as an act highly indecent, unchristian, and impious, to exhibit any marks of triumph and rejoicing in the slaughter and destruction of their fellow-subjects.

In this state of party and political disunion among the inhabitants, John the Painter, in the month of January, 1777, attempted first to burn the shipping, and afterwards the city itself. A deep and narrow chasm, which is nearly dry when the tide is out, fronts a great part of the quay in Bristol, which is generally crowded

with a prodigious number of vessels, all lying so close together, and so free from water in that season, that the first thing which strikes the attention of a stranger, is a surprize how they could be so lodged, and the second, a conviction of the fatal and irremediable consequences both to the shipping and the city, which a fire must inevitably produce. The incendiary failing in his attempt to set two or three of those vessels on fire, found so strict a watch kept afterwards, that he was obliged to change his mode of operation, and to secure the destruction of the ships by beginning with the houses. After some failures in his attempts this way, in which, as in all others, the finding of his ineffective apparatus afforded full evidence of the atrociousness of the design, he at length succeeded so far as to set fire to some warehouses in the vicinity of the quay, six or seven of which were consumed.

These facts and circumstances afforded a full scope to all the rage and virulence of party to blaze out in their utmost violence. The most bigotted and furious, and consequently the most ignorant, on the one side, attributed them to the disaffection, the republican and American principles, of the other; whilst those on an equal scale of understanding and prejudice on that, were fully convinced, that they were malicious acts or inventions of the Tories, merely for the purpose of calumniating and blackening their adversaries.

The reign of the incendiary was not much longer. He was taken up soon after his departure from Bristol,

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Bristol, upon some suspicious circumstances, and behaved with great boldness, art, and an uncommon government in point of speech, upon his several examinations, refusing peremptorily to answer any questions, which admitted even of a doubt in the remotest tendency, that the answer could by any construction be wrested to his own criminality; nor was he at all disconcerted or embarrassed by the appearance, or the questions proposed to him, by some of the Lords, and other principal officers of the admiralty.

He was, however, with all his art and caution, circumvented by the means of another painter, who being either an American, or having lived on that continent, found means thereby, and by pretending to sympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles similar to his own, to obtain his confidence in prison; until at length, being instructed and assisted for the purpose, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole history of his crimes. Upon his trial at Portsmouth, notwithstanding the shock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend must have given him, he behaved with the same boldness and address which he had hitherto manifested; made a good defence, shrewd observations upon the nature of the evidence, and the acknowledged baseness of the witness, and received sentence of death with the most perfect indifference. He sent for one of the principal naval officers of Portsmouth, either going to, or at the place of execution, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and also gave some cautions, with re-

spect to the future preservation of the royal yards from similar dangers.

Such was in general the state of public affairs, during the recess, and for some time after the meeting of parliament. The Oct. 31st, speech from the throne 1776, seemed to breathe indignation and resentment. It would have afforded much satisfaction that the troubles which had so long distracted the colonies had been at an end; and that the unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and returned to their duty; but so daring and desperate (it was said) was the spirit of those leaders, whose object had always been dominion and power, that they had openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country; that they had rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of the royal commission; and had presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. Much mischief was foreseen from the growth of this rebellion, if it was suffered to take root, not only with respect to the safety of the loyal colonies, and to the commerce of these kingdoms, but to the general system of Europe. One great advantage would, however, be derived, from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood; it would produce unanimity at home, founded on a general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.

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The two houses were informed of the recovery of Canada, and of the successes on the side of New York, which, notwithstanding the unavoidable delays that retarded the commencement of the operations, were of such importance, as to afford the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences; but that, notwithstanding this fair prospect, another campaign must, at all events, be prepared for.

Amicable assurances were still received from other courts; endeavours were used to conciliate the differences between Spain and Portugal; and though a continuance of the general tranquillity was hoped, it was, however, thought expedient, in the present situation of affairs, that we should be in a respectable state of defence at home. The great consequent expence was regretted; but no doubt was entertained, that the importance of the objects under consideration, would procure a cheerful grant of the necessary supplies.

It declared, that his Majesty could have no other object in this arduous contest than the true interests of all his subjects; and it asserted, that no people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than the revolted provinces; that their boasted improvements in every art, their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, were irrefragable proofs of it. The speech concluded with a declaration, that his Majesty's desire was to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they had fatally and despe-

rately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The addresses were framed in the usual manner, and, according to the practice of late years, produced great debates, and proposed amendments, of a clear contrary nature, in both houses. That of the Commons, besides confirming, repeating, and adopting, all the positions in the speech, attributes the circumstances of insult and indignity, which accompanied the rejection, by the American leaders, of the means of reconciliation graciously held out to them by his Majesty, to their resentment of his firm and constant adherence to the maintenance of the constitutional rights of parliament, divested of every possible view of any separate interests of the crown; and expresses the strongest sentiments of gratitude for that attachment to the parliamentary authority of Great Britain, which had thus provoked the insolence of the chiefs of the rebellion.

Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment, which was of greater length than the original address. In this piece, (which included a comprehensive view of the ministerial conduct with respect to America,) after a declaration of the most earnest zeal for his Majesty's true interest, and the real glory of his reign, and the deepest concern, at beholding the minds of a very large, and lately loyal and affectionate part of his people, entirely alienated from his government; it was interred, that such an event, as the disaffection and revolt of a whole people, could not have taken place, without

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out some considerable errors in the conduct observed towards them.

These errors were imputed, to the want of a sufficient information being laid before parliament, and to the reposing of too great a degree of confidence in Ministers ; who, though by duty obliged, and by office enabled, to study and to know the temper and disposition of his Majesty's American subjects, and to pursue the most salutary measures, had totally failed in all. To this misplaced confidence, and want of parliamentary information, was attributed, the pursuit of schemes formed for the reduction and chastisement of a supposed inconsiderable party of factious men, and which had driven thirteen large provinces to despair. That every Act of Parliament which had been proposed as a means of procuring peace and submission, had become a new cause of hostility and revolt ; until we are almost inextricably involved in a bloody and expensive civil war ; which, besides exhausting at present the strength of all his Majesty's dominions, exposing our allies to the designs of their and our enemies, and leaving this kingdom in a most perilous situation, threatens, in its issue, the most deplorable calamities to the whole British race.

It lamented, that in consequence of the credit given to the representation of Ministers, no hearing had been afforded to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies, nor any ground laid for removing the original cause of those unhappy differences, which took their rise from questions relative to parliamentary proceedings, and can be settled only by parliamentary authority. That,

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by this fatal omission, the Commissioners nominated for the apparent purpose of making peace, were furnished with no legal powers, but that of giving or withholding pardons at their pleasure, and that for relaxing the severities of a single penal Act of Parliament ; leaving the whole foundation of this unhappy controversy just as it stood in the beginning.

It represented in strong colours, the fatal consequence of not sending out the Commissioners for seven months after the time, that their speedy departure had been announced by the speech from the throne ; by which neglect, it says, the inhabitants of the colonies, apprized that they were put out of the protection of government, and seeing no means provided for their entering into it, were furnished with reasons but too colourable for breaking off their dependency on the crown of this kingdom.

It gave an assurance, that the House, by removing their confidence from those who had in so many instances grossly abused it, would endeavour to restore to parliament the confidence of all the people. To answer this end, it was proposed to make enquiries into the grievances of the colonies, into the conduct of Ministers with regard to them, the causes, that the commerce of this kingdom had been left exposed to the reprisals of the colonies, at the very time when their seamen and fishermen, being indiscriminately prohibited from the peaceful exercise of their occupations, and declared open enemies, must have been expected, with a certain assurance, to betake themselves to plunder, and to wreak

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wreak their revenge on the commerce of Great Britain.

It observed, that a wise, moderate, and provident use of the late advantages gained in arms, might be productive of happy effects : and gave an assurance, that nothing should be wanting on their part, to enable his majesty to take full advantage of any disposition to reconciliation, which might be the consequence of the miseries of war, by laying down real permanent grounds of connection between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual advantage.

It concluded with the following declaration, which contained high and liberal sentiments. " We should look with the utmost shame and horror, on any events that should tend to break the spirit of any large part of the British nation : to bow them to an abject unconditional submission to any power whatsoever ; to annihilate their liberties, and to subdue them to servile principles and passive habits, by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms ; because, amidst the excesses and abuses which have happened, we must respect the spirit and principles operating in these commotions. Our wish is to regulate, not to destroy them ; for though differing in some circumstances, those very principles evidently bear so exact an analogy with those which support the most valuable part of our own constitution, that it is impossible, with any appearance of justice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the sword, in any part of his Majesty's dominions, without admitting consequences, and establishing pre-

cedents, the most dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom."

A similar amendment to the address of the Lords was moved for by the Marquis of Rockingham, and both were supported with great force and animation, and the debates in both Houses, long, various, and interesting. In these, the speech from the throne, which was considered merely as the act of the Minister, was taken to pieces without ceremony, and treated in all its parts with unusual asperity.

It was asked, where those mighty leaders were found, whom the Americans obeyed so implicitly, and who governed them with so despotic a rule ? They had no grandees amongst them ; — their soil is not productive of nobility. No people upon earth, in an equal state of improvement, with so great an extent of country, so diffusive a commerce with mankind, and in possession of so large a share of substantial personal property, were so nearly in a state of equality. There were not many large, and there were no over-grown fortunes among them. Mr. Hancock, was a plain merchant, of fair character, and considerable substance in Boston ; he possessed no supereminence over his brethren, nor authority over the people, till the present troubles called him into both. Mr. Washington possessed such a landed estate, as several very private gentlemen in every county in England possess, which enables them to exhibit such a degree of hospitality, as procures them respect and regard in their own districts, without their being heard of or known beyond those limits.

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limits. Others, who now figure in the field of the Congress, were, and would have continued, still more obscure. By what magic is it then, that those people, who are represented as violent republicans, as levellers in principle, who are said to abhor all those distinctions which custom and authority have established in other parts of the world, should all at once have changed their nature, and, what is perhaps still more extraordinary, have subdued their prejudices, so as to resign all their faculties of thinking, and powers of acting, to a few unknown despots?

The answer, they said, was obvious, and was merely this, that the assertion was false; and that it was at the same time so palpably absurd, as not to merit a serious refutation. The Americans had been driven by oppression to a vindication of their rights; and, at length, by our invincible perseverance, in the madness and injustice of our conduct, to a defence of them by arms. In this situation, driven together by common danger and calamity, and compelled to the last resource of which human nature is capable, they were under the same necessity, which all people (even savages, in their original state of nature and equality) ever have been, and must ever continue to be, in similar circumstances, of creating leaders, to conduct their public affairs, and to command their armies. These leaders, can have no other powers than what the people think fitting and necessary to intrust them with. Their representatives in the Provincial assemblies, are elected annually; the general Congress ex-

pires with the year. At that period, all power returns again to the people at large, who again delegate it in such proportions, and to such persons, as they think proper. Thus, those supposed tyrants, who are represented as trampling equally upon all laws, and upon the necks of the people, as governing them with rods of scorpions, and practising upon them a despotism, scarcely known in the oldest established tyrannies, are no other, than their own public officers and servants, appointed at their will, and removable at their pleasure. With what face then has the Minister approached Parliament, or ventured to insult Majesty, with so unqualified and shameless an imposition.

In the same spirit, said they, of imposing upon, and with the additional design of irritating the nation, it is advanced, that the Americans have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the commission. This falsehood, they said, was engrafted upon a similar one of the preceding session, by which it was held out, that terms of accommodation would be referred to the consideration of parliament. Though this was neither designed nor effected, yet to nourish the delusion of the people, a solitary clause was thrown into the capture act, empowering the crown to appoint Commissioners to grant pardons; a matter to which it was as fully competent, without, as with an Act of Parliament. Thus, the boasted means of conciliation, which the Americans had so ungratefully and contumaciously rejected, were nothing more than

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a naked offer of pardon, upon terms, the very idea of which are abhorrent to the nature of every subject of this free government. The Ministers well knew that they would never voluntarily accept the terms of unconditional submission, and they intentionally drove them, though they dare neither avow the design nor the motives, to the only remaining alternative of resistance, and its scarcely avoidable consequence, the declaration of independence. To prevent, however, the possibility of any change of disposition, the effect of any alleviating circumstances, and to render them totally enraged and desperate, the commission, such as it was, and the Commissioners, were detained for several months, until the whole system of irritation and punishment of the penal laws, including (what they called) the indiscriminate injustice and cruelty of the Capture Act, by which they were declared enemies, put out of the protection of the law, and their property held out as a common spoil, had full time and scope for their operation. Nor could any submission, however general and unconditional, mitigate their calamities, as there were no persons upon the spot, who had authority to receive it if offered, nor to relax or suspend the severity of the laws in favour of those who returned to their duty. Yet now the nation are to be still misled, and farther inflamed, by holding out an idea, that equitable and gracious means of conciliation had been proposed to the Americans, and by them rejected with the most unparalleled scorn and insolence.

The position in the speech, that no people ever enjoyed greater

happiness, or lived under a milder government, than the revolted colonies, in support of which their improvement in arts, their number, their wealth, and their strength by sea and land, were brought in proof, was said to imply a virtual and most just censure on the conduct of administration. Upon what principle of wisdom or policy was such a people forced into rebellion? This power and greatness, which composed a part of our own, and which was not to be equalled in the history of colonization by any other people, owed its growth to the just and equal system of the English laws and constitution, and to the blessings of a mild and equitable government. Why was this admirable system of wisdom and equity, which produced such noble, nay wonderful effects, departed from? The speech holds out, that the present measures are intended to restore the blessings of law and liberty to America. Why were those blessings interrupted? Will their being offered at the point of the bayonet increase their value? Why was the fair fabrick which had been the work of so many ages destroyed, in order to re-establish that by the sword, which prudence and good government, had already seemed to fix for ever?

The amicable and pacific sentiments attributed to other powers, at the time that all Europe was armed in such a manner, as bespoke the most immediate design or apprehension of hostility, was equally animadverted on, and represented as a part of that principle of deception and imposition, which, as they affirmed, run through the whole. In this instance, the Minister's

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nister's actions gave the most direct and unqualified contradiction to his words. At the very time, that he was holding out this delusive appearance of security to parliament, the whole nation was alarmed and thrown into confusion, and its commerce ruined, by the unexpected issue of press warrants, together with the unusual circumstances of rigour and violence with which they were carried into execution. Here his conduct is open and undisguised, and removes at once that veil of deception which involves his declarations.

The expectation of unanimity from the present situation of affairs, was treated as a matter of unbecoming levity, as well as of disrespect to those to whom it was directed. Was ever any thing more truly ridiculous, (said the Opposition) than the calling for unanimity in measures, because those measures had been uniformly productive of all the mischiefs which have been foreseen and predicted? As we have uniformly opposed, said they, the whole train of these destructive measures, in explaining the motives of our conduct, we have as constantly stated their natural consequences, which amounted to an exact prediction of all those evils that have ensued. No prophecies were ever more accurately fulfilled. And now, when the empire is severed, America for ever lost, when distraction prevails at home, and ruin surrounds us without, the Minister, with a degree of facetiousness and humour, which might obtain credit in another place, and upon other occasions, takes it for granted, that we shall now be unanimous, in the support of that ruinous

system, and the prosecution of those destructive measures, which have already brought on all our calamities.

It was insisted, that nothing could save this country, from still more fatal consequences than those which it had already experienced, but an immediate recall of the armies from America, a repeal of all the penal and obnoxious laws against that people, and a full restoration of their charters and rights. That these measures, operating upon the established habits, and upon the natural affection of the Americans, might still prove the means of re uniting the severed parts of the empire. But that if irritation, a bitterness proceeding from the losses they have sustained, and the cruelties they suffered, with a relish for the novel sweetnes of power and command, and a knowledge of their strength, should operate so far on the side of the Americans, as to render this consummation (which of all others was the most devoutly to be wished) impracticable, if such was found to be our unhappy situation, nothing in that case was left to be done, upon any principle of sound reason and right policy, but immediately to acknowledge their independence, and by concluding a commercial and federal treaty of union with them, again to collect together such small part as could yet be retained of those glorious advantages, which in the high career of our pride, injustice and madness, we had scattered abroad.

It availed nothing now, they said, to reflect upon what we were, or what we had lost; we must conform ourselves with prudence to our present situation, or

get into a worse. Unwise conduct, and evil counsels, generally brought on their own punishment. We must now submit, however disagreeable to our feeling, to that chastisement which we have too justly merited. The more we struggle, and the longer we persist in the obstinacy of error, the greater shall we find the measure of our punishment; nor will it in a little time be circumscribed within any rule of proportion.

They strongly asserted, that a war with the whole House of Bourbon, in conjunction with our late friends and fellow-subjects the Americans, must be the inevitable, and not distant, consequence of a perseverance in our present measures. Our ally, Portugal, whom we were bound by every tie to protect, was already menaced with immediate danger. If we even submitted to the degradation in the eyes of all Europe, of sacrificing our ally, our faith, and our interest, to present apprehension of danger, that would afford no permanent security, as the present conduct of France and Spain, the nature of their preparations, and the support which they already afforded the Americans, sufficiently shewed the part which they would take in our unhappy civil contention.

Were we now then in a condition, when we found ourselves unable, with all the assistance we could derive from our mercenary auxiliaries, only to reduce our own revolted subjects, to encounter the whole force of the House of Bourbon, united with that of the Americans? Our national defence by sea and land lay now in America, and in a great measure at the mercy

of those two powers. Was this then a season, with an accumulating debt, a decreasing revenue, an exhausture of our resources, with divided counsels, and a distracted people at the verge of political despair, to engage in so arduous a contest? In so dire and calamitous a situation, a speedy reconciliation, upon any terms, with the colonies, was the only means left of political salvation. Grievous and painful though the loss of America would be, it was not, however, the upshot of calamity. The question of the Americans being our friends, or being in confirmed enmity, and in compact with our natural enemies, went perhaps to that of our existence as a state.

Upon these and many other grounds, they reprobated the proposed addresses in both houses, which they charged with subscribing to the ill-founded panegyrics which the Ministers had composed upon themselves in the speech, with involving the nation in a continuance of the same ruinous measures which had occasioned all its calamities, and with giving a parliamentary sanction to a number of misrepresentations and fallacies, calculated merely to amuse, deceive, mislead, or inflame the people. Whilst they contended, that the amendments would afford that time and opportunity to parliament, which their duty, a proper regard to their own dignity, and the alarming state of public affairs, all equally demanded, for enquiring diligently into the state of the nation, tracing the sources of our present calamities, and for considering and devising all possible means of averting the innumerable dangers

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gers with which we were surrounded.

On the other side, the speech was defended in all its parts; its veracity, prudence, justice, and magnanimity, being equally supported and applauded. It was affirmed to be replete with the strongest marks of sound policy and royal wisdom, as well as with indubitable proofs of the greatest paternal regard and tenderness, for the prosperity, happiness, and freedom, of all the subjects of this empire, however remote or separated. The amendment to the address was opposed, as bringing matters forward, which, for the present, formed no part of the business before parliament. If Ministers had neglected their duty; if they suffered themselves to be deceived; or if they misled parliament; these, or any of them, might be proper objects of enquiry at a suitable and convenient season. But this was neither the time, nor could those matters be the proper subject of the present address. The only question now before them, that was worthy of debate, was very simple in its nature, comprizable in a small compass, and easily decided. It was only, whether we chose to resign all the benefits which we derived from our colonies, all those fruits, to which our vast expenditure of blood and treasure in their nurture and defence, gave us a most legal and equitable right, and by truckling to the defiance and insult hurled at us by the Americans, cut off at once the sources of our power and opulence, and submit of consequence to a degradation from that rank which we now hold in the political system of mankind, or whe-

ther, by a full exertion of our power, whilst yet in strength and vigour, we preserve all those advantages, assert our ancient glory, restore the supreme and indivisible authority of the British legislature, and bring our ungrateful and rebellious subjects to a due sense of their duty and dependence.

These, say they, are the great objects under the consideration of parliament. The declaration of independency has done away all other questions on the American subject. Taxation, legal rights, charters, and acts of navigation, are now no more. That whirlpool has swallowed them all within its vortex. It was only through the strength derived from her colonies, that this nation was enabled to hold a first place among the greatest powers in Europe. Take them away, and she sinks into nothing. Her very existence, as an independent nation, will be at stake. It is only now then to be determined, whether, without an effort, we shall submit ingloriously to inevitable ruin, or whether, by a vigorous exertion, we retain our usual power and splendor.

It was not, however, doubted, that, even independently of motives of interest and safety, the unparalleled baseness and ingratitude of the Americans, with the daring insolence of their conduct, would rouse the British spirit in such a manner that it would take speedy and effectual measures for their chastisement. But, notwithstanding that the atrociousness of their crimes would nearly justify any severity of punishment, it was still wished, that when brought to a proper knowledge of their duty and condition, they should be treated

treated with lenity; far from the insinuation held out in the amendment, of reducing them to a servile or abject submission.

Some of the young lords were severe upon the factious spirit which prevailed here, as well as in America; attributing it to the former, that the latter had been brought into action. And it was insisted, that as the opposition had hitherto avowedly formed their conduct, upon an opinion, that the Americans had never designed, or even aimed at independency, and had reprobated every idea of that nature, with an abhorrence equal to that shewn on their side, they were now bound, in conformity with their own words and principles, to support, with the utmost vigour, those measures which were necessary for their reduction. That this was the ground of unanimity held out in the speech, and which had been treated with such ridicule and asperity, though no conclusion could be fairer drawn, whilst it was supposed they acted upon any line of consistency. That their unanimity now in support of government, was the smallest reparation which they could make to the nation, for the countenance they had unhappily given, and the share they consequently held in fomenting the present disturbances. And that it was to be hoped, they would now, by candidly confessing their error, convince the world they were only mistaken, and not intentionally wrong.

The ideas of despondency, which were held out on the other side, were said to be as chimerical, as the alarming representation of public affairs, to which they belonged, was unfounded. The happy suc-

cess which had already attended our arms in America, afforded sufficient room for the strongest hopes, that the troubles there would be speedily terminated. That they would probably prove a source of happiness on all sides, as they would afford an opportunity for fixing the government of the colonies on a permanent basis, and finally settling all those questions which had hitherto been the cause of debate. That nothing was wanting to bring affairs to this wished-for crisis, but unanimity here, and vigour in America. That the ensuing campaign, supposing every obstacle which could take place, would undoubtedly be conclusive in its effect. And that in this state of things it could not be conceived, how any friend to the interests of this country, could wish to weaken the hands of government, or hesitate a moment in agreeing to the address, when the measures to which it was intended to give a sanction, were the only means to save the British empire from certain ruin and destruction.

The appearances of danger from foreign powers, were in part denied; in part palliated. It was said, that the strongest assurances of amity continued to be received from France; that the differences between Spain and Portugal were likely to be accommodated; and that our arming, induced other powers also to arm, from motives merely of prudence and caution. They also recurred to the old doctrine, that it being directly contrary to the interest, it could not be supposed consonant to the desire of France or Spain, that any powerful independent state should be established in America. Such an event

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event must interfere with their commercial interests in both worlds; the idea of independence might become contagious, and spread to their own colonies; and they might be immediately endangered by the power and ambition of a new and rising state. If any sinister designs were, however, lurking, they had no escaped, they said, the penetrating eyes of our ministers, who, by their present spirited preparation, had put it out of the power of any infidious rival, or enemy, to take us by surprize, or to convert the situation of our affairs to their advantage. A conduct replete with such wisdom, that it merited the warmest approbation, instead of captious enquiries, and a disposition to draw unfavourable conclusions.

The minister took some pains in the House of Commons, to reconcile the apparent contradiction which had been alledged, between the assurances of amity held out in the speech, and the present sudden armament. He avowed the passage and the measure by acknowledging his advice to both; and asserted, that the one was strictly true, and both perfectly consistent. It was not deemed prudent to rely so far upon any assurances, as to be off our guard; and as other powers were arming, it was determined we should be prepared for all events.

Such was the state of warfare between the two parties. The numbers in favour of ministry continued nearly as usual; but it was observed, that the spirit of the debate on their side visibly slackened. The addressees were not defended with the accustomed animation in

either house. The great and almost uniform successes of the campaign, having produced no effect whatever towards a pacification, had somewhat damped the expectations which had been generally formed from a system of coercion. The armament in our ports announced more apprehensions from foreign powers, than were removed by the declarations, or the arguments, of the ministers on the subject. A great and growing expence was foreseen. It was admitted, that the reduction of America was no longer to be considered as the work of a campaign.

On the other hand, though the advantages obtained in America had not produced all the effect that was expected by sanguine expectants, yet it appeared absurd to desert the pursuit of a great object in the very midst of victory. Besides, the declaration of independency seemed a great bar to accommodation. Without doors, it produced the full effect proposed by the speech, by adding greatly to the alienation of the people at large from the Americans, their cause, and their pretensions. Ministry certainly derived from thence no small degree of strength throughout the nation.

The question upon the amendment being put in the House of Commons, the motion was rejected by a majority of 242, to 87, being almost three to one. The main question being then brought forward, the original address was carried in nearly the same proportion, the numbers being 232, to 83.

The majority in the House of Lords was, as usual, still greater, the

the amendment being rejected by 91 Lords, including nine proxies, to 26 Lords only, who supported the motion upon a division. The proposed amendment was entered at full length as a protest, and signed by fourteen Peers.

C H A P. III.

Debates upon a proclamation issued in America by the Commissioners. Motion for a revision of the American laws by Lord John Cavendish. Motion rejected by a great majority. Secession. Arguments urged for and against the propriety of a partial secession. 45,000 seamen voted. Debate on naval affairs. Supplies for the naval and the land service. Receipts.

In a few days after the presenting of the addresses, a declaration from Lord Howe and his brother, which had been issued in America soon after the taking of New York, addressed to the people at large of that continent, and calculated to induce separate bodies of them, independently of the Congress, to negotiate with the Commissioners upon terms of conciliation, made its first appearance here in one of the common papers of the morning. It was remarked, that although the usual Gazette had been published the evening before, and an extraordinary one, giving an account of the taking of New York, on the preceding day, neither of these had taken any notice of this public instrument.

In this proclamation the Commissioners acquaint the Americans, with his Majesty's being graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions, as may be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revision of all such acts, by which his subjects there may think themselves aggrieved.

This piece being Nov. 6th. brought into the House

by Lord John Cavendish, he seemed to consider it as a news-paper forgery, and, in that light, a most daring imposition upon the public; supposing, that if it had been authentic, its first public appearance must have been either on their own journals or in the Gazette. He therefore called upon the Ministers, to be satisfied as to the authenticity of the paper.

The Ministers acknowledged that such a proclamation had been published, and that they did not doubt but the paper now read was a true copy of it. The noble proposer expressed his astonishment both at the contents of the declaration, and the accidental manner in which a matter of that moment and nature came to the knowledge of the House. He observed, that in the whole course of the American business, the Ministers had treated parliament with a degree of indignity, and marks of contempt, which were not only before unknown, but which no credulity could have believed possible, whilst the shadow or name of the constitution remained, and the relative situation of Ministers in this country was remembered. They were, he said, in every instance, treated merely

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merely as cyphers, excepting when they were used as the instruments in some odious work. When their name was wanted in such cases, they were called on, by way of requisition, to give a sanction to acts which rendered them abhorred by their fellow-subjects in every part of the empire. When these measures, through their own enormity, failed in the execution, the odium was left to rest upon the head of parliament, whilst the crown and its ministers, assuming a moderation and lenity, which they find necessary, when experience has taught them the impracticability, and, perhaps, danger, of the design, become all at once the ostensible mediators between them and the people, undertaking to restrain their violence, or to rectify their injustice, and thus obtain the merit of whatever degree of grace it is then found proper to mete out, holding them still in the singular situation of being reprobated for all unpopular acts, and being neither thanked or considered for those which are kind or favourable.

Thus, - in the present instance, Commissioners are sent out with an intention of carrying a certain act of parliament into execution, armed at the same time with certain parliamentary powers for restoring peace; these powers, having been narrowed to the minister's taste, extend no farther than to the receiving of submission, and the granting pardons. These, as might well be expected, are found utterly ineffective. When, lo! to their astonishment, as well as that of all others, parliament discover, by chance, through the medium of a common news-paper, that they are to undertake a revi-

fion of all those laws of their own making, by which they had aggrieved the Americans.

Yet, however disagreeable this treatment was to himself, and must be to every person who regarded the dignity of that House, or who reflected, that the constitution could subsist no longer, than while the different parts of the legislature were kept in due poise and proper balance, with respect to each other, as well as to the people at large, his Lordship said, that notwithstanding he felt a dawn of joy break in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, whatever colour the measures might wear that led to so desirable an event. The great object of restoring peace and unity to this disaffected empire, outweighed so far with him all other present considerations, that he not only would overlook punctilio upon that account, but even such matters of real import, as would upon any other occasion call all his powers into action.

Without any further observation then on the engagements entered into by the Ministers for parliament, he thought it highly necessary to embrace the opportunity of their being seized with so happy a disposition, and to give them all possible weight and assistance towards carrying it into effect, and bringing the present troubles to a speedy and happy termination. The sanction of parliament, he said, to their propositions, was absolutely necessary for this purpose. For the Ministers themselves were not less convinced than every other person, that they could not hold out any proposals to the Americans, however equitable in appearance,

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ance, or even candid in fact, which the latter would not suspect of covering some treachery, and of being insidiously intended, by deceiving or dividing them, to deprive them by circumvention and fraud of those liberties, which they found force insufficient to destroy. In such circumstances of distrust, all attempts of negotiation must be fruitless. The sanction of parliament will then come in happily to afford that confidence, without which no treaty can ever produce an amicable conclusion; so that if the Ministers are really serious and honest in their proposals, and are not playing that part which the Americans always charge and suspect them with, they will, instead of opposing, cheerfully accept of that aid and support, which can alone give effect to this measure.

On these grounds his Lordship moved, that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revial of all acts of parliament, by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved:

The Ministers denied, that there was any thing novel, any thing that bore the appearance of leading, or that carried any design of dictating to parliament, in the promise held out by the Commissioners. On the contrary, as it was founded on the great principle which had pervaded the conduct of administration from the beginning, so it was the language of parliament at the very outset. The great object of both, was the restoration of peace in America. The address of both Houses in February 1775, the bills which followed that address, the act of parliament under which the Commissioners acted,

and their declaration, which is now held up as an object of offence, all tended to the same point. The parliament had delegated the authority now exercised, specifically in the act, and generally by the address. The leading object of the address, was a recommendation to his Majesty to hear and enquire into grievances, to transmit an account of them home, and to engage, on the part of the legislature, that where grievances really existed, they should be redressed. The proclamation goes no farther. Even without these sanctions, the King, as the head and mouth, both of the nation and legislature, would have been warranted in such an engagement, as a motive of encouragement, and ground of reconciliation. Should it be said, that no redress of grievances would be afforded? or that the King could not venture to engage for the other parts of the legislature in an act of justice, lest it should be construed into a violation of their rights?

The charges against the Ministers of endeavouring to keep this transaction secret, and of hiding their conduct from the knowledge and inspection of parliament, were said to be equally groundless. Could any intended or possible privacy be supposed, with respect to a public proclamation, which was posted for the inspection of all mankind upon the walls and houses of New York? The idea was absurd. The Ministers did not indeed think it of sufficient moment to be laid before parliament. It was as yet no treaty nor part of a treaty, it was barely a preliminary which might possibly lead to one. Had a negotiation been even commenced,

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menced, it would have been equally absurd and improper to communicate it to parliament during its progress, unless it was suspended at some point, upon which the intervention of parliament became necessary. Thus the negotiation between Mr. Pitt and M. de Buffy was not published during its pendency.

The motion was opposed upon many grounds. It was said, that it would discredit the Commissioners, and throw unexpected difficulties in the way of a negociation, which was probably already begun, and perhaps considerably advanced. It was now in their hands, in the common, natural, and regular course of business; why then undo whatever has been done, and disgrace the Commissioners, by taking it from them, without some sufficient motive? If it should be said, that the motion would not detract from the powers of the Commissioners, but, on the contrary, increase them; though the assertion is not admitted, yet other objections equally conclusive would lie against the measure even upon that ground. By giving them the sanction proposed by the motion, it would evidently appear, that they were not before armed with parliamentary powers sufficient to fulfil the professed objects of their commission; a circumstance which must naturally excite the jealousy of the Americans, and fill them with the most alarming doubts, as to their real views, and the true object of their mission. Besides, why should parliament run before the Commissioners in their concessions? Who knows but that the Americans would be satisfied with far less than we should here

accord to them? By this premature bounty, we might defeat the endeavours of the Commissioners to obtain the most advantageous terms for the crown, the parliament, and the trading interest of this kingdom.

That to revise or repeal laws, under the idea of redressing the grievances of a people, who totally denied the authority of those laws, and who consequently could not be aggrieved by them, would be an absurdity of so superlative a degree, as could not fail exciting the ridicule of mankind. The Americans have declared themselves independent: what avails it to deliberate upon the concessions, which we are willing, or it is fitting for us to make, until we know whether any concession will bring them back to an acknowledgment of our authority? Shall we admit of their independency, by treating with them as sovereign states? or shall we subject ourselves to their contempt and derision, by debating upon the degree of authority which we shall exercise over those, who totally deny our right and power to exercise any?

In a word, said they, the question of independency must first be settled as a preliminary, before any treaty can be entered into, or any concession made. Let them give that up, and acknowledge our legislative authority, and then we shall willingly, and with propriety, form legislative regulations for their future ease and government. But whilst they persist in their claim of independency, and hurl defiance at us as sovereign states, no treaty can be thought of, and concessions would be as futile, as ridiculous and disgraceful. Upon

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on the whole it was finally declared, that until the spirit of independency was effectually subdued, it would be idle to enter upon any revisions, or to pass any resolutions, as means of conciliation; and that the sword must be first taken out of the hands of the governing part of America, before that purpose could be accomplished. That the Congress did not at present govern America; but held it enthralled under the most cruel tyranny. That from our late successes, and the difference between the troops which composed the armies on either side, there was little room to doubt, that this arbitrary power would soon be dissolved, when the great body of the people, finding themselves emancipated from the cruel yoke of their leaders, and the charm by which they had been blindfolded and misled, being now at an end, they will return to their duty with as much rapidity, as they had before entered into the revolt. Then will be the time to think of legislative regulations for their future government, and to talk of lenity, forbearance, and even concession; at present, such ideas and such language are fruitless, if not worse.

The explanations given to reconcile the declaration of the Commissioners with the rights of parliament, and the respect due to that body, were by no means satisfactory to the other side. They first denied the fact on which the arguments of ministry were founded; namely, "that the promise of concurring in the revision of laws was a matter of negotiation." It was a power

given previous to any treaty, either in progress, or even in commencement; and the refusal to do what was so promised, would, instead of forwarding, prevent any transaction of the kind. They laughed at the idea, of the Americans being satisfied with asking less than we should voluntarily grant, and the danger of our outdoing their demands by our concessions. They said it was an evident mockery. The crown had promised in this proclamation something which without parliament it could not perform.

They insisted that neither the address of 1775, nor any of the documents mentioned, came in any degree up to the matter in question. They extended no farther than to the receiving of complaints of grievances, and referring them to the consideration of parliament, that it might judge of their validity, and prescribe a remedy if necessary. But the promise in the declaration, if not a piece of hypocrisy held out merely to deceive and trepan the Americans, can mean nothing less than an engagement on the side of the crown, for the future conduct of parliament. Nay it goes farther, it engages that parliament shall act directly contrary to its own opinion, sentiments, and conduct, in a matter, on which it has repeatedly declared and confirmed them; for as the crown cannot possibly have any share in the revival of laws, though it has on their being passed or repealed, the engagement can mean nothing else than the repeal of those acts, though all the world knows, that the house has

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constantly rejected every overture of that nature, with the highest disdain, and most determined perseverance.

Nor was the slight and contempt shewn to parliament less in any part of the American business. Though they granted the most unbounded supplies without account or enquiry, and lavished their constituents money with a profusion unknown in any other period, yet were they kept totally in the dark in all matters necessary for their knowledge, and only shewn at certain times so much light, as was sufficient to mislead them for some particular purpose. Thus, nothing is to be heard from ministers within these walls, but the heroic language of subjugation, unconditional submission, and a war of conquest. America is to be subdued; charters are to be modified or annihilated at pleasure; and an effective revenue is to be obtained, sufficient to render our own burthens quite easy. Whilst parliament is thus amused, and these doctrines secure an irresistible party, and the bulk of the people on this side of the water, the most moderate measures and fascinating promises are held out by the same ministers on the other side, and nothing is to be heard in America, but peace, conciliation, and parental tenderness. If a straggling fact finds its way into the house by the aid of a news-paper, we are at one time told that its notoriety rendered a communication of it unnecessary, as by only stepping to New York, any body might have read it there upon the walls of the burning houses; and at another, we are gravely informed, that as Mr.

Pitt did not communicate some private conversation which passed between him and M. de Buffy, it would not be fitting to intrust parliament with the secrets contained in a public proclamation.

But nothing was so totally reprobated by opposition, or gave rise to so much asperity in the debate, as the doctrine of entering into no treaty or negociation with the Americans, until they had rescinded the declaration of independency. This was, they said, a doctrine founded in cruelty, and crying out for blood. It was telling them in express terms, that they must either surrender their arms, all the rights of freemen, and submit to any slavery which it was thought proper to impose on them, (for unconditional submission could mean nothing else), or they must prepare to endure the utmost extremities of war, and to fight it out to the last man.

They asked upon what precedent this horrid doctrine was founded. Philip the II^d of Spain, who was, in his day, considered as the most gloomy, cruel, and despotic tyrant in Christendom, when he was in the same circumstances with the Netherlands, whom he had also forced to a declaration of independency, accommodated, notwithstanding, the extravagance of his pride, and the bitterness of his resentment, to a wiser, as well as more humane policy. He condescended to treat with those daring rebels, who, by declaring themselves sovereign and independent, had thrown off all allegiance to him; he, by public edict, admitted their ships to enter his ports, and

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to depart in safety; he made proposals to these new states; and he finally and positively declared, that he would redress all their grievances. Our own histories, as well as those of other nations, both ancient and modern, abound with such instances. What code of history or policy, then, have our ministers made the rule of their present conduct?

But, they said, that the Americans had been systematically and designedly driven to the present extremity. All the measures pursued for a succession of years, tended uniformly to that point. And finally, the commission for peace was kept back for seven months, until all possibility of its producing any effect was at an end, and the Americans, as had been well foreseen, were driven to their last resource of independency. All the bloodshed and devastation that has since taken, and that will hereafter take place, it was said, would lie at the door of the authors of that delay. This it was that laid the noble city of New York in ashes, that covered the plains with slaughter and desolation, and steeped the bayonets of foreign mercenaries in British blood.

And now having succeeded in urging them to desperation, to the uttermost degree of resistance, and to the last resort of independency, they bring these inevitable consequences of their own measures, as arguments to prove, that nothing but force, the violence of armies, and the extremities of war, can bring them to a reasonable and proper way of thinking and acting; that the sword is the only mode of reason-

ing with Americans; conquest the only means of rendering them free and happy; and Hessians and Highlanders the most skilful logicians, for enlightening their minds, and convincing their understanding.

Upon the whole they concluded, that if the house refused to concur in the proposed motion, it would afford a full conviction to the Americans, that the proposals held out by the Commissioners were indeed insidious and treacherous; that no reliance could for the future be placed, nor conditions of any sort safely entered into with government, as the latent pretence of a parliamentary negative, would always afford a sanction to the most shameful breach of contract and faith; and that all the world would thereby see with horror, that the different parts of the British government had united in an odious confederacy, for the detestable purposes of destroying and exterminating, instead of governing their colonies.

The question being at length put, was rejected upon a division by a majority of 109, to 47 only, who supported the motion.

From this time a great number of the minority, particularly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon parliament in either house; or rather to withdraw themselves wholly and avowedly upon all questions which related to America, and only to attend upon such matters of private bills or business, in which they had some particular concern or interest. This conduct was so marked, that some of the principal leaders

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of opposition, after attending the House of Commons in the morning upon private business, as soon as a public question was introduced, took a formal leave of the Speaker, and immediately withdrew. Though by this means a clear field was left to the ministers, and the vast articles of supply were carried without a debate; yet these silent votes, in the granting and disposal of such immense sums of the national treasure, was by no means so pleasant a circumstance, as might at first sight be imagined; the trouble of being obliged to listen to the arguments of a minority, which was not sufficiently numerous to throw any real impediment in the way of business, and of undergoing occasionally the fatigue of a late evening, being abundantly compensated by that sanction, which a decided majority afforded upon every question to their measures. Whilst the passing of such resolutions without debate or enquiry, seemed in some degree to leave them open for future discussion.

This measure, of a sort of partial secession, was justified upon several grounds. They said, that in the present state of things, all opposition to the measures of government, particularly with respect to American affairs, was not only vain and fruitless, but from the overbearing and resistless force, which supported the ministers in every question, it became worse; it became frivolous and contemptible. That it was too degrading to themselves to be the continual instruments of opposing the ineffectual weapons of reason and argument, to the

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deaf insolence of an irresistible force, which had long since determined upon its conduct, without the smallest regard to either. That there was no such thing as laying a people against their will. And that they had, for a succession of years, repeatedly apprized and warned the nation of the dangers attending those ruinous measures which it was pursuing; and of the fatal precipice that must terminate that mad career, in which they were blindly and desperately driven.

They said, that by various arts, by successfully playing with their passions, through the false ideas of domination and interest, which were held out to allure and deceive them, together with the infinite numbers who were interested in the continuance of our public calamities, and the unbounded influence of the crown, which of late pervaded almost every recess, the people, who in the beginning were rather disinclined to these measures, instead of benefiting by counsel or taking heed by warning, had unhappily, in a very great degree, adopted the opinions and prejudices intended by those who were interested in their delusion. That now, every measure proposed, and every violence declared against America, is considered, as a matter of course, to be in favour and support of Great Britain, whilst every attempt at curing or allaying our unhappy civil ferment, is stigmatized as the offspring of faction, and as a traitorous dereliction of the rights and authority of the parent state. That good and bad motives are equally urged and admitted as motives

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for

for a perseverance in those measures, which have already plunged the empire in civil war, distraction, and ruin. That in such a state of affairs, and during the prevalence of such dispositions, all struggles to oppose would rather inflame than lessen the distemper of the public counsels. That as it was not the part of a wise man to strive with impossibilities, so neither was it consistent for those, who regarded their honest fame beyond all other things, excepting their principles and honour, to draw upon themselves the odium of their fellow-citizens, by ineffectual efforts to serve them. That they would therefore, preserving their principles still unshaken, reserve their activity for rational endeavours, when the present delirium might be so far allayed, either with the people or with their ministers, as to afford some room for its operating with advantage.

This example was not, however, followed, nor the conduct approved of, by several members of the opposition. They even loudly blamed this proceeding. They questioned, whether any member could, consistently with his duty, withdraw himself individually from the business of parliament, merely from an opinion that he would be outvoted, and that his attendance would therefore be useless. They acknowledged, that a secession, collectively in a body, had not only the sanction of precedent, but might be practised with great advantage, and be productive of much benefit in such cases as the present. But for this purpose, they said, it must be attended

with the following circumstances. In the first place, it must be general, including the whole minority against the measure that provoked the secession; and in the next, that it should not be a silent act; but that the motives for the secession should be proclaimed, either by a remonstrance on the journals, or a public address to the people. Under these circumstances, they said, that secession was not only justifiable but laudable, and in cases of imminent danger to the constitution, might operate as a call to the nation, and awaken the people to a sense of their situation.

The other and greater part of the minority denied, that any rule, but every man's prudence and opinion of his duty, could be prescribed on such an occasion. That though minority was a term used in ordinary speech; minorities were not corporate bodies, nor bound to act as such; nor could any precedents be of avail in matters of that nature. They had no way of compelling *unanimity*; and nothing but unanimity could make them act in the manner prescribed. The greater number could not decide. If a difference of opinion appeared, men must stand on their character, and their reasons for their conduct.

On this, as on many former occasions, the opposition discovered great disunion, and much personal and party dislike to each other, to the great strengthening of ministry; who, though divided also amongst themselves, yet being involved in one official system, and supported by the crown, did

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did not suffer so much by their discord. In this situation, a few of the minority rather increased their efforts.

Upon the motion and grant in Nov. 8. the committee of supply, of 45,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year, a gentleman in opposition, who has long been a severe censor upon the conduct of our naval affairs, took that opportunity of making some very pointed and direct charges against the noble Peer at the head of that department. Of these, the most material was, a wilful and dangerous imposition both on parliament and the public, tending to lull the nation, at this critical season, into a fatal security, by a false representation of the state of the navy, both with respect to the number of seamen, and the condition of the ships.

This conduct was much censured on the other side, as not only being an attack upon an absent person, but upon a person, who, from his particular situation as a Peer, could not at any time be present in that House to any charge, nor competent to any defence. At the same time, his conduct and character were vindicated with great warmth, both by the Minister, and those Lords of the Admiralty who belonged to that House, who asserted, that nothing could afford greater satisfaction, or redound more to the honour of the noble Peer in question, than a strict parliamentary enquiry into every thing relative to the department in which he presided; when all the charges brought against him would appear founded in error or falsehood, and proceeding from ignorance or malice. But they con-

tended; that, exclusive of the indecency and personality of the attack, nothing could be more disorderly or unparliamentary than the introduction of the subject in such a manner, without any accusation being formally before them, which could at all bring it within their cognizance.

Mr. Luttrell, who made the charge, insisted upon his right, as one of the representatives of the people, to make such observations upon the conduct of Ministers or public officers, however high in rank or station, as it appeared to him to merit; that it was no less his right than his duty, when the malversation, or inability, of those entrusted with the management of public affairs became incompatible with its safety, to use all the means in his power to bring the offenders to justice. As to the objection of a want of formal accusation being before them, he would cure that, as soon as the House was resumed; for if they would allow him the necessary official documents, which he would then move for, he would support his charges in such a manner as to give perfect satisfaction to the House.

He accordingly moved, when the House was resumed, that sundry returns of the navy, which had been received at the Admiralty within certain specified periods, should be laid before them. These documents, he said, besides affording the proofs which he wanted to establish his charges, and to support his succeeding motion, would answer another purpose of still greater importance, that of letting the House into the true state of our national defence and security.

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security. That the plea for withholding those papers, from a dread of exposing our weakness to foreigners, was ridiculous, unless it would be contended, that our watchful and clear-sighted enemies had no other means of acquiring a knowledge of our real strength, than from the false representation of it which was laid before parliament, with the avowed design of imposition. But even, if that were swallowed, it could not avail in the present instance, as the weakness acknowledged by refusing the means of enquiry, must produce every ill consequence that could possibly attend the most perfect disclosure.

The papers were, however, absolutely refused, and the motion rejected without a division. The impropriety of such an enquiry in a critical situation like the present was still strongly insisted on. That whether we were prepared, or unprepared, such a disclosure of our naval strength or weakness, would be extremely impolitic and unseasonable. That if we were superior in force to our enemies, such a knowledge might prevent their speaking out, and, of course, keep us in the dark as to their latent designs, and their disposition towards us. If we were otherwise, the impropriety must be still greater, as it must encourage them to take an advantage of our defenceless situation. But in any case, they said, that the business of government could not be carried on, if such peevish enquiries were encouraged. Either change your Ministers, or repose a proper degree of confidence in them. Let nobody be vain enough to imagine, that the affairs of that state can be well and successfully conducted, in

which the hidden arcana of its policy are upon every trifling occasion to be exposed to the knowledge of the world. The gentlemen in office asserted, that the navy was never in a more respectable situation, nor that department more ably conducted than at present. They vindicated the conduct of the absent Lord with great warmth; and indeed the whole debate, both in the Committee and the House, was carried on with unusual heat and asperity.

The expences of the navy this year, including the ordinary at 400,005 l. and the building and repairing of ships, which was voted at 465,500 l. amounted to no less than 3,205,505 l.— Exclusive of 4,000 l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich hospital, and without taking any notice of a million, which was granted, towards the close of the session, to be applied towards the discharge of the debt of the navy.

If the naval expences were thus large, the supplies for the land service, which were voted a few days after without a debate, Nov. 16. were not less so, falling little short of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the land service for the preceding year, which exceeded the amount of 1,200,000 l. with some new contracts for additional German forces, and the heavy expences of half pay and Chelsea, were not yet provided for.

The supplies being so far granted, and no public business of any moment in the way, an early and long recess took place, the House adjourning on the day of the public fast, to the 21st of the following January.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV,

Bill for granting letters of marque and reprisal, passed, with a small amendment in the title, by the Lords. Bill for securing persons charged with high treason, brought in by the Minister. Great debates upon the second reading. Question of commitment carried by a great majority. Amendment passed in the committee. Second amendment rejected. Debates renewed on receiving the report. Petition from the city of London against the bill. Amendment moved and agreed to. Second proposed clause of amendment rejected. Great debates on the third reading. Clause proposed by way of rider, is received with an amendment. Question upon the third reading carried upon a division. The bill passes the Lords without any amendment.

A Bill for enabling the Admiralty to grant commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, as they are usually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ships, authorizing them to take and make prize of all vessels, with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen Feb. 6. specified revolted Ameri-
1777. can colonies, was passed, without debate or opposition, in the House of Commons, soon after the recess. It did not cost much more trouble to the Lords, with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration, of inserting the words letters of permission, in the place of letters of marque, the latter being thought only applicable to reprisals on a foreign enemy.

On the same day, the Minister moved in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by observing, that during the pre-

sent war in America, many prisoners had been made; who were in the actual commission of the crime of high treason; that there were others guilty of that crime, who might be taken, but who for want of sufficient evidence, could not at present be securely confined. That it had been customary in cases of rebellion, or danger of invasion from without, to enable the crown to seize suspected persons. That he would not, however, be thought to hint at any present necessity of entrusting ministers with such a power in general; the times were happily different from those which called for such exertions in their utmost extent; neither rebellion at home, nor foreign war, were at present to be apprehended. For these reasons, it was not meant to ask the full power, usually obtained in former cases of rebellion. But as the law stood - at present, it was not possible for government, officially, to apprehend the most suspected person. Another circumstance which required an immediate remedy was, that the crown had at present no means of confining

confining rebel prisoners, or those taken in the crime of piracy on the high seas, but in the common gaols; a measure not only inconvenient but impracticable. In the present state of affairs it was absolutely necessary that the crown should be enabled to confine prisoners under those descriptions, and to provide for their security, in the same manner that was practised with respect to other prisoners of war, until circumstances might make it adviseable to proceed criminally against them. Such, he said, were the purposes of the bill.

The bill was accordingly brought in and read on the ensuing day, and a motion made, that it should be read the second time on the 10th, which was the following Monday. It now appeared, that the enacting clause rendered all persons taken in the act of high treason, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high seas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or shall be charged with or suspected of any of those crimes, liable to be committed to any common gaol, or to any other special place of confinement, appointed for that purpose under his Majesty's sign manual, within any part of his dominions, there to be detained in safe custody, without bail, mainprize, or trial, during the continuance of the law, with a provision, however, enabling a certain number of the Privy Council to grant an order for admitting such persons to bail or trial.

Of the few minority members who were present, a gentleman of the first eminence in his profession, and who, a few years since, filled

the second law office under the crown with the greatest reputation, expressed the utmost astonishment, that a matter of such magnitude and importance, a bill that struck directly at that great palladium of the British constitution, and only security to the rights and liberties of the people, the habeas corpus law, should be brought in without proper notice, at a season when the House was so badly attended, and an attempt made to precipitate its passage in so extraordinary a manner, as to propose the second reading within three or four days of its being first heard of. He said, besides the defect in point of notice, it had been brought in unfairly; as it was totally different from what the Minister had announced it to be on the preceding day. Nor was it less discordant in its own parts, neither the title nor the preamble affording any idea of the extraordinary matter contained in the enacting clauses. That he was equally shocked and alarmed, to see a bill which was to suspend all the functions of the constitution brought in under such circumstances, and attempted to be smuggled through a thin house under false colours, before the nation could be apprized of its danger, or their constituents have the smallest notice, that they were going to surrender the foundation of all their other rights, and the peculiar characteristic of the British liberty and government. Mr. Dunning, who made these exceptions, seeing the House then going to divide upon the question for the second reading, which he knew would be carried, moved to have the bill printed, which, being

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being agreed to, prevented the division.

The alarm excited by this bill, recalled a few of those gentlemen who had of late absented themselves from the House. The debates became long, animated, and highly interesting, and were not unfrequently intermixed with the severest animadversion.

The opposition in the first place contended, that, upon the Minister's own premises, the bill was entirely needless; for as we were neither involved in a rebellion at home, nor engaged in a war without, there cou'd be no legitimate reason for investing the crown with so dangerous a power. Even a foreign war, of whatever magnitude, could not justify such a measure, unless there were some valid reasons for supposing, that an invasion would be encouraged and supported by some powerful internal faction. It was a measure only to be adopted in cases of the greatest emergency, when the constitution and liberties of the people were at stake, and every thing must be hazarded for their preservation. Dictatorial power was an edged tool not to be played with. The crown had already swelled so far in power, and influence, beyond those limits which were assigned to it at the revolution, as to afford too much room for serious reflection, to every serious man and lover of his country. In this situation of things, there could be neither reason nor prudence, in lifting it up at once beyond all law and restraint. The war against the Americans was, perhaps unfortunately for this country, popular; a circumstance which removed every

colour of pretence for a measure of this nature. And the power of drawing out the militia without the concurrence of parliament, together with the immense force by sea and land, and the unbounded supplies of money, with which the Ministers were entrusted, were fully sufficient for the strength and security, for all the fair and honest purposes of government.

With respect to its effect on America, they said, that its operations would render the present unhappy animosities between the English of these islands and that continent implacable, and not only cut off the hope, but the possibility, of any future reconciliation; that under the colour of retaliation, it would excite, or afford, an opportunity for the exercise of the greatest personal injuries, and the most horrible cruelties, on both sides.

That its present injustice was as glaring, as its future effect would be cruel and unhappy. For that letting the question lie dormant, though they by no means gave it up, as to the justice or propriety of considering or treating as pirates, those Americans who were taken in arms, or carrying on war against our commerce upon the high seas, it was capable of reaching persons of so different a character, that all mankind must agree in condemning its injustice. This bill, they said, would, or might, be extended to others, besides those who made or intended reprisals; it might, for any thing that appeared, be extended to the captain and crew of the peaceable merchantman, who, unable to live by any other means than those to which they were bred, are conveying a cargo of the commodities

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dities of their native country to a market. These under other laws might possibly be considered as smugglers; but it will remain for this to punish them as pirates.

This bill, they said, was not, however, calculated for the meridian of America; its operation was intended much nearer home. The ministers, daring, headlong, violent, and arbitrary, as they were, had not yet courage to take off the mask, and openly to strike the fatal blow which they intended. They were still afraid, without the pretext of foreign and domestic war, to avow their designs in the face of day, by a total suspension of the habeas corpus law. How do they act in this nicety of situation? They patch the lion's hide with the fox's skin, and endeavour to supply the deficiency of courage with cunning. They bring in surreptitiously, under a false title, and introduce, under a delusive preamble, a dark, perplexed, ambiguous, and insidious bill, which holds out sufficient ostensible matter to keep Englishmen agape with tales of high treason, Americans, and piracies, whilst they are, in the mean time, cutting through their liberties, and slabbing the constitution of their country to the vitals.

In the same view of deception, said they, upon this first trial of their strength in so new and dangerous a measure, they limit the duration of the bill to one year, as an experiment; but who does not see, that the same fatal influence, which will now grant a dictatorial power without the colour of a necessary motive, will render it permanent without the trouble of a pretext. In the mean time, the

public are to be hoodwinked and deluded under the false covering of a law to punish the rebellious Americans, a matter about which they are so perfectly indifferent, that very few of them will even take the trouble of reading the bill, at the same time that it will draw every subject of this country, residing either in the East or the West Indies, in the unoffending provinces of America, on the coasts of Africa, and all that immense body of the people who in any manner use the seas, within its perilous vortex. Nor will those be safer, who for health, business, or pleasure, cross the channel between Dover and Calais, nor the multitudes who continually pass and repass between England and Ireland. A fishing party, who go out for pleasure in the summer, will be put out of the protection of the laws, and in fact proscribed, as soon as they have passed low water mark.

Nor let the midland Englishman, who never saw the sea, triumph in his security. He may soon experience, to his cost, how far the dexterity and ingenuity of the crown lawyers may extend the yielding texture of this ambiguous bill to his enthralment. The wide circuit of the human mind is not more various and extensive than the suspicious nature of man, nor more fertile than the principle of revenge and ambition, which leads to private ill and public oppression. This secure and unoffending Englishman may find himself suddenly seized, carried off without warning from his family, transported to the Highlands of Scotland, the rock of Gibraltar, the burning coasts of Africa, the most pestilential and loathsome

loathsome dungeon in the putrid marshes of Bengal, or to any other part of this wide extended empire, in which it is thought fitting to institute prisons by the sign manual. There he may, continue to languish during the term of this bill, without a possibility of legal succour, and cut off from the advice and assistance of his nearest friends. When the act expires, indeed, if it is not renewed, and that the unhappy sufferer has still preserved life, through the horrors of captivity, and the stench of his dungeon, he may again return to his native country. He may then, perhaps, be tempted to inquire what he was confined and banished for; the answer is ready, "for treason;" as he is conscious of his innocence, he will endeavour to throw himself upon the laws of his country for justice, and challenge his accusers to the proof, and to make good their charge; but the ministerial agent, by whom he was kidnapped, will laugh in his face, and tell him there was no charge against him, but he was suspected; and, producing this act of parliament, it will be an effectual plea in bar of every remedy he can seek.

Such are the terrors, and the real dangers, said they, which this bill will hold out to every subject of this realm. For as a bare suspicion of treason will be sufficient for all the dreadful consequences that are mentioned, no rank or order of men can be exempt from them. The first subjects, and most eminent citizens, may become victims to the immediate jealousy, rancour, or arbitrary caprice, of the presiding ministers. Their deputies, in their several gra-

tions, down to the lowest under-strapper in office, will take in the other classes of mankind. Neither distance nor obscurity will be a protection. There is no man so unknown, or place so remote, in which some private enemy may not disturb his repose, or where some busy, ignorant, or profligate magistrate, may not conceive his duty concerned, feel his vanity tickled, or, perhaps, find a gratification of the most infamous passions, in the indulgence of an unfounded, or the prosecution of a pretended, suspicion. Poverty and obscurity, which usually afforded shelter to the humble and the weak in the tempests of states, will only render the doom of the unhappy culprit irrevocable. Nobody needs to be informed, that hundreds of unfortunate men linger out their miserable lives in the state prisons of arbitrary countries, merely because they are forgotten, though the system of government under which they originally suffered no longer exists, and those acts for which they were then punished might now perhaps be deemed meritorious.

This bill besides creates a new order of punishments, unknown before in our penal laws, and endues the crown with powers which it could not obtain by a total suspension of the habeas corpus law, and which it did not possess before its formation. A power of banishment to any part of the globe, attended with circumstances which include the most bloody species of proscription, may be expected in a little time to form one of the standing prerogatives of the crown.

They said it would be idle and absurd to oppose such a bill upon legal

legal grounds, or to bring it to any test of legal enquiry; for where there was neither reason nor justice, there could be no law. Law supposes a rule, prescribes a duty, respecting either the public or individuals; it points out the transgressions, defines the offence, annexes the punishment, and specially provides and directs all the intermediate steps between the charge and conviction; but more particularly the measure and quantity of the punishment. Now if this bill is examined, it would be found deficient in every one of these requisites. No crime is described; no inquiry into innocence or criminality takes place. The punishment is inflicted in the first instance, and examination is to follow. Suspicion supplies the place of evidence. Any man may be suspected; but his guilt or innocence are entirely out of the question; his punishment is to continue, and no enquiry to be made into either, during the existence of the present bill. Such is this thing, which is to be called a law; which enacts punishments without examination or trial; combines their duration with its own existence; and cuts off all possible means of redress.

They said, that this bill served as a kind of key, or index, to the designs which ministers had for some years been manifestly forming, the objects of which they rendered visible from time to time, as opportunity served, as circumstances proved favourable, as influence increased, and power strengthened. A gentleman, equally celebrated for his wit and his eloquence, compared it to the first scene of the last act of a play, when

some important transaction or circumstance, affecting the principal personages in the drama, is revealed to the audience, which, besides unravelling those mysteries contained in the former acts, opens at once the whole extent of the author's plot or design, and leads directly to the catastrophe. This plan, they said, had been long observable to those who took the trouble of marking and comparing the different parts that appeared, and preserving the connections between them; and however covertly hid, or artfully held back out of sight, had been systematically adopted, and steadily pursued; it was nothing less than robbing America of her franchises, as a previous step to the introduction of the same system of government into this country.

Such were the colours, in which the nature, tendency, and design, of this bill were described by the opposition. On the other side it was said, that nothing less than a malignity of disposition, which led to the most groundless and unwarrantable suspicions, a perverse and captious temper, disposed to quarrel, without distinction, with all the measures of government, and a determination to impede all its acts, however salutary or necessary, or else the most factious and dangerous motives, could have given birth to the suggestion, that this bill meant or intended any thing farther, than what it fairly imported, a power to apprehend, commit, and imprison, persons actually guilty of treasonable offences committed in America, on the high seas, or of the crime of piracy. That it was not less absurd and preposterous than malignant,

nant, to suppose it was framed intentionally to reach or overtake persons guilty, or presumed to be guilty, of offences committed within the realm. That if government suspected any part or body of the people at home, of a disposition which tended to acts of that dangerous nature supposed by the bill, their application would have been fair, open, and direct; they would have accompanied the request with their motives for making it; they would have come to parliament, and desired a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in so many words, stating at the same time, what should ever accompany such a requisition, the ground of necessity upon which it was made. No parliament ever refused to comply with such a request in such circumstances; much less could such a refusal be apprehended at the present time, if administration be really in possession of that overruling influence, and dangerous power, which have been magnified into such terrific forms by the opposition.

The present bill, they said, was framed upon the most wise, humane, and equitable principles. It was calculated more to prevent mischief, than to inflict punishment, much less to establish persecution. The innocent man had nothing to fear; but it was equally consistent with right policy and humanity, to hold out terrors to the guilty. And whatever harsh epithets had been applied by the other side to the bill, or to its framers, that government must ever be considered as the wisest, most humane, and most equitable, which directs its attention to devise means for the prevention of

crimes, instead of endeavouring to deter men from a violation of the laws by rigorous and fanguinary punishments.

But supposing the bill should have the operation that was attributed to it within the realm, what colourable objection could lie to it even upon that ground? It would still create no new power, however it might declare an old one. Several acts are declared by the statutes to be high treason. Others come within the class of constructive treasons, which are not explicitly defined by any statute; many of which are however established by precedents, and the judgment of the courts. If it should then appear that any persons in this country had unlawfully corresponded with the rebels in America, had supplied them with money, arms, implements of war, or intelligence, it is very possible, that such acts might bring them within some of those descriptions of high treason, which are laid down by the statutes, or founded upon them. In such case, there is no treason constructed by this bill; it only enables the crown to secure the persons of such dangerous offenders, with greater expedition and effect, than it could have done in the common course of legal proceedings. Will this then be considered as a rational ground of objection to the bill? Or will it be contended, that a man's residence within the kingdom affords him an impunity for all acts of treason he may chuse to commit? If there were any such men in this country, it would be a sufficient motive, exclusive of any other, for passing the bill. But they still asserted, that this country contained no such descrip-

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description of men; that treason and rebellion were properly and peculiarly the native growth of America; and that the bill could only operate on its proper objects.

The Ministers urged, in the strongest terms, the necessity there was for strengthening the hands of government at this critical period. They said it would be impossible to carry on public business, without delegating powers to the crown upon extraordinary occasions, which would not be proper, because they would not be wanted, in ordinary cases. Parliament were the proper judges, when, and to whom, to entrust such extraordinary powers. If necessity was a good ground for granting them, that necessity most apparently and incontrovertibly existed at present. The present situation of affairs rendered it necessary for government to call for every assistance, which it was in the power of parliament to delegate or create. If parliament had not a confidence in the ministers, it was in vain for them to endeavour to conduct the public business. If it had a proper confidence in the crown and its ministers, it was in the last degree of absurdity to mix it with idle fears and ill-founded suspicions.

They concluded, that the whole weight of the objections made to the entrusting of the crown with the power demanded, depended upon the supposition of its being applied to evil and dangerous purposes. That this conclusion was unfair and unfounded; equally false in reason and argument. It would be as logical, and more consonant to reason and experience, to suppose that this power would be only used with the strictest pro-

priety. Parliament was the great constitutional check on all power. If the powers delegated at present, should in any degree be abused, that will hereafter afford a most proper subject of parliamentary enquiry, and its vengeance will hang over those offenders who dared to violate their trust. But sure it is an extraordinary mode of reasoning, to argue against the use from the possible abuse of the bill.

Notwithstanding the vigour of opposition, the division Feb. 10th. upon the question of commitment, after the second reading, sufficiently exposed its weakness in point of number; the bill being committed for the following Thursday, by a majority of 195 to 43.

Upon the day appointed, a gentleman in office informed the committee, that having observed in the late debate, that the special power of appointing places of confinement, under the sign manual, in any part of his Majesty's dominions, had been much urged in argument, and created apprehensions, that persons taken into custody within the realm, were liable to be sent beyond sea, to distant places of confinement; and that his Majesty's servants having no such idea in contemplation, and though they were convinced the clause in its present state did not admit of that interpretation, were, however, willing to give every reasonable satisfaction to those who thought otherwise, and would therefore obviate and remove the doubts which arose upon that construction. That he understood this was the only solid ground of objection which could be taken against the bill, and that, in order

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to render the bill palateable, and unobjectionable to all parties, he would move, that the words "in any part of his Majesty's dominions," should be left out, and that the words "within the realm," should be inserted in their place.

This concession was far from satisfying the opposition. They said, that the power of indiscriminate banishment, however hideous, was only a matter of secondary consideration; that the power of apprehending and confining the person of the subject, upon bare suspicion, without a pretext of any legal cause, was the great object of alarm and danger, and what could alone afford life and activity to the other. They contended, that a line should be drawn between the innocent and the guilty; that the degree of probability attending the suspicion, and the degree of guilt, upon which the suspicion was founded, should be defined so clearly, that the innocent might know when they were in a state of security, and by what error or trespass it might be forfeited; and that a mode of redress should be provided, in cases where the powers granted by the bill were manifestly or grossly abused. And that upon every idea of justice and equity, a distinction should be made, even with respect to the Americans, between those persons who were in actual arms, and such as only submitted to the respective governments in which they resided, and to an authority which they were unable to resist.

But, in the name of goodness, said they, if the intentions of the ministers are as pure and as innocent as they profess, why do they refuse to confine the operation of

this bill to its proper object? Why extend it to Great-Britain? If such powers are necessary in America, let them be created; but let their direction be fixed. If they are wanted in this country, what are they mincing the matter for, and making a secret of it to parliament? Let them, in their own manner, make the demand in so many words; let them, by their own rule of conduct, state the necessity for so doing; and when this is done, to the satisfaction of parliament, let them obtain the power in the most ample and comprehensive manner they can desire. But to disclaim the intention of seeking the power, and at the same time endeavour by specious and delusive pretences to obtain it, carried such an appearance of duplicity, imposition, and contempt of that assembly, as was not to be paralleled in any former transaction between ministers and parliament.

The ministers still insisted upon the purity of their intention; that the present amendment removed all manner of ambiguity from the bill, and must afford satisfaction to any thing less than a fixed determination to find fault in all events, and to oppose indiscriminately in all cases. The title of the bill, its preamble, and the occasion of bringing it in, all served to fix its locality, and as explanations of its true import and design. These would effectually prevent or clear up any possible misconstruction of the enabling clauses.

A gentleman in opposition said, he would put administration to a test, as to the sincerity of their professions, and the innocency of intention in the bill. If these were

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were real, they could have no objection to the amendment he was going to propose, which only tended to limit the operation of the bill to its avowed objects. He accordingly moved for a clause of amendment, to specify that the offence for which any person was apprehended, on suspicion or otherwise, "within the kingdom," must have been stated, to be committed within the kingdom, and not elsewhere.

In the mean time, a gentleman of considerable rank in judicial proceedings, though not one of those who are immediately considered as the crown lawyers, disengaged totally from the opinion held out by his brethren in office. He acknowledged, that the bill was manifestly at variance with the title and preamble; that the first held out only a power to the crown of apprehending and committing, upon grounds of suspicion, such persons as are described in the preamble, who have been, or may be, brought into this kingdom; but the enacting part, not only gives that power, but it grants a general power, of taking all persons up without any specification of crime whatever. That it was absurd to say, that the locality of the crime was marked out by the bill. Where was the redress provided? There was no redress, but by an application to the privy council, who were now to be invested with the powers belonging to the courts of common law. But the mischief would be done, in the first instance, previous to any such application, and the Habeas Corpus Act would be in fact suspended, to all its intents and purposes;

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within the realm, for crimes not pretended to have been committed within it. He was therefore clearly of opinion, that it was better to suspend the Habeas Corpus at once; because in that case, every man would know what he had to depend on, and every good subject would acquiesce in a power, created for the public benefit.

So unexpected a difference of opinion, in such a quarter, and so powerful a confirmation of the objections laid by their antagonists, coming from such an authority, could not fail to surprize, if not stagger the ministers, and must, at another season, have proved fatal to the bill. The critical situation of public affairs, and the necessity of strengthening government, were, however, brought to the support of the measure, in this exigency, and the last proposed clause of the amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of five to one, the numbers being 125, to 25 only, who supported the motion.

This defeat did not prevent the debate from being renewed with equal if not greater vigour on the following day, when Feb. 14th: the report was received by the house from the committee: A petition strongly opposing the bill, was also received from the city of London on the same day. They concluded this petition with a declaration, That measures so violent and unconstitutional; so subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights of the people, and subjecting them to the most cruel subjection and bondage, would, in the judgment of the petitioners, be introductory of every species of mischief

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chief and confusion ; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

In this debate, a gentleman in opposition moved for a clause of amendment, That nothing should be deemed piracy within the true meaning and legal construction of the act, but acts of felony, committed on the ships or goods of the subject on the high seas. This amendment was the more particularly contended for, as by some of the former statutes of piracy, the trading or corresponding with pirates was ordained to be felony without the benefit of clergy ; and it was apprehended, that persons who had innocently traded with the Americans, might, by construction of law, and coupling their meaning with the present bill, have been subjected to the penalties of these statutes. The statute 8 George I. chap. 24, was accordingly called for and read, to shew that the ground of jealousy was fairly stated, and the inference clearly made out.

The first appearance of a disposition to relax in any degree with respect to the bill, or to assent to the justice of any objections that were made to it, was upon this occasion shewn by the minister. He disclaimed for himself, and for the framers and supporters of the bill in general, every intention of wrong, oppression, and injustice, and the smallest design of extending its operation beyond its avowed objects, and therefore agreed to the amendment with the utmost cheerfulness, hoping thereby to remove every possible ground of jealousy.

This success, and the appearance of flexibility which attended

it, encouraged the framer of the amendment to propose another of still more general importance, tending to remove the great objects of alarm and contention, the general power of commitment, and the operation of the bill in this country. For this purpose he moved, That no person shall be secured or detained, under, or by virtue of this act, for high treason, or suspicion of high treason, unless such person shall be charged to have been locally resident in his Majesty's said colonies and plantations in North America, at the time he shall be charged with, or suspected of committing high treason.

Besides such of those arguments which we have already stated, as applied particularly to the subject of the motion, it was further supported on the following grounds. That the power of general commitment had a most dark and dangerous aspect. That as the bill stood at present, every man in the kingdom was liable to be deprived of his liberty under the pretence of treason committed in America, although he had never been out of his own country or parish. That it was absurd and preposterous to continue the bill under its present title, which related to America only, when by construction of law it was meant to include Great-Britain. That in reason and fact, a person never out of England, could not be guilty of high treason committed in America ; if not, but that it is supposed he may be guilty of that crime in this country, why not hold that language in the bill, and add to the title, the words " or in Great-Britain ?" And they contended, that the ministers could not do less in conformity

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formity with their own professions, if they were really sincere in them, than to grant the security required, by a compliance with the present motion.

On the other side, several cases were quoted, in which, by construction of law, charges of treason laid to be committed in one place, though they were afterwards proved to be committed in another, were notwithstanding admitted as valid; and they contended, that though an offence might be committed here, by a person who had never been out of the kingdom, yet its operation in America would constitute one complete offence. The fact might not be criminal in the first instance, and might become criminal afterwards from its consequences, and yet, by a fair and justifiable construction of law, be deemed one compleat act. They concluded, that the proposed clause would destroy one of the main purposes of the bill; and that it would not afford any protection to the innocent, although it might effectually screen the guilty. The motion was accordingly rejected upon a division, by a majority of 49 to 14.

Though all the grounds of argument seemed exhausted on both sides, in the long and frequent contention which attended this bill in every part of its progress, and that the spirit of the disputants might, by this time, have been well deemed in the same situation, yet the vigour of the combatants seemed to grow with Feb. 17th. the toil, and the third reading produced one of the longest, most interesting,

and most animated debates, that has been known.

Mr. Dunning, who first laid open the principle and tendency of the bill, and had since been indefatigable both in his general opposition, and his endeavours to disarm it of some of those powers which he considered as the most dangerous, not disengaged by the rejection of Mr. Powys's last clause of amendment on the second reading, proposed another, nearly similar, to be added to the bill by way of rider. He introduced the amendment with a speech fraught with legal and professional knowledge, in which, with his usual ability, he went through and examined the whole course of controversy on both sides, and having combated the arguments which had been used in support of the bill, and pointed out the evil consequences to be apprehended in its present state, moved an additional clause to the following purport: Provided also; and be it hereby declared, that nothing herein contained is intended, or shall be construed to extend to the case of any other prisoner, or prisoners, than such, as have been in some one of the colonies, before-mentioned, or on the high seas, at the time or times of the offence or offences, wherewith he or they shall be charged.

A gentleman, who sat not far from the Minister on the treasury bench, agreed to receive the clause in part, if the mover would admit an amendment of his own to be interwoven with, and added to it; viz. that the words, "*In some one of the colonies, or on the high seas,*" should be left out, and the

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the words, "Out of the realm," inserted in their room; and that the following words, "Or of which they shall be suspected," should be added to, and conclude the original clause.

If this amendment did not afford all that was wished, the acceptance of the clause, even in its present form, was, however, an object of great consequence with the minority, who now considered the bill as having nearly lost two of its most dangerous fangs; the last, though not entirely drawn, being now tolerably blunted. But this concession was far from being pleasing to that part of the majority, who had at all times been eager in the pursuit of the most violent measures against America, and who were also supposed, to be much disposed to the support or establishment of a strong government at home.

Whilst some of the gentlemen under this description were reprobating the clause, and contending that the bill, even in its original state, did not convey all the powers, with which it was necessary to arm the crown in the present situation of affairs, they discovered, to their unspeakable astonishment, that the minister had totally changed his tone upon that subject. He now exculpated himself in particular, and administration in general, from every intention of establishing any unconstitutional precedents, or of seeking or wishing any powers to be entrusted either to the crown or to themselves, which were capable of being employed to bad or op-

pressive purposes; disavowed all design of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects; said it was intended for America, not for Great Britain; that as he would ask for no power that was not wanted, so he would scorn to receive it by any covert means; and whilst he expressed his concern for the jealousy excited by any ambiguity that appeared in the bill, hoped that the present amended clause would afford full satisfaction to the gentlemen on the other side of the house, and that the law would now meet with the approbation of all parties.

This unexpected conduct caused great dissatisfaction on his own side. Those who had been the avowed supporters of the bill, thought themselves particularly ill treated. They were engaged in a very unpopular, and what might have turned out a very odious business, and after they had worked through it with unusual toil, and encountered no small share of obloquy by the way, they were deserted at the very instant of completion, and that in such a manner, as seemed calculated merely to disgrace the whole measure, to confirm all the charges and surmises of their adversaries, and to fix all the odium upon them.

It was, however, observed before, that the court parties were far from being united; that administration did not draw kindly together; that the crown lawyers did not agree; these circumstances occasioned the humorous observation of a gentleman in the

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minority, that administration were as much at variance, as the title, preamble, and body of the bill.

Though the amended clause was much opposed in debate, it was, however, at length received without a division. The minority could not now conceal their joy and triumph. A gentleman eminent for his eloquence and abilities, felicitated the house and the nation, on the escape they had from, at least a temporary state of tyranny, and which was perhaps intended, in good time, to have been rendered perpetual. He congratulated the minority, who notwithstanding their weakness in number, had accomplished that happy event, by their correction of so reprehensible and dangerous a bill; though a minority, the ministers were not only convinced, but ashamed, and had accepted of their alteration. The noble Lord at the head of affairs, he said, was obliged to the minority alone, for digesting,

altering, and correcting his bill; neither he nor the nation, owed any obligation to his numerous friends the majority, who were ready to swallow it, with all its original crudities, errors, injustice, and cruelty.

Their gaining this favourite point, did not prevent their still continuing to combat, though more faintly, the principle of the bill, and carrying their opposition, after a long and late debate, to a division upon the question of the third reading, which was carried against them, by a majority of 112 to 35. The main question being then put, that the bill do pass, it was carried without a division.

The bill passed the Lords without debate or amendment; the minority peers having so generally absented themselves from that house, that the Earl of Abingdon found himself alone in entering a protest against it.

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C H A P. V.

Accounts laid before the committee of supply. Motions by the minister. Contracts animadverted on. Payment of an unexpected demand made by the Landgrave of Hesse for levy-money. Debates. Message from the throne. The message referred to the committee of supply. Motion by Lord John Cavendish, that the order of reference be discharged. Great debates. The motion rejected upon a division. Resolutions passed in the committee of supply for the discharge of the debts incurred on the civil list establishment, and for an annual augmentation of that revenue. Debates renewed upon receiving the report from the committee of supply. First resolution passed without a division. Amendment moved to the second resolution. Amendment rejected. Second resolution carried upon a division. Message debated in the House of Lords. Address of concurrence moved by the Earl of Derby. Amendment moved by the Marquis of Rockingham. Amendment rejected upon a division. Previous question moved by the Duke of Grafton, and rejected. Address carried upon a division. Protest.

SEVERAL accounts of the extraordinary unprovided services of the war, having been laid before the committee of supply, and two resolutions moved by the minister, that the sum of Feb. 21st. 970,000l. part of the million granted by the last vote of credit, and the farther sum of 1,200,000l. should be granted for the discharge of those services, the enormity of the expence under this head, amounting to 2,170,000l. and which was said to exceed that of any year of the last war, when we supported very great fleets and armies in every quarter of the globe, gave rise to some warm and considerable debate.

A great number of objections were made, as well to the manner of stating the accounts, as to the charges in various articles of the expenditure. It was said, that the former were so involved, perplexed, and obscure, as to be in

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said, that it was a mockery of the Commons, to lay a heap of indigested, ambiguous, or unintelligible papers before them, under the colour and name of giving a fair statement of the disposal of the public money.

With respect to particular charges, the contracts for horses, for transports, and for rum, afforded the principal subjects of animadversion. It was said, that round sums of money were charged in a single line, for the purchase, or the keeping of the former, without any specification of price or number. That the charge made for the hire of shipping in the transport service, was very considerably above the usual price, without any adequate cause for the rise. That in the beginning of the present troubles, whilst trade was still flourishing, and a greater demand consequently for shipping, they were hired at the rate of 9*s.* per ton, but now, when trade is nearly annihilated, and a vast number of merchant ships consequently out of employ, government generously rises the price without regard to the market, and saddles an already ruined and plundered nation, with an unwarranted additional expence of four or five shillings in the ton, and that for every month, in the year, merely to gratify and enrich a few rapacious contractors.

But the contracts for supplying the army in America with rum, afforded a wider field for animadversion, and were more severely scrutinized than any others. These, it was said, so far as their terms were acknowledged, were rated at about four shillings a gallon, which was full a shilling

higher than the market price. But this imposition upon the public was not sufficient. The same person, whose charge had been allowed for the purchase and keeping of horses without tale, had also been favoured with the privilege and benefit of supplying rum in the aggregate, without the trouble or inconvenience of ascertaining any quantity. This person had obtained credit for the gross sum of 35,000*l.* wrote off in two lines, "For rum delivered in America, for the use of the forces there," without the smallest specification of the quantity, the quality, the price, the time when delivered, or the persons by whom received. Such, said they, are the accounts laid before parliament, to enable the commons to do justice to their constituents, and to afford them the satisfaction of knowing, that their money was not more wisely bestowed, than frugally applied. They can no longer entertain any doubt of the integrity of their governors, or the watchful attention of their representatives, when they see such an item as 35,000*l.* struck off at once to an obscure person, without the accompaniment of a single ray of light, or the smallest collateral proof or circumstance, which might tend to satisfy them that the transaction was a fair one, or, if foul and dishonest, which might lead to the detection of the fraud.

This discussion led to much severe reflection upon contractors in general, and the under influence obtained, and the pernicious consequences that attended, the granting of contracts to members of that house.

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house. This, they said, carried the dangerous properties of a two-edged sword, which cut fatally both ways at once. The national treasure was squandered in an iniquitous contract, and the contractor was bribed with their own money to betray the interests of his constituents. The ruinous consequences of the transaction were extended still farther, and impeded all the parts of the public service. The contractor, fully sensible of the conditions upon which he obtained the favour, well knowing that it was estimated to him at all the money which it could possibly produce, that the manner of fulfilling the contract was not at all thought of, and that he would be entirely covered from all enquiry into his conduct, laid himself out, without caution or apprehension, to make the most of his bargain.

Thus it was, they said, that our armies and fleets were rendered incapable of service; and thus, without fighting, our brave seamen and soldiers were destroyed by bad and unwholesome provisions. The very excesses of the calamity, and the consequent increase of hospitals, which proceeded from one job, filled up the measure of intended profit for others. From hence it was, that lean beef and carrion pork, were salted in the heat of the dog days, and sent off from Ireland to New York and Canada. From hence, damaged American flour, which having out-passed the market, had lain in the warehouses of London and Bristol, till it became totally unmerchantable, was bought up at a con-

temptible price, and sent back to the continent which produced it, to spread infection and death through the British army and navy, whilst the nation was paying for that trash, the highest price that was given for the best English flour. And thus, they said, was a most unhappy and ruinous civil war prolonged, and rendered still more fatal, by the corrupt, and shameful manner in which it was conducted.

The minister took very considerable pains to obviate the intricacy of the accounts, and to supply their deficiency by explanation. He stated the number and price of the horses, and insisted that they were purchased in the most advantageous manner, and upon the most reasonable terms. He denied that the hire of shipping had advanced so much in price as had been stated. He said the price given by government for transports, and which it did not exceed, was twelve shillings and six-pence per ton. That however considerable that rise was, beyond the standard price in time of peace, nothing could be more reasonable or equitable. Insurance had risen to an enormous pitch. Seamen's wages were more than doubled. Government employed none but the best and stoutest ships. These were armed, and provided for war and defence. Thus, besides the advance on wages, the merchant was obliged to employ a double number of hands. And that it was evidently impossible for him to support all those extraordinary charges, without a considerable advance on the price of tonnage.

The affair of the rum contracts, rather afforded more trouble to the noble Lord than any other. It was acknowledged that the price given on that contract, which had excited so much censure and ridicule from its being unaccompanied with any specification in the account laid before the house, was five shillings and three-pence per gallon. But instead of admitting any want of attention or economy in the giving of this high price, the lower rates of the other contracts were brought as proofs of the greatest vigilance and frugality, and it was almost insinuated, that the contractors must be losers upon them.

A round sum of 44,000*l* which had been charged in the accounts as issued to Col. Fawcitt, without any explanation, or specification of purpose, was among those items which had undergone censure, and which was now accounted for, by shewing that it had been applied to satisfy an unexpected demand, made by the Landgrave of Hesse for levy-money. This demand was founded upon the treaty of 1755, though no notice whatsoever had been taken of it in the late treaty.

The minister represented the demand to be fair, though unexpected, and the payment of the money to be of course equitable and necessary. The Landgrave had quoted the treaty of 1755 as a precedent; that treaty was particularly understood to be the basis of the present: this was presumed to draw after it all the advantages of the former, as well as to secure the due performance of its own particular engage-

ments; thus the good faith subsisting between both parties, compelled administration to accede to the justice of the claim. That prince, said they, would have been entitled to this money, if his troops had never stirred out of Germany; but under the circumstances of their going to, and serving in America, he should surely, not only be entitled to all the advantages deducible to him by former or present treaties, but these should even be construed liberally in his favour.

As to other objections that had been made, it was contended, that the strictest economy, and greatest frugality, had prevailed in all the departments of government; that the contracts had been conducted with the greatest prudence and judgment, and the best possible terms obtained from the contractors. It was denied, that any preference had been given to members of that house in contracts. They were always entered into with those, who seemed the most able, and who were the best calculated to fulfil their obligations. That, however, there was nothing particular in the situation of a gentleman's holding a seat in that house, which should exclude him from the advantages he might otherwise derive as a man of business, either from his engagements with the public, or with individuals. That some bad provisions had been sent to America was acknowledged; but that was attributed to the necessity of the case, and the suddenness of the demand. When good meat could not be procured, cattle must be killed, though even out of season.

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season and condition, to supply the deficiency in the best possible manner. Such judicious measures, it was said, were now, however, pursued, as would prevent all complaints of this nature, and provide for every future contingency.

On the other side, the rapacity of the Prince of Hesse was condemned in the strongest terms, and the payment of his unjust and exorbitant demand, represented as a most shameful profusion and waste of the public treasure. Why was not this levy money settled at the time of making the treaty? or why was an imperfect treaty brought to obtain a partial sanction from parliament? The treaty of 1755, should govern both parties; or govern neither. The Landgrave should either abide by that, or by the other of 1775. If by the former, let him take it with all its special conditions, with its levy-money, and single subsidy; if by the latter, let him have his double subsidy, but no levy-money. But to make a new bargain, to give him several singular benefits and advantages, which were not so much as thought of in the old treaty; and after the most full and perfect ratification of the new, to suffer him then to pick and cull every thing out of both the treaties, which tended to his own advantage, and to filling of his coffers, was declared, in very strong terms, to be such a breach of public trust and ministerial duty, as would, even within very late years, have drawn upon the authors, the most decided and unequivocal marks of parliamentary indignation and resentment.

The embarrassment of the court,

arising from the heavy load of debt which had been accumulated on the civil list establishment since the year 1759, had been long publicly known; and the consequent distresses of that very numerous body of people, who are dependent on, or in some way connected with it, were so notorious, and in many instances so grievous, that this matter seemed in some degree to become reproachful to the nation, as well as disgraceful to royalty. An application to parliament on this subject, had accordingly been expected during the two preceding sessions; but the unhappy state of public affairs, and the vast and continual calls upon the national treasure for the support of the American war, were such discouraging circumstances to the Ministers, as to restrain, if not overcome their zeal, so that they had not hitherto been able to summon resolution sufficient for making the demand.

Although no very flattering change had yet taken place in the appearance of public affairs, and that the public expences were every day becoming more enormous, the necessity became at length too mighty to be contended with, and all other considerations were obliged to give way to the present urgency. The Minister in the House of Commons, though scarcely recovered from a severe illness, was accordingly obliged to undertake a task, which would at any time have been sufficiently disagreeable, but which in the present circumstances of public affairs was peculiarly irksome.

He delivered a message Apr. 9th, from the throne, in which much concern was expressed by the Sovereign

Sovereign at being obliged to acquaint them with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the household, and of the civil government, which amounted on the 5th of the preceding January to upwards of 600,000l. That he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he had received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt, and that they would at the same time make some further provision for the better support of his household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. The message was attended with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative statement of the whole amount of the present civil list establishment from the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues which had been appropriated to that service during the same period; the former being intended to explain the causes of excels in the expenditure, and the latter to shew, that the crown had been a loser by the bargain which it then made with parliament. A motion was then made, and carried after some debate, that the message should, on that day week, be referred to the consideration of the committee of supply.

On the adjourned day for 16th. taking the message into consideration by the committee of supply, a motion was made by Lord John Cavendish, that the order of reference of the 5th instant might be discharged. The view of this motion was, that instead of carrying the question directly into the committee of sup-

ply, there to determine at once by a vote, whether provision should be made for supplying the whole demands, the accounts of the expenditure, the causes of the excess, the means of preventing it in future, and the propriety of complying in the whole or in part with the requisitions, should first be examined accurately, and considered with due deliberation, in a committee of the whole house.

This motion accordingly, which was in effect, whether the Speaker should leave the chair, brought out the whole force of debate, which was long and ably supported, most of the considerable speakers on both sides having distinguished themselves in its course. Though the opposition were united in support of the motion, they did not totally correspond in sentiment as to the original ground of debate. One part being willing to discharge the present debt, as a matter of unavoidable necessity which could not be remedied, were, however, totally averse to any future augmentation whatever of the revenue; whilst the other equally opposed both, until the whole business had undergone a full parliamentary discussion, when, they insisted, that the present revenue would be found fully sufficient for all its fair and constitutional purposes.

The debate being supported with great vigour till past 10 o'clock at night, the motion was at length rejected upon a division, by a majority of 281, to 114. The house being then resolved into a committee of supply, passed two resolutions to the following purport, viz. That the sum of 618,340l. should be granted to enable his Majesty

to pay the debts incurred by the expences of his household, and of his civil government, on the 5th of January last. And, That the sum of 100,000l. a year, over and above the sum of 800,000l. be granted, as a further provision for the better support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.

The gentlemen of the minority strongly opposed this vote. Their opposition, they said, was founded upon the purest principles of patriotism, which equally included a due attention to the ability, the burthens, and the prosperity of the people, with the most perfect and liberal regard for the honour, happiness, and real interests of the Sovereign. But they contended, that a compliance with the present application, in the extent and manner which was sought by the Ministers and their adherents, would be equally an act of treachery to the Prince and to the people, and a most shameful sacrifice of their respective interests. For whilst they lamented the distresses to which the Sovereign had been reduced, the misery thereby brought upon great numbers of individuals, and the circumstances of degradation attending so unhappy a situation, they charged all these mischiefs to the unbounded and scandalous profusion of the Ministers, and insisted, without reserve, or admitting of a doubt, that the present revenue was not only fully sufficient to answer all the fair and honest purposes of government under the restriction of a prudent economy, but abundantly to support the grandeur, splendour, and magnificence of the crown, in a manner equal to its own digni-

ty, and to the greatness even of this nation in its happiest era. But instead of being dedicated to these royal and national objects for which it had been granted, it was applied, they said, to the most fatal purposes, whilst a great Monarch was reduced to straits which would have been disgraceful to a private gentleman, and the lustre of the crown was obscured and tarnished, in a manner before unknown in this country.

They said, that it was too manifest to admit of any discussion, that the debt had been incurred in carrying on and supporting a system of corruption; that there was no man of any party, who was at all acquainted with public affairs, who had not an internal conviction, that the royal revenues were squandered in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence, which swept every thing before it; which had already brought the nation to the brink of ruin; and which had deprived us in a very great measure of all the benefits derived from a limited government. It was true, that the constitution was not now alarmed as heretofore, by the harsh and stern voice of prerogative; but the danger was now much greater; the foe was covert, silent, and insidious; and his operations, though slower, were much more certain.

They were therefore called upon, they said, by their allegiance as well as patriotism, by every tie of public and private duty, by a due attention to appearances, as well as to the preservation of their integrity, to their personal honour as men, and their aggregate, as bodies of the legislature, to restrain, instead of augmenting the means

means of corruption, and to prevent Ministers, under any name, or any pretence, from obtaining the disposal of such a permanent revenue, as would render them either independent of parliament, or, (which would be equally pernicious) enable them to establish such an influence, as might virtually prescribe its duties, or controul its operations.

They did not want, they said, to restrain the Sovereign within the limits of a narrow economy; on the contrary, they wished that the King of Great Britain should be great, splendid, magnificent, and generous. If he had not already had the means for those purposes, they would most willingly have concurred in affording them. They were too much interested in his honour and happiness, in the dignity of the throne which he filled, and the lustre and splendour of the crown, to hesitate at any measures which were necessary for their support or increase, and not to feel the greatest pain, in observing the shameful manner in which for several years they had been sacrificed. The enquiries which they proposed would lay open the sources of all those evils which were complained of, and no doubt could then be entertained of the application of effectual remedies; whereas a blind compliance with the terms of the message would not only nourish the disorder for the present, but afford an inexhaustible supply for its future support. That the debts of the crown had not long before been discharged without account. The natural consequence has ensued. Another and a larger demand is made. A vast annual increase is

then asked, concurrently with the payment of an enormous debt, and not even the wretched security of a ministerial promise given, that new debts will not be contracted, and new augmentations demanded.

Such being the avowed principles upon which the opposition was founded, the debates of course turned principally upon the nature of the accounts before them, the causes of excess in the expenditure, the sufficiency of the present revenue for its purposes, and the questions arising upon a supposition, that the crown had sacrificed its immediate interests in favour of the public, by accepting a certain revenue of 800,000l. a year, in the place of the appropriated duties, the produce of which, it was contended, had amounted to a much greater sum in the time that intervened since that period; from whence it was inferred, that the crown had acquired an equitable claim, as well for the discharge of its former debt in the year 1769, as for the supply of its present demands. Much collateral matter was of course introduced in the discussions which arose under these general heads.

The insufficiency, designed obscurity, and total lack of information, which were charged to the accounts by the opposition, afforded a boundless field for animadversion, and much scope for argument, to shew the propriety and necessity, if they wished to understand any thing of the subject, to discharge the order of reference to the committee of supply, and dispose themselves into a committee of enquiry, in order if possible to develop and throw some light upon that chaos of confusion and darkness.

ness which was now laid before them.

The accounts, they said, carried the fullest conviction, that they were fabricated to perplex, not to inform; that the facts, which under their title they were bound to disclose, could not bear the light; and that a great and royal revenue was squandered in so shameful a manner, and applied to such pernicious purposes, that the Ministers dared not to avow its disposal, nor venture to commit so dangerous a knowledge to the public. They were unaccompanied by any voucher, by any collateral, or explanatory observation that could give them even that colour of authenticity, which was fitting for their appearance before parliament, or to render them worthy of its attention. Every man of business knew, that accounts without vouchers were in fact no accounts. Would such be admitted in the statement or settlement of any merchant's affairs? would they be allowed in any court of justice or equity? Those before them stated certain sums, issued under certain enumerated heads, without the smallest mention to whom they were paid, or to what purpose applied. The only facts to be gathered from them, were a great expenditure, and a great deficiency of provision; so that the present voluminous detail would have been full as intelligible if it had been given in the gross, and the whole of the one, with the total of the other, struck off in two lines.

The conduct of some of the court departments was severely reprehended. The Deputy Auditor of the Exchequer, the Treasurer of

the Chamber, and the Master of the Horse, when the account of the expenditure in their respective offices is demanded, return for answer, said they, that they have no materials for that purpose, and that it is impossible for them to make up any such accounts as are required. This they represented as a slight and contempt of the house, which was equally unprecedented and unpardonable; but however their present disposition might be to overlook such treatment, and however a knowledge of that disposition was the means of producing it, this conduct they considered as establishing one incontrovertible fact, that it had been originally determined to keep them totally in the dark, and that no fair account, nor satisfactory information, should ever come before them.

That some of the accounts which had been produced, and were calculated to deceive the people into an opinion, that the crown had conferred a great favour, and was a great loser, by its bargain with the public in the year 1760, were furnished with other properties, which were so far more culpable, as an immediate attempt of imposition by over-reaching the understanding is more criminal, than a modest or timid attempt to conceal past misconduct or profligracy. In the estimate of the amount of (what was more improperly called) the hereditary revenue, or properly the appropriated duties, for the last sixteen years, compared with that of the actual civil list revenue, a great surplusage is stated, and represented as so much loss to the crown by resigning the former, although in fact,

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the greater part of this surplus arises from a parliamentary fund, which had no existence in the year 1760, and to which, if it had, the crown could not have laid the smallest pretension. This fund was created by the post-office act of the 5th of the present reign, and in this estimate, with an evident view of imposition upon the public, and deception on parliament, is artfully brought to account on the side of the crown, under a supposition, that the multiplicity and perplexity of figures, with the indolence and inattention so prevalent in public affairs, would effectually operate in preventing detection. They said, that if one false article in any account could be proved, and that it was manifestly brought in by design, as in the present instance, it was a fair and allowed deduction, that the whole account was false. They concluded therefore, that from the withholding of all specification, and every voucher, which could afford the colour of authenticity to one part of the accounts, and the gross and glaring imposition attempted in the other; it was equally justifiable in point of argument and fact to insist, that the whole was a scene of unparalleled deception, delusion, and imposition.

Comparative estimates were entered into of the amount of several heads of expenditure, during two periods of eight years each in the present reign, and two equal periods which terminated at the conclusion of the former. The excess in several of these articles during the last eight years was considerable, and arose principally under the heads of the coffers account,

the board of works, pensions, annuities, secret service, and ambassadors. It was observed, that the excess in those pensions, which were paid by the paymaster of that department, in the late period, compared with the expenditure under the same head of the last eight years of the late reign, amounted to 113,298 l. That the excess in pensions and annuities paid at the exchequer during the same periods, amounted to 80,846 l. And that the excess under the head of secret service, was 63,559 l. although the last eight years of the late King, included the greatest part of the late glorious war, when the demands for that service must have been great and necessary, and events sufficiently told, that the expenditure was applied to purposes truly national.

Thus, said they, the excess, under these three suspicious articles only, does not fall greatly short of one half of the present incurred debt; and if to this was added the excess in others, and the amount of the wanton or unnecessary expenditure (which can be gathered even from a view of the present mutilated accounts) in several, the whole would considerably exceed the demand now made upon the public. And though the correction of these exorbitances could not discharge the present incumbrance, it would render the proposed augmentation needless, prevent the crown from falling into similar distresses, and a people from being further spoiled, who are already groaning under the heaviest burthens.

It was observed, that the large sums of 171,000 l. and 114,000 l. were charged in two lines for secret

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eret service, under the disposal of two Secretaries of the Treasury. The issuing of such sums through such hands, without any specific service assigned, was represented as carrying a very mysterious and dangerous aspect. That money, without stint, or public account, should be entrusted to the Secretaries of State for the purpose of foreign intelligence, was allowed to be right and necessary; but that the officers of the treasury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, much less any intercourse with foreign states, should be the agents for disposing of the public money in secret service, was said to be a matter of the most alarming nature, and which carried that sort of internal evidence along with it, that put an end at once to all doubts as to design or application.

The expenditure charged under the respective heads of the coffers office, the board of works, and that of foreign Ministers, was said to be so enormous, as to exceed all limits of propriety and reason. It might well be supposed, from seeing that above 80,000l. was applied yearly to the latter service, that we were realizing the wretched policy recommended by James the First, of maintaining an army of ambassadors. Yet, with this vast diplomatic expence, and the prodigious sums allotted to secret service, will the Ministers venture to boast of the cultivation or support of our foreign interests? will they point out the commercial benefits we have obtained, and the political security and strength we have derived from late treaties? or does the prosperous state of our affairs, the respect with which we

are treated by the other powers of Europe, and the success attending our public measures, proclaim the wisdom of our negotiations, and the excellency of our intelligence.

Above half a million, they observed, was stated under the head of the board of works, without a single item to shew, to whom, or for what purpose it was disposed; or on what palace, house, park, garden, or royal work of any kind, the money had been expended. These were matters, they said, which demanded the utmost attention and strictest investigation of parliament. They were the constitutional checks, to restrain the wanton profusion, or the designed application of the public treasure to dangerous purposes, by ministers. They were entrusted by the people with the public disposal of their property, and they were bound by every idea of duty and justice to prevent its being squandered; but still more, to prevent its being employed against their dearest interests.

On the other side, the Ministers and official members, attributed the defectiveness imputed to the accounts, to the conduct of their predecessors in office, who had carried away, from their respective departments, those papers and documents, which woold have been necessary to afford that unusual degree of specification and accuracy, which were now demanded. They said, that the treasury had done every thing in their power to remedy that deficiency; they had spared no pains, by examining and comparing the warrants with the books, to give every satisfaction in their power to parliament. Such vouchers as could be found they produced;

produced ; they were not to be blamed for those which were removed, lost, or mislaid ; if the manner in which the accounts were kept, or the nature of the expenditure, rendered them obscure and perplexed, it was no fault in them. They shewed regularly the sums which they had issued, and the departments by which they were drawn ; that was all that lay with them, and they had no enquiry to make into their disposal, or specific application. Thus, said they, all the charges of withholding explanations and vouchers, of fabricating defective, or presenting mutilated accounts, for the purpose of perplexing or deceiving parliament, fall entirely to the ground.

But it was further contended, that far from treating parliament with contempt, or from any design of misleading them or keeping them in ignorance, they had exceeded their predecessors in exactness and detail. That no accounts at all, or at most only such gross and loose estimates, as it was now become the fashion so much to censure, had been laid before parliament upon former similar applications from the crown. Such they said was the case in the year 1710, under the reign of Queen Anne ; in that of George the First, when two such applications were made ; at the accession of the late King, when the annual augmentation of 100,000 l. was made to the civil list revenue ; in the year 1747, under the same reign, when parliament granted 450,000 l. to discharge that Monarch's debts ; and such, they observed finally, was the case in the year 1769, upon the

former application to parliament by his present Majesty.

It was also contended, (but more particularly, and much more strenuously insisted on in the House of Lords) that the crown had a just and equitable claim to the provision now demanded, in consequence of that most generous and liberal act of his Majesty in the beginning of his reign, when, from a truly paternal feeling for the burdens of his people, and a most princely desire of contributing to their ease, he surrendered the civil list revenue of the former reign, which was fully competent to all the expences of his household and civil government, and accepted of the present income, which, without any experience to decide upon, it was then hoped, would have been sufficient for those purposes.

They said, that those revenues during the sixteen years of the present reign, had exceeded the amount of the actual royal income, by considerably more than two millions, and about doubled the aggregate of the sum granted by parliament in the year 1769, and that demanded for the discharge of the present debt. From these premises they contended, that the discharge of the present incumbrances, as well as the future augmentation, were evidently matters of right and justice, though applied for, and wished to be received as favours ; and that in such circumstances, the scrutinizing of accounts, and entering into minute enquiries, was equally absurd and petulant. All that was necessary to be known, was the amount of the expenditure, and of its excess beyond the standing revenue ; the deficiency in the latter

latter must be provided for, as a matter of course, of necessity, and of right. Royal beneficence had induced an experiment in favour of the public; upon long experience and repeated trial it is found incapable of its object; was the goodness of the Sovereign, and his tenderness to his people, to operate to his personal loss? and his well-intended, though ineffectual attempts, to restrain his expences within certain limits of his own assigning, to be given as reasons why he should abide by that determination, however impracticable it was found in the execution?

As this doctrine of right was not so much insisted upon in the House of Commons, at least not by the Minister, other arguments were used in support of the present application under both its heads. It was asserted, that the greatest practicable frugality and economy prevailed in the several court departments; but that the revenue was really and truly insufficient for its assigned purposes. It was impossible, they said, nor would it be fitting if otherwise, to restrain the expences of a great Sovereign, and those in the numerous departments of the household and civil government, within the limits of an exact and strict economy. A certain degree of profusion must prevail in several instances, and would still continue to do so, in defiance of all attempts to the contrary. Custom had given a sanction to extraordinary expences in courts, and was too firmly rivetted by time to be broke in upon without much difficulty. They were among the consequences of high rank, and the appendages of roy-

alty; the parsimony, which would be highly commendable in a private gentleman, would become meanness in a Monarch; something must be sacrificed to opinion in many cases; and a certain magnificence of expence, was as necessary to display the grandeur of a great nation, as to support the lustre of the crown.

They observed the prodigious rise in all the necessaries of life, and increase in every article of expence and mode of living, which had taken place during the last fifty years, being the period since certain funds were assigned to the support of the civil list establishment, which were intended, at least, to produce 800,000 l. a year revenue. This rise in the value of things and increase of expence, they said, proceeded from the great influx of money, the extension of commerce, and the consequent increase of wealth, which had taken place in that period. Though this rise was sensibly felt by the nobility and gentry in their private economy, they were however generally indemnified by a proportional increase in the rents of their estates. Was then the Sovereign to be the only gentleman in his dominions, who was to be embarrassed and distressed in his private affairs by this change of circumstances? and instead of benefitting by their prosperity, was he to experience the singular situation, of being impoverished in an inverse proportion to the general affluence and increased wealth of his people?

The happy and numerous increase of the royal family was also dwelt upon. However great the satisfaction derived from this circumstance, it must naturally and inevitably

inevitably be productive of great additional expence. Other occasional, or extraordinary expences were also mentioned. The revenues of the crown had been considerably diminished in consequence of the public calamities. By these the American quit rents, at least for the present, were lost. And by judgments of the courts of law, the four and half per cent. West India revenue was greatly lessened. A great clamour was made about the increase of pensions, and they are talked of in gross as means of corruption—vaguely and idly. What! would they cut off the rewards for officers of the law, to whom age, and constitutions worn down by the toils of administering justice, had rendered an honourable repose as necessary as it was equitable. Must ministers at foreign courts, who had spent their youth, and certainly not increased their fortunes in that service, retire to spend their last years in discontent and misery.

They contended, that the late King's revenue, including the 450,000l. which had been granted for the discharge of his debts in the year 1747, exceeded the average income of his present Majesty since his accession, even taking into the account the half million which had been given by parliament in 1769. And they insisted, that if proper allowance was made for the increase in value of the necessaries and luxuries of life, it would be found, that 900,000l. a year, at present, was not worth so much, that is, would not purchase so much of those commodities, as 800,000l. would have done, in the early, or even middle

part of the reign of George the Second.

They also insisted, that neither the discharge of the present debt, nor a grant of the proposed augmentation, would be any loss to the public, as the excess of the hereditary revenue, which had been relinquished by his Majesty, would be fully equivalent to both. But that even without resting upon that foundation, sufficient surely though it was, the constant practice of near 70 years, would have afforded an unquestionable sanction to the application for the payment of the present debt. Parliament, without any such claim upon it, had at different periods, which were all those that it was applied to, from the year 1710 to the present time, regularly, discharged the incumbrances of the crown. Nor were any of those applications productive of that contumely and reproach upon ministers, nor those illiberal charges of prodigality upon the crown, by which the present was so particularly distinguished.

The repeated charges from different quarters, of an undue and dangerous influence obtained to the crown, by the application of the revenue to the creation of standing majorities, were said to be equally unjust, illiberal, and subversive in their tendency, of all parliamentary freedom of enquiry and action. If such a doctrine was admitted, it would cut up by the roots every pretension to a conduct founded upon opinion or principle. There could be no reason given, why majorities should be less actuated upon by these motives than minorities. It was more just in fact, reasonable in argument, and candid

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in sentiment, to suppose that both acted upon principle. It was surely a most unfair, as well as unfounded inference, to suppose that a difference of opinion must necessarily proceed from improper and unworthy motives. To suppose that such motives were exclusively and necessarily appropriated to the greater number, would be too ridiculous.

The invariable constancy and greatness of majorities upon the side of government, were accounted for in the House of Lords upon other grounds. They were in part attributed to the evidently wise measures, and uniform propriety and rectitude of conduct, which had firmly united the wise, the disinterested, the opulent, the virtuous, and even the bulk of the nation, in support of the present Ministers. A support as unprecedented as it was merited; and which was principally afforded in parliament by the landed interest of the nation; by the great body of country gentlemen; who were too numerous and independent to admit the possibility of influence; too deeply interested in the event, not to pay a strict attention to the conduct of public affairs; and too well versed in the real interests of their country, to approve of any measures that were not founded on right policy and wisdom. Such a support was the unrivalled honour, and the peculiar distinction of the present administration. But a noble Lord high in office went still farther, and with an asperity of language, not frequent in that House, attributed them equally to the unpopularity excited by the detestable, unconstitutional, and dangerous conduct, of what was com-

monly called in this country the opposition. He firmly believed, that the majority in both Houses had been increased by that conduct; and that it had been as instrumental in rendering the present Administration popular, as even the wisdom and rectitude of their measures.

On the other side, the idea of considering the duties appropriated by parliament to the support of the civil list establishment, as an hereditary property, and the revenue of the crown as the entailed estate of a private gentleman, was laughed at by the opposition. Those duties, they said, belonged at no time to the crown; they were always under the disposition of parliament. Even in the reign of King William, and when they had been newly appropriated to the civil list establishment, notwithstanding the singular obligations the nation was under to that prince, parliament withdrew 4000l. a week of those duties, and applied it to other services. The grant of the forfeited estates, which had composed a part of the royal revenue, was resumed in the reign of Queen Anne, and with a charge of 700l. a week upon the post-office, and other charges upon other branches of the civil list fund, were applied to the support of the war, and to other public exigencies.

The transactions between the late king and parliament, they said, were so clear and conclusive, as not to admit a shadow of doubt upon any part of the question. A grant of 800,000l. a year was made to the crown for the life of George the Second. Certain duties were appropriated to the payment of that income; and parliament, by

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the same act, bound itself to make good any deficiency in the appointed revenue, which might proceed from a failure of the duties. Nothing could be more explicit. The revenue was certain, parliament was answerable for the sufficiency of the funds, and the crown could have no claim on any excess of their produce.

The consequence of that agreement was the clearest comment on it, and fully establishes the original intention of both parties, as well as the manner in which it continued to be understood by them. The king was twenty years upon the throne before he made any application to parliament; and when he did come, it was only to require them to fulfil their own engagement. The appropriated duties during that time had fallen 450,000l. short of the amount of the appointed revenue, and he only required them to supply that deficiency. The crown owed at that very time 200,000l. more than the amount of the deficiency which it demanded; and though the extraordinary expences consequent of the preceding rebellion, might well seem to have justified an application for the discharge of an incumbrance contracted in a national cause, yet George the Second thought and acted otherwise, and would claim nothing beyond his stipulated income. By his wise and honest economy, that debt was not only discharged in the succeeding thirteen years of his reign, but, besides leaving a large sum in his exchequer, he expended above a million of his private fortune in the defence of his foreign dominions, although they were involved

and ruined in a war entirely British.

The conclusion of his reign afforded another instance equally satisfactory and conclusive as the former, with respect to another part of the question, the disposal of any surplus which might arise upon the general fund of appropriated duties. By the increase of several branches of that fund, instead of the former general deficiency, the actual produce, from the year 1747 downwards, exceeded the stipulated income, to the average amount of about 8000l. a year. All this surplus was fairly brought to account at the demise of the late king, and the whole sum, amounting to 115,000l. paid over as one of the first aids to his present majesty.

It was therefore, they said, to the last degree absurd, preposterous, and fallacious, to describe the appropriated duties, in any degree, as being virtually an hereditary revenue, or to represent the agreement entered into by his present Majesty with the public, as any act of concession in him. He relinquished nothing; he gained nothing by that agreement. The only difference it made was a matter of convenience to himself. He was now to be paid in specie, without discount, risque, trouble, or loss; whereas the payment of some of the duties had been frequently held back for several years. Nobody would pretend to make it a doubt, that the ministers of that time, under all the peculiar circumstance of glory and affection which so happily distinguished the commencement of the present reign, would advise his majesty, in an appli-

application to a parliament and people who could refuse him nothing; to demand such an income as would be fully adequate to the maintenance and support of the crown with dignity and splendour. It must have been then in the King's contemplation to marry; and he must himself, as well as his Ministers, of course look forward to the expenses consequent to such a state, attended with the probability of a numerous issue.

This was unquestionably done, and all these contingencies were then supposed, on all sides, to be amply provided for in the bounty granted by parliament. The proposal not only originated from the throne, but the acceptance of it by parliament was acknowledged with gratitude. Parliament granted all the Sovereign asked, and made the grant in the very mode proposed by Mr. Legge, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and who then, in the King's name, gave the most explicit assurances that no more should be asked. The civil list act expressly declares in the preamble, that 800,000l. was a certain competent revenue for defraying the expenses of his Majesty's civil government, and supporting the dignity of the crown of Great Britain. Our journals record, said they, and many now present remember, the grateful sense expressed upon that occasion on the side of the crown. The ministers officially declared his Majesty's entire satisfaction in our conduct; and the happiness he felt, in being thus delivered from the disagreeable necessity of applying, like his predecessors, to parliament, to make good the deficiencies of the civil list. And in the speech at the

close of that session, the Sovereign graciously told the commons, that he 'could not sufficiently thank them'; and that he 'thought himself much obliged to them, for what more imminently concerned himself.'

But they insisted, that if his Majesty ever had the original option, which was now pretended, it could extend no farther than the first choice. The agreement was solemn and specific, and could not afterwards be receded from. It was a fair compact of finance between the King and the subject, ratified by both parties. If he had no specific or rightful claim on the appropriated duties, he of course lost nothing; if he had, and made a fair, equitable agreement, he is manifestly bound by it. In either event; therefore, the arguments now used must fall to the ground as totally idle and unfounded. The bare proposal which these arguments were brought to support, implied a direct violation of public faith, for which the ministers who advised; and who made it, deserved the severest reprehension.

The arguments founded, and the right claimed, from the supposed practice of parliament, in constantly discharging, without account or enquiry, the incumbrances of the crown, upon former applications, were said to be equally unfounded, and to have been overthrown by facts already stated. Queen Anne generously bestowed 100,000l. annually of her private revenue, to the support of a most extensive, dangerous, and important war; and she expended vast sums of money upon a public object, in the erection of Blenheim palace. Her claim upon the public was

not, however, founded upon her generosity, munificence, or prodigality. Parliament, in the necessity of the public exigencies, had broken in considerably upon several branches of the civil list revenue, which were diverted from their proper channel, to answer the immediate and urgent demands of the war. This subtraction of her revenue must of course affect her private economy, and occasioned her incurring debts, for the discharge of which she had an equitable and legal claim upon the public. When the sum required was under the amount of the fair demand, which might have been legally made by a common creditor, is it to be wondered at that she was not pressed to shew how the debt was incurred?

George the Second did not apply to parliament for any benevolence; he required no increase of his revenue; he did not desire to have his debts paid, merely because he was in debt; he only demanded the payment of money to which he was legally entitled; a part of his revenue which the nation was bound to make good by an act of parliament. The making of such a demand could afford no motive or reason for his laying any statement of his affairs before parliament, nor for their enquiring into the amount or nature of his debts or expences. All that was necessary was done, which was to lay before the House the documents requisite to ascertain the deficiency on the civil list duties; that is, how far they fell short of the revenue which was settled upon him by the nation.

But, quitting enquiries into past transactions, and deductions drawn

from them; it was strongly contended by several members of both Houses, that the revenues of the crown were not only fully sufficient for all rational purposes of dignity and magnificence, but that they already far exceeded those boundaries, which were consistent with the nature of a limited government, and with the safety of this free constitution. They said, that if the revenues proceeding from Wales, Cornwall, the duchy of Lancaster, Ireland, West India Islands, American quit-rents, and other sources of less note or importance, were brought into account, and added to the civil list establishment, it would be found that the crown had for several years possessed an annual income, considerably exceeding a million sterling. That if the American quit-rents had not been lost, or could again be recovered, this revenue, solely in the crown, independent of account, and free from enquiry, would in a few years increase in such a degree, as to afford a greater fund of treasure for private disposal, than the most powerful and arbitrary sovereigns in Christendom could boast of. That though the revenues of Hanover, and the bishoprick of Osnaburgh, did not come within the cognizance of parliament, they were, however, to be considered as objects of attention, in all questions that related to the excessive growing power, and dangerous influence of the crown. That with such vast funds in its possession, that poverty, which was now so strongly urged, and so grievously pleaded, and which was indeed too shamefully apparent in all the economy of the court, instead of answering the purpose proposed by the ministers

is their representations, should have a very different effect, and in reality afforded room for reflections of the most serious, and apprehensions of the most alarming nature. The cause of that poverty and distress, and the manner in which so immense a revenue was dissipated without dignity or magnificence, were surely objects of the utmost importance, and which required the closest enquiry, and claimed the utmost consideration of parliament.

The opposition concluded, with representing it as a matter of the greatest impropriety and indecency, to bring in such a demand, in such a season of public calamity and danger. They said, that nothing but a confidence in the servility, and an experience in the carelessness of the public interests, which were now prevalent, could have encouraged the ministers to hazard so desperate a measure. They have, said they, plunged us in a fatal civil war, which has already cost the nation twenty millions of money; they have severed the empire, destroyed our commerce, sunk the revenue, and given a mortal blow to public credit. We have lost thirteen flourishing and growing provinces, some of which were already, in point of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms, and we are now engaged in a destructive and hopeless attempt to recover by force what our folly and violence have lost. Is this then a season, when we shall be under a necessity of taxing every gentleman's house in England, even to the smallest domestic accommodation, and to accumulate burden upon burden, on a people already sinking under

their load, to come and tell us that we had not hitherto made a provision for the crown adequate to its grandeur, and that we must now find new funds for the increase of its splendor? Is the real lustre which it has unhappily lost, to be supplied by the false glare of profusion? and the offensive expences of government, to increase in a due proportion to its poverty and weakness? It will be a new discovery in the policy of nations, that the only means of replacing the loss of half an empire, is by the boundless prodigality of the remainder.

As to the aspersions thrown by ministers on the minority, and their motives to opposition, they said, that they had only to appeal to heaven and their own consciences for the purity of their intentions; but they could appeal to the present state of things for the soundness of their judgment concerning the conduct of public affairs. That if they attributed the majorities in parliament to the influence of the crown, they only deduced effects from their natural and obvious causes. What other cause, said they, can be assigned for the support of ministers, whether the present plan of politicks be wrong or right? If wrong, they ought not to be supported, who advised an improper scheme of policy; if right, they ought not to be supported, who shew themselves wholly unable to conduct measures right in themselves, and necessary for the nation. That it was not true, that the ministers were supported by the landed interest. The greater part of the country representatives were in opposition to their American schemes; and

perhaps the weight of the property, not connected with places and emoluments in the gift of the crown, in the House of Peers, would be found in the same scale. But whatever the character and motives of the majority or minority were, it was evident beyond a doubt, that under the support of the former, the national dignity, power, and dominion, were reduced, and the royal splendour tarnished, whilst every expence was infinitely increased. It is, said they, from such undoubted matters of fact, and not from declamations or invectives, that the publick will, or ought, to judge of the motives of those who support or oppose the present system.

Upon receiving the April 18. report in the House of Commons from the committee of Supply, the debate was renewed with great warmth, and a committee of enquiry was again proposed, and ably supported. The question upon the first resolution of the committee, for the payment of the standing debt, of 618,340 l. was carried without a division. Upon reading the second resolution for the additional grant of 100,000 l. a year to the royal revenue, an amendment was moved by a gentleman in opposition, that the words in the resolution "for the better support of his Majesty's household," should be immediately followed by these, "and for the different branches of the royal family."

The gentleman described, in very pathetic terms, the distressed situation, in point of circumstance, of the two Royal and Brother Dukes. The one, from the narrowness of his income unable to live in this

country, experiencing all the effects of actual banishment; and instead of commanding that respect and attention due to his rank and virtues, exhibiting to the world the idea of a distressed and fugitive prince of England, and exciting only the compassion of foreigners. The second, after experiencing the same disagreeable situation abroad, reduced to live within the limits of an economy, which however becoming his necessity, and suited to his income, is equally unworthy of his merit, and unsuited for the rank which he holds in this country.

The amendment was seconded, but it being represented, that any amendment made to a report was out of rule, and unparliamentary, no debate ensued, and it was agreed to refer the subject to future consideration. The question upon the second resolution of the committee, being put about midnight, was carried by a majority of 231, to 109. Though the numbers were fewer on both sides, 19 gentlemen voted against the present question, who were not included in the former division.

The royal message to the House of Lords was debated on the 16th of April, when an address of concurrence having been moved by the Earl of Derby, and seconded by Lord Onslow, was opposed by the Marquis of Rockingham, who moved for an amendment of very considerable length, being an address directly counter to that proposed, and which was afterwards entered without addition as a protest. The noble Marquis entered very diffusely, and with great knowledge of his ground, into the subject, and stated several of those

those arguments and facts which we have already laid down. He was opposed and supported with great eagerness, and the debates were long, various, and very interesting.

In the course of this contention, the Duke of Grafton said, that his regard to the noble Marquis should prevent his moving the previous question, upon both the address and the amendment; but he conjured their lordships, as the best proof of their loyalty and affection for his Majesty, that they would consent to have the original motion postponed, and agree to appoint a committee to enquire into the expenditure; but more particularly to enquire what parts would best admit of a reduction; and when that was finally settled, proceed to a vote of concurrence, for the amount of the reduced estimates.

If they agreed to this proposal, he offered to prove to their satisfaction, that the estimate so established, would not exceed the present revenue; and that at the same time, it should nor bear upon a single article, which should be thought by those who professed themselves to be his warmest friends, to administer to his Majesty's ease or satisfaction; or that was necessary to sustain with splendor and dignity, his elevated rank and situation. The noble Duke finally pledged himself to the house, that if they would go into the proposed committee, he would demonstrate from the most clear, authentic, and incontestable documents, that 800,000l. a year would answer every end of private ease, personal dignity, and royal splendour; in a word, would furnish

every appendage to royalty, excepting that only which ministers mistakenly thought necessary, that of obtaining, through the means of corrupt influence, an unbounded power and controul over the will and resolutions of parliament.

The question being at length put upon the motion of amendment, it was rejected by a majority of 96 to 20 only. A second division took place upon the Duke of Grafton's previous question, which was also rejected by a majority of 90 to 26. The main question on the address was then put, and carried on a division.

The rejected amendment, which was entered as a protest, infers the necessity of the utmost economy, from the increase of public debt, and the decrease of the empire; and expresses astonishment and indignation, at a profusion in ministers, which the greatest prosperity could scarcely excuse. After stating and examining various matters, it concludes in the following terms, and was signed by fourteen Lords.

"With regard to the further increase of your Majesty's civil list revenues, we must decline any concurrence therein, not solely from motives of economy, (tho' at no time more strictly required) but from a dread also of the effect of such an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by vesting such large sums without account in the bands of ministers. When an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting, that your Majesty's civil list revenues are employed in

in creating an undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifest reason, great sums of money out of the property of your Majesty's subjects, which are supposed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament; and we beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that a farther

increase of the overgrown influence of the crown, would be a treacherous gift from parliament even to the crown itself, as it will enable the ministers to carry on those delusive systems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if pursued, must lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the distraction, of this once great empire."

C H A P. VI.

Motion by the minister for the payment of a demand made by the Landgrave of Hesse, on an unliquidated hospital account of the last war. Debates. Motion carried in the committee of supply upon a division. Debates renewed on receiving the report. Question carried upon a division. Motion for an address to the throne relative to the Royal Brothers. Previous question carried on a division. Debate on the Speaker's speech. Mr. Fox's motion. Motion of adjournment. The latter withdrawn, and the former carried. Vote of thanks to the Speaker for his speech. Revolution at Madras. Transactions previous or relative to the deposing and imprisonment of Lord Pigot. Transactions in Leadenhall-street. Resolutions on India affairs, moved in the House of Commons by Governor Johnstone. Debates. The resolutions rejected upon a division. Earl of Chatham's motion for an address relative to a reconciliation with America. Motion rejected. Speech from the throne.

May 7th. **A** Resolution which was moved in the committee of supply by the minister, for the payment of above forty thousand pounds to the Landgrave of Hesse, under a rejected, or dormant claim, for the expences of foreign hospitals in the last war, was productive of very warm debates, and was not only vigorously opposed by the opposition, properly so called, but it excited an unusual degree of dissatisfaction among such of the country gentlemen as still continued in town, which was extended even to some of those who had been most accustomed to go with the court in all questions. It was objected to the resolution, that a commission had been appointed and carried into effect upon the late peace, for the sole purpose of examining, settling, and liquidating the German claims. That after long labour, and painful investigation, these were found to be so shamefully exorbitant and unjust, that a discount of 60 or 70 per cent. was not unusual, on those which even seemed to be the fairest and best supported. That at the same time, the present claim, with several others of the same nature, were utterly cast

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cast off and rejected, and all for the same individual cause, that they were in the whole, and in every part, totally unfounded and unjust. And they insisted, that it was a thing unheard of, when any claim or account had been once settled and liquidated, more especially under the legal formality and sanction of a particular and public commission, to bring such a matter again forward, unless it was supported by some new documents or proofs, which the claimant must also demonstrate, not to have been originally within his reach or power.

The ministers were charged, in unqualified terms, with a shameful profusion of the public money, and with the most scandalous meanness, in submitting in every instance to the infatiate rapacity of the German princes. Nor did parliament escape its share of the censure, for, what was termed, their tame acquiescence in every proposal, however unreasonable or absurd, that was laid before them, and their granting the property of the people to supply every demand, however unnecessary, extravagant, or unjust. This demand, they said, could be considered in no other light than that of a foreign tribute, exacted from us in the moment of our distress, through a full conviction of our distracted situation, and the unhappy state of our public affairs. The nation was to submit to every shameful imposition, proposed, or practised upon it by the petty states of Germany, lest they should withdraw their mercenaries from the support of our fatal ministerial civil war, before they had put the

last hand to the ruin or extermination of the British nation on both sides of the Atlantic.

They also arraigned the minister for surprizing the house with such a demand, and bringing in a matter of such consequence at a season, when he knew that it was, and must be, very thinly attended. They contended, that if this demand, after sleeping for fourteen years, was now admitted, it would rouse all Germany into action, in the framing of new, or the reviving of old claims; and that they should never get quit of the German chancery, whilst they had a shilling left to grant. They concluded by lamenting and execrating those fatal measures, to which they attributed our present unhappy situation, and all those humiliating and disgraceful circumstances in which they said we were involved.

On the other hand, the minister acknowledged the staleness of the claim; he wished the demand had been made earlier; but he urged the length of its standing to be the only objection that could be reasonably made to it. He insisted that the account was clearly and fairly stated; that the demand was just; that it consequently ought to be paid; and that length of time did not weaken the claim in point of justice or equity. The good faith, the credit, the justice, and honour of the nation, were all said to be deeply concerned in the exact observance of its contracts with foreigners, and the punctual discharge of its foreign debts. Any failure in these respects must be productive of the most

most ruinous consequences, in our future connection and intercourse with foreign states. We should feel them equally in the affairs of war and of peace.

It was also contended on the same side, that this claim had never been rejected by the German commissioners, as had been represented in the debate. It had been only postponed, they said, from its being connected with some other matter, which prevented its being brought with propriety, immediately within their cognizance. They also asserted, that it had never lain dormant, and consequently that it was not an old claim newly revived. The claim was never dropped; on the contrary, the demand was regularly kept up, according to the usual official forms, from the time the debt was incurred, though from various causes and delays, payment had hitherto been deferred. They concluded by declaring, that it was not brought on in consequence of any stipulation, and that it did not appertain to any treaty past or present; but that the honour of the nation, founded upon its good faith to all mankind, and particularly to its allies, rendered the payment indispensable.

The resolution was carried in the committee of supply upon a division, by a majority of 38 to 20. But upon receiving the report next day in the house, the debate was renewed with great warmth; and if a few more of the country gentlemen had been in town, the minister would probably have found himself in a minority. As it was, the report

was agreed to only by a majority of eight, the numbers being 50 to 42, upon a division. It was particularly observed, that some zealous courtiers, and professed government men, avoided voting upon this question.

The day after the decision of this question, Sir James Lowther, who had lately moved the amendment to the civil list bill, in favour of the two Royal Brother Dukes, moved for an address to his Majesty, to request an augmentation of their annual income. He stated with energy, and described with a real and affecting sympathy, the causes which led to this motion, and the particular circumstances of situation, which rendered such an address necessary; circumstances, which were unfortunately so conspicuous, as to be publicly known in every part of Europe; and which he represented, as not less affecting the national character and honour, than the royal dignity.

The motion was opposed upon the ground of propriety, and the previous question immediately moved. The difficulty, as well as impropriety, of discussing a question of so nice and delicate a complexion, were principally insisted on. It would be breaking in upon the domestic affairs of the royal family; and venturing to enquire into matters of so tender a nature, as the conduct observed, and the transactions that passed in private life, between the Sovereign and his brothers. These were, they said, matters by no means fitting to be brought forward as subjects of public discussion. The Sovereign should

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should be entirely left to his own discretion, and he would undoubtedly act with propriety. It could not but be presumed, that at a proper time and season, he would, besides consulting his own dignity, give way also to the impulses of nature and affection. But, they said, it would be in the highest degree indecent, and presuming beyond the limits of duty and reverence, to pretend to dictate to the throne, either with respect to private family conduct or affairs, or to the disposal of its own property.

As the motion had the whole weight of the court party to encounter, and that several on the other side were not satisfied as to its propriety, the previous question was carried, after a short debate, by a majority of 130 to 45, by which the proposition was laid by without a direct negative.

An unexpected incident upon this occasion, gave rise to another debate, upon new and extraordinary ground, which was agitated for several hours with great warmth. To explain this matter it will be necessary to observe, that on the preceding day but one, upon presenting the bill for the augmentation of the civil list revenue to receive the royal assent, the Speaker took that occasion of addressing the throne in a speech, for which, upon their return, he immediately received the unanimous thanks of the house, attended with a compliment of desiring that it might be printed. These thanks, and the motion for printing, were prepared by some members of the minority, and the vote

passed before ministers had time to recollect themselves.

Some passages in this speech gave, however, great offence at court, and their effect was even said to be observable, at the time and place where they were addressed. The Speaker not only expatiated largely upon the zeal and affection shewn by the commons, but in giving the greater force to these circumstances, he observed, "that it was in a time "of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, when their constituents were labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne:"—and in displaying the liberality of the grants, he used the following expressions,—"Have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue;—great beyond example; great beyond your Majesty's highest expence.—But, all this, Sir, they have done, in a well grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely, what they have granted liberally."

The compliment which succeeded these passages, and closed the speech, was not thought by some to atone sufficiently for their freedom. The zealous courtiers, and those who affect to be, or are known under the familiar denomination of King's friends, were offended in the highest degree, and considered some of these expressions as conveying little less than an absolute insult, and others as equally misrepresenting the sense of parliament, and the real state of the nation. It was accordingly determined to let the Speaker feel his supposed error, and that he should be rendered so

so fully sensible of their indignation, as that it might operate in preventing any future lapse of the same nature.

In the short debate upon Sir James Lowther's motion, a gentleman high in office, and who has long been distinguished as a principal leader in a powerful party, arraigned the conduct of the Speaker with unusual vehemence, and the most pointed acrimony. He asserted, that the national situation had been grossly misrepresented, in a place, and in the presence of those, where nothing but truth should be heard. That the sentiments declared at the bar of the other house to be those of the commons, were the direct reverse; that they knew better; that for one, he totally disclaimed them; that he was certain a very great majority of the house equally did so; and, that before the house rose, he trusted it would be proved, whether they thought with the chair or with him.

This charge, as soon as the division upon the former question was over, was taken up by the Speaker, and his speech being first read, he appealed to the journals for the vote of thanks that succeeded it, to shew that the sentiments which he had then expressed, were, at that time, the sentiments of the house. The gentleman who had made the charge, now repeated and enforced it with still greater vehemence, and with additional circumstances of heat, and acrimony. It, however, now began to appear pretty evident, that many of those gentlemen on the same side with himself, particularly the ministers, grew apprehensive that he was

pushing matters too far; for though they were very well pleased that the Speaker should meet with what they thought a seasonable rebuke, they were not at all disposed to make any needless trial of the temper of the house, by urging the point, in an unprofitable experiment, to a disagreeable and hazardous extremity. They wished matters to rest in their present state, and the Speaker to lie under an implication of censure, without its being directly passed, or brought absolutely to the question.

The opposition were not, however, disposed that it should be passed off in that manner. Mr. Fox immediately took the business up with his usual spirit and ability. He said that the gentleman had come to the point at once; the charge was open and direct; the Speaker had either misrepresented the sense of the house, or he had not; the question was fairly at issue, and could be decided only by the house. For his part, he suspected the Speaker had not delivered the sentiments of the majority, although it was evident from their journals, that he had given the sense of the house. He would, however, now, bring the question to a fair decision, by obtaining the sense of the house upon it; and if the motion he was going to make met with a negative, he was of opinion, that the Speaker could not any longer sit in that chair with reputation to himself, nor be any further serviceable in his station, after being thus publicly deserted, bullied, and disgraced. He accordingly moved,—“ That the “ Speaker of this house, in his “ speech to his Majesty at the “ bar

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" bar of the house of peers on
" Wednesday last, and which was
" desired by this house, nem. con.
" to be printed, did express, with
" just and proper energy, the zeal
" of this house for the support of
" the honour and dignity of the
" crown, in circumstances of great
" public charge.

The speaker declared, with great resolution and firmness, that he could not think of continuing in a situation in which he could be no longer serviceable, which must evidently be the case, if the motion should be rejected. That he had wished and intended to express the sense of the house, and imagined he had done so; that he thought himself fully justified by the time, the occasion, and various concurrent circumstances, which all combined to stamp what he had offered with peculiar propriety. That he still conceived he had discharged his duty, which was confirmed by the public approbation he had received; and he concluded by declaring, that he would not sit longer in that chair than he was in the free exercise of his duty.

The gentlemen on the other side wanted much to get rid of the question, without bringing it to any decision. They, in general, did not approve of certain passages in the speech; but they did not from thence intend any censure upon the Speaker. He might, without the smallest blame, have mistaken or misstated the sentiments of the house. Nay, in the hurry and inadvertence of an extempore address, he might, very possibly, not even have stated his own exactly. They accord-

ingly recommended in the most pressing terms to the Speaker, and strongly urged the mover and supporters of the question, to withdraw the motion; and finding that this proposal would not be complied with, they moved for an adjournment.

But the opposition were upon this occasion firm and unanimous. The house was involved in a dilemma, which they were determined it should not get clear of without a decision. Either it must join them in supporting the chair, or submit to its utmost degradation, and become chargeable at the same time with the glaring inconsistency of undoing and reprobating on the Friday, those acts which they had done or applauded on the Wednesday.

They insisted, that the speech was founded in truth; that it was highly necessary at this season; and that it was delivered with the strictest propriety. Their applause of the Speaker for his speech was not greater, than for his firmness, in not accepting of any compromise short of immediate reparation, notwithstanding the threats and soothings, which, they said, had been alternately used to induce him to recede, and by so doing, to sacrifice equally his own honour, and the dignity of the house. They laughed at the new logic introduced by the opposers of the motion, who contended that the speech was not the sense of the house, because, on the very day it was spoken, the house had declared the most warm and hearty approbation of it. This, they said, might be a ministerial way of drawing conclusions; but it was certainly a curious

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curious one; perhaps they had been taught by long experience, that the sense of the house, as declared by a majority, was not its genuine sense.

They insisted, that if the motion of adjournment was carried, it would not be safe for the Speaker to continue a moment longer in his present situation; that he would on all future occasions lie at the mercy of his enemies, and be liable to disgrace whenever he fulfilled his duty, if the faithful discharge of it happened to be contrary to the opinion or liking of those, who are able to command a temporary majority to overrule acts of unanimity. That the dignity of the house was at an end, if the chair was permitted to be degraded; that the present blow was ultimately aimed at the house through the chair; that it was an experiment made purely to try what pitch of humiliation and disgrace they would bear to be let down to; the attempt of a court faction, to render the representatives of the people despicable, as well as detestable, in the eyes of their constituents.

The gentleman who had made the charge, at length conceded in some degree. He said he had not a wish (if it had been even in his power, which it was not in any degree) to drive the Speaker from the chair. He only maintained, which he still would, the right of private opinion, and freedom of speech; of censuring what he did not approve, without regard to persons; he said he meant no more from the beginning; and if it was now the sense of the house, he would readily agree in withdrawing the

motion of adjournment. This being accordingly done, Mr. Fox's motion was carried without a division, and with the appearance of almost general unanimity. To render the triumph compleat, another gentleman in opposition moved, that the thanks of the house should be returned to the Speaker for the disputed speech, which was likewise agreed to.

A transaction of a most extraordinary nature in the East Indies, and which amounted to no less than a revolution, and the total subversion of established government in our principal settlement on the coast of Coromandel, together with several subsequent proceedings relative to it in Leadenhall-street, were the means of bringing the affairs of the East India company once more within the cognizance of parliament.

It may appear almost needless to make any observation upon the difficulty of coming at the bare and undisguised truth, in the violence of faction, and amidst the rage of contending parties, even when their sphere of action is confined to our own country, and that their operations appear almost to be within our personal observation. If such be the case at home, how must the difficulty increase, when the scene of action is laid in the remotest parts of the globe, from whence no disinterested evidence can be obtained, where every native of these countries is under a necessity of chusing his side, and of course imbibing, in a greater or lesser degree, the violence, prejudices, and animosity of his party; whilst the only indifferent spectators, if any, are strangers, who cannot understand the subject.

ject of debate, and from whom we could derive no information if they had comprehended it entirely. In these circumstances, a short sketch of those distant and controverted affairs, such as they immediately appear, and so far only as is requisite to give some general view of our present situation in those countries with respect to the public safety and advantage, and to illustrate transactions at home with which they are necessarily connected, is all that can be reasonably attempted, leaving it to time, and to future illucidation, to ascertain fact, or to rectify error, and to the parties concerned, to enter into specific explanations of their conduct.

It is represented on one side, and seems to be pretty well established, that Mahammed Aly Cawn, the Nabob of Arcot, has, through the protection and alliance of the East India company, grown to very great power, and it is farther said, to an uncontrolled influence, not only over the natives, but by various management over the British settlements also; in the principal of which, for the purpose, it is said, of exercising this influence, he has chosen his residence. He has formed a considerable army on the European model, and officered mostly by English; and has in general conducted himself with such prudence and ability, as to support himself in a higher stile of dignity, than most of those magistrates, who set up for a sort of independent powers on the decline of the Mogul empire; and who were aided in their establishment by the fortune and arms of the East India company. To his ability is said

to be joined very extensive views, and a very aspiring ambition.

Some events seemed calculated to cherish this ambition, if it really exists in the degree that is represented. A few years since, the spirit of administration seemed strongly disposed to trace out new sources of power and wealth, wherever they could be discovered in the various and remote parts of this widely extended empire. Besides the well known and much disputed interference in the conduct and government of the East India company's affairs at home and abroad, it became a part of the system of policy then pursued, that the crown should superintend the affairs of the company, and on an idea of oppression suffered by the princes of the country, should establish connections in India, totally distinct and separate from that body. In pursuance of this design, agents, or ministers, were employed with plenipotentiary powers, to negotiate treaties directly with some of the princes of the country, and particularly with the Nabob of Arcot.

Whatever wisdom there might be in this measure, or however great the future benefits to be derived from it may be, it certainly tended much to lower the East-India company in the eyes of the natives, and to relax that force of opinion, which forms the principal instrument in the government of mankind throughout every part of the globe. Totally ignorant of, and totally incapable of comprehending, the distinct distributions of power which are allotted to the different parts in a mixed government like ours, and that complicated

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cated series of connection and dependence which form their union, they only looked up to the company in the gross, as the greatest aggregate body of power of which they had any knowledge. They saw that her simple and avowed servants, far exceeded their greatest princes in power. They had heard of the King of Great Britain, and they had also heard of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces; these were titles, the nature of which they neither understood, nor gave themselves the trouble to enquire into; but they had long experience, that the English and Dutch companies were in the full possession and exercise of all the powers of sovereignty.

But when these people discovered that those whom they had hitherto been accustomed to consider as the princes of the earth, were in reality the mere subjects of a great monarch; (a state which they could not separate, in their ideas, from the most abject slavery) that they had not even the honour of being his servants; when these agents, to give the greater efficacy to their commission, led them into all the most hidden arcana of the company; when they perceived with amazement, that even its delegated powers were to expire in a few years, and that they were to look elsewhere for all future interests and connections, they awakened as from a dream; and they regarded with an indignation and contempt, equal to the supposed imposition, those whom they had lately revered as the first of mankind. Some conception may be easily formed how the pride and self-importance of these new-

made princes was swelled, when, instead of abject dependents on the company, they found themselves considered as friends, allies, sovereigns, and equals, by that mighty and overruling power, with whom they had till then been in a manner unacquainted.

In this state of affairs, and in possession, it is said, of the power, wealth, and qualities which we have described, Mahomed Aly Cawn is represented, as applying them with such art and success, that he obtained an overruling, if not boundless influence, in the English counsels at Madras. If such was his design, he certainly shewed himself equal to the pursuit, for laying by the jealous state and distant pride of an eastern despot, he seemed to become, as nearly as it could possibly be admitted, an inmate, and member of the British community at that settlement, making the outward, or black town, as it is called, the principal seat of his residence, where his palace adjoins to the walls of the English fortress or town. By these means he is said to have been in constant possession of every transaction that passed, and even of every proposal or design that originated in that settlement. Undoubtedly, it seems an extraordinary degree of confidence in the faith of an eastern prince, to admit of so close and intimate a connection. Those who were jealous of, or enemies to the Nabob's power and greatness, have not failed to suggest that such a degree of nearness could not be unattended with danger, if any evil was intended. For as it is in the power of this prince to draw great bodies of troops

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troops at all times into the settlement, as customary guards and attendants upon his person, and that these might be easily, and perhaps imperceptibly increased, in a season of unsuspecting confidence, it would be well if any watch or strictness of discipline could guard against a surprize in such a situation. His friends have given the thing another turn; and alledge his residence there, as well as the army he keeps generally officered with English, as decisive proofs of an attachment, without design on his part, and without danger on ours.

Whatever foundation there may be for the charge or supposition of this Prince's possessing an undue influence at Madras, it is certain, that a joint enterprize which was undertaken by the company's forces in that presidency with the Nabob's, afforded too much colour to such an opinion, and unhappily contributed its full share, along with other eastern exorbitancies, deeply to affect our national character both in Europe and Asia. This was the famous expedition to Tanjour; an enterprize which has been heard of in every part of the world, and which had been, on the first narratives, condemned for its cruelty and injustice wherever it was heard.

The Rajah or King of Tanjour, is one of those Gentoos Princes, whose ancestors had been long in possession of the country, and who had never been entirely subdued by the Mogul Tartars; but were rendered tributary to their empire, the government being otherwise retained in the original hands. This Prince had been for many years, and was still, in alliance

both with the company and Nabob, and had been engaged with them in the joint perils and fortune of former wars. On the settlement of the affairs of the East Indies at the treaty of Paris, it was thought necessary to put an end to the dispute between France and England, who supported the interests of different pretenders to power in that part of the world. France was accordingly obliged to admit Salabat Jing as lawful Soubah of the Decan; and Mahomed Ali Cawn, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. The Mogul, who was much at the discretion of the English, readily granted, on his part, from time to time, such powers as were necessary to confirm these arrangements. To complete this settlement, accounts were liquidated, and a convention made under the authority and guarantee of the company between their own allies. Mahomed Ali was to be paid the arrears of, and to receive in future, the tribute due to the Mogul, for which he was to be accountable to their common superior, and to have a considerable sum for himself. The King of Tanjour was to remain in all other respects as before in possession of his dominions, to which his right was fully confirmed. Subsequent to this agreement a variety of transactions happened between him and the Nabob; and new accounts were opened.—The King of Tanjour alledging that he ought to be allowed for his expences in certain military services rendered to the Nabob; the Nabob insisting on receiving immediate payment of the sums stipulated under the late convention without any abatement.

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These disputes, whether carried on upon their proper bottom, or raised as a pretence of more serious quarrel, continued for some time. The Nabob, however, prevailed with the powers at Madras, and with the royal commissioners, to fall in with his views, without any hearing or decision on the merits of the controversy; and a war, on pretence of a delay in payment, broke out.

The King of Tanjour was little able to withstand the united force of the company and Nabob. He, however, defended his capital bravely; but being subdued after a sharp siege, the unhappy Prince was stripped, without remorse or pity, of every thing but life. His kingdom was seized by the Nabob, his treasures applied to the expences of the war, and to other present purposes, whilst his subjects, who were among the most industrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conquest and government.

The account of this transaction, with all the circumstances of the conquest, spoil, and ruin of a friend and ally, in so unexampled a manner, excited the greatest indignation in the company when it arrived in England. Nor were they without apprehensions for the security of their settlements on the coast, when they considered the boldness of design, promptness of execution, and apparent indifference, as to their liking or resentment, which distinguished this enterprize. That visible ascendancy over the counsels and actions of their servants, of which the Nabob had now given so dangerous a

proof, was still more alarming than any other circumstance.

Nor was his conduct in other respects, both then and after, wholly without suspicions. Among other instances which did not carry the most pleasing appearance, he removed his eldest son, a Prince of a moderate temper, from all power, and from the command of his army, and placed it in the hands of his second son, a young man who is represented as violent in his temper, and possessed of ability, with a strong spirit of enterprize.

This violent deposition of the King of Tanjour, with all its circumstances, was so contrary to the policy of the company, and to the spirit of its orders, that it was immediately determined to restore him to his dominions; but the manner of carrying this design into execution required some consideration. It was not to be committed into the hands of those servants, who had already set their seals upon the outrage and wrong; and who, if other motives did not even prevail, could scarcely now retract from that decided part which they had already taken, and in which it was thought they had so vast a pledge of interest. The company was far from wishing to fall out with the Nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they disposed to urge matters to any extremity with their servants for what was past. The restoration was determined, as an act equally necessary from the motives of justice, public opinion, and good policy; but they wished that all previous matters relative to it should rest in oblivion, without further censure or enquiry.

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It was therefore necessary to send some person out as Governor and President of Madras, who should carry full powers for the execution of this difficult and delicate commission; and it was equally necessary, that the person so sent, should, besides the most uncorruptible integrity, possess a degree of weight and personal consequence, sufficient to impress a due sense of respect on the Nabob, and to awe any factions that prevailed among their own servants. A full knowledge of the company's affairs at home and abroad, with such a stock of resolution and judgment as would be sufficient to restore energy to their government on the coast of Coromandel, were matters so essential in their nature, that no deficiency in any part could be dispensed with.

It could scarcely be imagined, that the late Lord Pigot would not be looked too, as answering these ideas more fully than any other person that could be thought of, and as calculated in an extraordinary degree to give effect to all the purposes of the company. His brave defence of Madras had given the first effectual check to the views of the French in the East, and the first turn to fortune in our favour. To him the company were, perhaps, indebted for their now holding a single possession in India; and to him the Nabob of Arcot was undoubtedly indebted for his present exalted fortune. His civil government had been as celebrated as his military exploits; and his private character had procured him a very extensive share of esteem. It was, not unreasonably, supposed, that the appearance of such a man, upon that ground

which had been the scene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were still fresh and alive, and where the principal and most dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with distinguished advantages; and that he might have performed those acts without envy or jealousy, which would have been opposed or resented in other hands.

In the mean time, the Nabob, with great foresight and art, was providing for every possible, as well as expected consequence of the Tanjour business. The long interval that necessarily elapsed before the arrival of Lord Pigot in his government afforded a full scope for the exercise of his ability in intrigue. Although the part which they had already taken would necessarily influence the conduct of the English presidency, in wishing or endeavouring to support or confirm their own former act, he thought it, however, prudent to interest them still more deeply in the measure of securing to him in perpetuity the possession of the kingdom of Tanjour. He accordingly borrowed vast sums of money from several members of the council, and some others, whose weight and influence he thought might be necessary towards the completion of his scheme, and, is said, directly or indirectly, to have mortgaged the revenues of Tanjour to them, as a security both for the principal, and for a prodigious interest arising on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. To provide against the worst that might happen, besides the pillage of the

Rajah's treasures and personal effects, and the seizure of his revenues, the country was stripped as bare as it could possibly admit, without the total ruin of the people, and the immediate destruction of their agriculture and commerce.

Lord Pigot arrived in his government about the latter end of the year 1775. As we shall avoid entering into the disputes between him and the majority of his council, any farther than is immediately necessary for conducting our narrative, much less shall we enquire into the merits of those questions which were so violently agitated between them, and which produced the extraordinary consequences that followed.

It will be sufficient to observe, that, notwithstanding the previous measures which had been taken, and the violent opposition he experienced, Lord Pigot succeeded so far in the execution of his commission, as to restore the King of Tanjour to the possession of his ancient and hereditary dominions. This measure, however, seems to have procured him the mortal enmity of the Nabob and his son, and the most determined opposition within his government. In consequence of this opposition, he was thwarted and over-ruled in every measure by the majority of the council, who were supported and strengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The disputes grew hotter from day to day. And the cabals with the Nabob grew closer and closer. It was of the greatest moment to send a proper officer to Tanjour. The opposition part of the council first

agreed with the Governor on the measure, and the designation of the person. They soon changed their mind about the latter. They insisted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do all things, notwithstanding the dissent of the Governor. He contended, that the Governor was a necessary part in every legal and orderly act of government. Lord Pigot finding that he could not bind them to any plan; and that, as he affirmed, they were actuated by no other principle than that of traversing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, he took a strong and bold measure, and having put the question, carried the suspension of two of the council by his own casting vote. We call it a strong measure, for whether it be strictly legal is not yet determined. By his supreme authority in the fortress, he also, for similar disobedience, put under an arrest Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the forces.

A violent outcry was immediately raised by the secluded members against this act, as tending to give the Governor an arbitrary power by the annihilation of the council appointed to assist or to controul him. But they were resolved not to rely on argument or debate; or to wait the decision of the company on the controverted point. They formed with great secrecy a plot for securing the person of the President, and for effecting a revolution in the settlement, which should put the power entirely into their own hands. In consequence of the arrest laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel Stuart, of course, succeeded to the immediate command

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mand of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the highest state of intimacy and apparent friendship with the Governor, he notwithstanding entered deeply into the views of the suspended members and their powerful adherents, who had altogether formed the abovementioned scheme, under the instigation and direction, as it is said, of the Nabob and his son, for violently seizing Lord Pigot's person, and deposing him with equal violence from his government.

The throwing of the whole British military weight into the same scale with the Nabob, his son, army, and a majority of the civil power, rendered the fate of the Governor inevitable. To carry the plot into execution, it was necessary to induce him to go out of the garrison, as any military violence offered to his person within the precincts of the fortress would involve the actors in the severe penalties of the mutiny laws. The Colonel, well aware of this circumstance, with a degree of address, which, however it may do credit to his ability in point of stratagem, on other accounts, can hardly admit of praise, or even of excuse, inveigled him to quit that situation which could alone afford him protection and security. Having passed the fore part of the day with Lord Pigot on the most friendly terms, the excessive heat of the weather afforded an opportunity in the evening for persuading him to go for the night to a villa, appropriated to the use of the Governors, whither, as an inducement, the Colonel invited himself to accom-

Aug. 24th, pany him. In the way,
1776. they were surrounded,

as had been concerted,

by an officer and party of sepoys, both in the company's service; when, under the auspices, and the immediate hands of his late companion and guest, he was thrust out of his chaise with circumstances of not less rudeness than violence, and carried prisoner to a place called the Mount, where he was placed under a strong military guard, and confined in the strictest manner.

In this situation, his life seems for some time to have been in such imminent danger, that the only object of surprize at this distance is, how he could possibly have escaped it. Public orders in writing, signed by the principal leaders of the conspiracy, were immediately issued to the guard at the Mount, by which instant death was to be the consequence of any attempt towards a rescue of his person. The Nabob's son, who was not expected to be capable of hesitating at any act usual in such cases among eastern politicians, had a powerful army spread all over the country: it was even said by Lord Pigot's friends, that he had before made attempts to procure his assassination; and evidence has been given, by the party on whom the attempt was supposed to be made; that he had offered great rewards to a British officer in his service for the accomplishment of that purpose.

However this may be, an extraordinary act of resolution, and very strong exertion of great natural fortitude in a most trying and perilous situation, seems too evidently, in one instance, to have been the means of preserving his life. He was awaked, in the dead of night, by the arrival of an officer with a party of horse, who brought a peremptory order for his immediate

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diate removal from the Mount, without any specification how he was to be disposed of, or whether he was to be carried. In this dreadful situation, Lord Pigot absolutely refused to quit the place, in that time and manner. He told them, with an undaunted voice and countenance, that they might murder him, or tear him to pieces, if they chose it; these were acts which he could not prevent; but they must be done upon the spot; for he declared, with the utmost vehemence, that they should not take him alive from the place. He then appealed to the feelings of the soldiers; reminded them of his rank, of his former acts, and his present condition; and called upon them, whether as men, as soldiers, as Britons, or as Christians, they could bear to see him dragged away to be murdered, in so base, so cowardly, and so inhuman a manner. It is said, that the countenance and appearances of sympathy shewn by the soldiers prevented the further prosecution of this design.

In the mean time, the conspirators and their friends had possessed themselves, under a course of legal forms, of all the powers of government. They declared, that the Governor had, by a breach of some bye laws, and by some failures in not exactly complying with all the clauses of the regulating act, forfeited all legal right and authority to act in his station; and they accordingly appointed their principal leader to be his successor in the government. Notwithstanding their former complaints of Lord Pigot, for suspending certain members of the council, they proceeded to copy the act, which

they had assigned as a reason for his being violently deprived of his government, and removed his friends from the council. Both parties sent confidential persons as expresses to England, the one to arraign, and the other to support and justify the late proceedings.

Nor was the Nabob idle, unprepared, or liable to surprize. He had already provided, with his usual foresight, for those contingencies, which various combinations of time, circumstance, and situation might produce. He early saw, that his conquest of Tanjour, and his ascendancy at Madras, could be productive of no lasting advantages, unless he could establish such a powerful interest in England, as would stamp upon them a permanency and real value. His mind was comprehensive enough to form the idea, or facile enough to receive the impression from others, of turning the tables, for once, upon Europe, and of introducing, for the first time, eastern intrigues into the councils and politicks of the western world. The example of public agency and negotiation had already been set on the one side, and there seemed no reason why it should not be adopted on the other, whenever particular circumstances rendered it necessary. He had accordingly, some considerable time before, appointed an agent or minister to manage and conduct his affairs in England; with the artful and politic caution of not making a public display or avowal of his powers, until such circumstances should occur, as rendered it necessary to bring them into action. This agent was likely to have the more weight, as being a subject of Great Britain, and employed

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employed also on business of importance on the part of the Governor-General of Bengal.

It cannot but appear extraordinary at this distance, to whoever considers the nature and violence of the revolution at Madras, which in all royal governments could have been construed into nothing less than treason and rebellion, that it should notwithstanding have received the sanction and approbation of the governor and council of Bengal. Such, however, is the fact; and this circumstance has afforded a colourable ground of argument to the friends of the gentlemen at Madras, in the defence or exculpation of the conduct of the prevailing faction. On the other hand, the Mayor and his court at the latter place, together with the greater part of the British inhabitants, including even those who exercised various offices in the several departments of government or justice, declared loudly and openly against the violence and injury offered to their governor, and with a spirit and resolution, which must ever reflect honour, when founded upon principle, ascribed, without reserve, their obedience to, or acting under, the present system of power, merely to their desire of preserving order and peace in the settlement, and not by any means as admitting or acknowledging its justice or legality.

The account of this revolution, excited great surprize and indignation in the company in general. Whilst almost all persons, whether included in that body or not, felt the utmost commiseration for the deplorable situation of Lord Pigot, whose fate people in general were apt to consider as fixed and irrevo-

cable. The friends of the pre-fiding faction at Madras, and of the Nabob, were, however, numerous and active. What appeared to many more surprising, the weight of government leaned to that side.

In the court of directors, the numbers were in the beginning pretty equal on each side. It is to be observed, that few went so far as entirely to justify the late transactions in all their parts: but those who supported that side of the question, as they condemned in the strongest terms Lord Pigot's conduct, which they charged with violence and irregularity in many instances, but particularly in the suspension of two members of the council, and the arrest of the commander in chief, contended from thence, that the subsequent measures adopted by the majority of the council, became in part, if not in the whole, indispensably necessary for the preservation of the settlement. That by his ill-treatment of the Nabob, he had greatly endangered the company's affairs on the coast. That all matters of form, and lesser considerations, must give way to the common safety, in cases of extreme danger. That the restoration of the King of Tanjour was in itself an imprudent and unwise measure. That if it had been even otherwise, at the time of the determination in England, the distance of time and place, and the changes which affairs necessarily underwent in the interval, rendered the majority of the council at Madras much better judges of the propriety or impropriety of carrying the measure into execution, than the company at home could possibly be supposed.

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They concluded, by descending to throw the foulest aspersions on Lord Pigot's character, and by attributing his conduct, relative to the Rajah, to those unworthy motives, which, though not in the least supported, as against him, it must be confessed, have had upon many occasions too great an influence upon public transactions in India. But it was obvious, that the conduct of his adversaries might at least as naturally be attributed to the same cause; especially as Lord Pigot had acted in obedience to his direct orders.

On the other side, they insisted upon the justice, the policy, and the wisdom, of the restoration of the King of Tanjour. It was the deliberate, and in a greater degree than usual, unanimous act of the company. The resolution for that measure had been carried by the votes of seventeen directors; it was confirmed and ratified by the company at large. There would be at once an end to their jurisdiction, authority, and government, if their servants were admitted to examine the propriety of their public acts, to reject or obey them as they thought proper; and to degrade, confine, or assassinate, those persons whom they appointed to superintend, controul, and correct the conduct of these very servants, and to whom they had entrusted the exertion of public measures of the greatest importance. This conduct was rendered still more alarming, though not more atrocious, by the late extraordinary and dangerous interference of the military in the civil government. I seemed as if their troops had laid the conduct of the

pretorian bands before them as a model, and intended to create or destroy governors or commanders, as the others had done emperors. Perhaps, said they, their next exploit may be, the setting up of the presidency of Madras to the highest bidder. Indeed, it could afford no extraordinary degree of surprize now, if it should be discovered, that all the settlements on that coast were put up to sale.

They said, that the company had no danger to apprehend on the coast of Coromandel, but what arose from the overgrown power and wealth of the Nabob, and from the ascendancy which, by unfair and unworthy means, he had obtained over the conduct of their servants. The causes and effects on both sides played into each other. He had obtained undue power and wealth through the fault of their servants, and that power and wealth enabled him to confirm and enlarge the system of corruption which he had already successfully established. They insisted, that it was the true interest of the company, to afford every possible protection and encouragement to the honest, harmless, and industrious race of Gentoos, and to support, at every risque and expence, their mild and inoffensive governments, against the tyranny, rapacity, and cruelty, of the lazy, insolent, and treacherous Mahometans. It was to the unremitting industry of the former, that we owed all the advantages which we derived from India. The Moguls were in reality only to be considered as lawless bands of plundering Tartars, who had for several ages ravaged the finest countries,

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countries, and rioted in the spoils of the most industrious people upon the face of the earth.

The King of Tanjour, they said, was an useful and faithful ally. His preservation was entwined with our own security, as he was the only check which the country afforded, upon the rising power and daring ambition of the Nabob. Our fidelity, justice, and kindness to him, would have gained the confidence and affections of all the natural princes of the country; and we should thereby have established on the spot, and independent of any exertion on our side, a counterpoise to the restless ambition, and insatiate rapacity of the Moguls. But by the injustice of not only betraying our ally into the hands of his enemy, but becoming principal actors in his destruction, and sharers in his spoil, we have totally changed the prospect; and instead of friendship, a general confederacy of the Marattoes, and other warlike Gentoo tribes, against us, is what we have every reason to expect; nor would it be a matter of wonder, if, forgetting for the time all other resentments, they should, one day, even join the Nabob to punish our injustice and perfidy. In these circumstances, they said, the only right and wise policy for the company to pursue, was to act justly; to shew the world that her faith and integrity were inviolate; and to convince the eastern nations, by her conduct to the king of Tanjour, that however venality and corruption might have laid hold on some of her servants, she was in herself pure, and incapable of receiving any taint of that nature.

These transactions having been laid before the proprietors at their quarterly general court, March 26, 1777. a resolution was agreed upon, and afterwards confirmed on a ballot, by a majority of 382, to 140 proprietors, recommending to the court of directors, to take the most effectual measures for restoring Lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the company, as Governor and President of the settlement of Madras; and for enquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment, and in dispossessing him of the exercise of the legal powers wherewith he was invested.

In consequence of this resolution, several others were soon after passed in the court of directors, by which Lord Pigot was restored to the full exercise of the office and powers from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been ejected from the council, were reinitiated; a resolution was passed, that seven members of the council, including the commander in chief of the forces, had violently subverted the government by a military force; these seven members were accordingly suspended from the Company's service, and cut off from any other means of restoration, than the immediate act of the directors. A new council was appointed, in which Mr. Rumbold, who was to succeed Lord Pigot, was to hold the second place, during the remainder of his administration, and a new commander of the forces, the third place. The four ejected and restored members

members of the former council, were admitted to seats in the present. The court of directors also passed a vote of censure upon Lord Pigot's conduct, which, they declared, appeared in several instances to be reprehensible.

Notwithstanding the censure upon Lord Pigot in these resolutions, and that they were only carried by a casting vote in the Court of Directors, the friends of that nobleman, as well as the oppugners in general of the presiding party, and late proceedings in Madras, were now satisfied, that they had gained a decisive, if not complete victory. The vast majority of proprietors which had appeared on their side in the late ballot, notwithstanding the apparent efforts of administration, in conjunction with the parties who were immediately concerned against them, seemed, not only to afford a moral certainty, that the present resolutions would be carried into effect, but a reasonable degree of probability, that the business would no longer be controverted.

They, however, found themselves mistaken. All possible impediments were thrown in the way, to retard, clog, or embarrass the business in the Court of Directors. The instructions which were intended to accompany the resolutions to India, were so operose, perplexed, and voluminous, and afforded so much room for alteration and discussion, that the main subject seemed in some degree to be lost or forgotten, during the toil and vexation of clearing the rubbish in which it was involved. Nor were the opposite parties idle. The friends of the Nabob, as well as those of the ruling party at

Madras, made proselytes to their opinion; and were preparing to shew, that they had not yet exhausted all their resources.

In this course of things, a gentleman who professed to tread only upon amicable ground, with the laudable intention of pleasing all parties, and reconciling all differences, moved three resolutions, which he seemed to think would fully answer these desirable purposes. By the first of these, after reprobating the treatment which Lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary restoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an enquiry into his conduct. By the second, his friends in the council were ordered home. And by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewise recalled.

Although these propositions were at first laughed at, and treated as too incongruous and absurd, to merit serious argument or refutation, it was soon found that they were powerfully supported, and intended seriously to disarm, or render nugatory, the former resolutions. Some change had taken place in the direction, and a new president was placed at its head, in consequence of the late election at the India House. All the questions preparatory to the main propositions, were carried in different courts by considerable majorities. At length, administration having, as it is said, exerted all its weight and influence, in bringing up the servants and dependents of government from every part of the kingdom, to support the grand question in favour of the

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the three resolutions, it was carried upon a ballot by a majority of 97, the numbers being 414, to 317, who opposed the recal of Lord Pigot. The lookers on stood astonished at this strange revolution in the opinions and order of the Company.

This decision in the India House induced a gentleman, who has long been distinguished for his great knowledge of the affairs of the Company, and the very active, though generally unsuccessful part, which he has for several years taken in its public transactions, to bring the business before a higher tribunal. Governor Johnstone moved in the House of Commons for several resolutions, upon 22. which, if carried, he intended to found a bill for the better securing our settlements in the East Indies. The resolutions went to a strong approbation of Lord Pigot's conduct as governor; to a confirmation of those late acts of the Company, which had been either passed in his favour, or in condemnation of the conduct of the faction at Madras; and to annul the resolution for his recal.

This business was warmly taken up by the opposition, and the more vigorously supported, that such of the seceding gentlemen, as still continued in town, had of late attended the business of the House, and were now present. On the other hand, the framer of the resolutions in question, with the President of the India Company, and others of those who had the principal share in their support and determination, were also present; so that the House seemed to be in the fullest possible possession of the subject. The motion was

strongly opposed by the friends of administration, though most of the principals were upon this occasion absent. On the other side, the most celebrated speakers of the opposition were on this day particularly distinguished; and one gentleman excited such sudden and extraordinary bursts of approbation, as were not warranted by the usual practice of that House.

It was insisted, in opposition to the motion, that Lord Pigot had been guilty of a breach of the late regulating act; that his conduct was reprehensible in other respects; that the seizure and confinement of that nobleman, and the total subversion of all legal government by the majority of the council, were also matters highly reprehensible, and deserving of the utmost censure; that in such circumstances, when charges were made, and faults must be acknowledged on all sides, nothing could be more right and equitable, than to bring all the parties to England, where only a just and impartial enquiry into their conduct could take place. That by reinstating Lord Pigot in his government, the authority of the Company, and the dignity of government, would be fully established and supported; but that as he had already abused the trust reposed in him, and been guilty of manifest violations of the constitution of the Company, his immediate removal was equally just and necessary. That besides, it would be highly cruel, as well as impolitic, in the present state of feud and animosity between the contending parties, to place Lord Pigot in a situation, which would throw those, whom he considered as his mortal enemies, naked and defenceless.

defenceless into his hands, and to lie entirely at his mercy. That however great and excellent his character might be, supposing it even all that had been represented on the other side, that was a trial too great for humanity ; it was a situation in which nowise man would wish himself involved.

They said, that the wit which had been displayed in turning the late resolutions and the conduct of the Company into ridicule, was as ill placed, and as improperly applied, as the theatrical applause which it produced was irregular and indecent. That the presidency of Madras having fallen into violent and inveterate factions, no good could possibly be expected from them ; but on the contrary, every species of evil, which negligence, the blindness of passion, or the inveteracy of design were capable of producing, must be the inevitable consequences to the Company's affairs of such a government. That in these circumstances, the recalling of all the parties, instead of being treated as an object of ridicule, should be considered as an act of the highest wisdom ; and indeed the only prudent means now left of restoring order to the settlement. That with all these motives, Lord Pigot's assistance here, and even his evidence, would be necessary towards the enquiry which must indispensably be made into the late transactions ; and if it was found that he was injured, this country was always possessed of sufficient means, and never wanted the inclination, to afford equivalent for loss, or recompence for service. They concluded, by treating the dangerous power and influence attributed to the Nabob,

as entirely chimerical ; and on the contrary, describing him as a poor dependent prince, equally incapable of acquiring influence in Madras and in England ; he had neither power nor wealth to influence or to bribe ; and all that had been represented of his arts and intrigues, of the effects produced by his agents or ambassadors, whether here or in India, were said to be equally unfounded, and to rise only from the ideal conjectures, or the malicious suggestions, of ill-informed, or ill-designing men.

On the other side, the charges against Lord Pigot were controverted, and his conduct justified. The disputed resolutions were turned to every possible point of ridicule, and treated as the most heterogeneous incoherent jumble of absurdity, that a confused imagination, and troubled brain, had ever generated. They insisted, that the Nabob, through the operation of his agency, had obtained a most dangerous and corrupt influence here, as well as in Madras. That government had been brought over to espouse the iniquitous cause of the faction there, and to enter deeply into the views of that ambitious prince. By this means a faction had been raised among the proprietors, who were influenced from motives of immediate convenience, to endanger their own interests in the Company ; thus was the honour of a tried and able servant, and the rights of a faithful ally, to be sacrificed to the meanest, basest, and most ignoble objects. For this, they said, it was, that the remotest dock-yards were stript of their inhabitants, and the alarm bell was rung, to call the friends of

of government from every part of England together, in order to carry a question in the India House; and for this purpose were noble Lords, and others, high in office, seen at the head of their respective trains of dependents, whom they led to vote in Leadenhall-street. If it be asked, what great national object was in view to occasion this extraordinary exertion of government, it may well astonish those, who are unacquainted with such transactions, to be informed, that the only ostensible motive was, to carry a foolish, but unjust and dangerous resolution, whereby Lord Pigot, who had at the price of the loss of his government, and at the utmost hazard of his life, fulfilled the instructions and designs of the Company, was to be for a moment restored, immediately after most ridiculously degraded, and then brought home under one common charge of delinquency with those persons, who had not only rejected the authority of the Company, but had totally subverted the legal and established government, in one of its principal settlements. How would their astonishment increase if they discovered, that a Tartar prince on the coast of Coromandel, with the assistance of a corrupt faction of the East India Company's servants, was the author, guide, and director, of these extraordinary movements in England?

They reprobated in strong terms, and severely charged with mischief and ruin to the Company, the measure which had been adopted by the crown, of sending plenipotentiaries to negotiate and enter into treaties, without its concert, and in violation of its authority; with the country powers in India.

They insisted, that the interference of administration in Leadenhall-street and in India, had hitherto been equally ruinous, and would at length prove equally fatal, to that body. What they found themselves unable to do in Leadenhall-street, they compleated effectually on the spot. The directors were rendered cyphers at home, whenever they thought proper, or found it necessary, to differ in act or opinion with administration; or their orders were defeated in India, whenever they carried any points here, which were contrary to the views of the King's servants. Thus was the authority of the Company despised and contemned by its own servants; separate interests were formed, and factions established, in all its departments; and thus it lost all its former influence, weight, and respect, with the different powers of India.

It was said to be a new and extraordinary position, that the presidency of Madras should of necessity be recalled, because some factions had broken out in that body. If this doctrine was laid down as a general rule of practice, which the present arguments went to, all governors and their councils, with all bodies of men appointed to the administration of government or justice, in our settlements or colonies in every part of the world, must be in a continual state of recal or annihilation. The appearance or pretence of faction could never be wanting. This would, however, be a most comfortable doctrine to the Nabob of Arcot, and tend essentially to the establishment of that power and independence, to which he was making such hasty advances. If any

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Any future governor should venture to oppose or controvert any of his designs, he was at no loss in knowing how to bribe a majority of his council; his treasures would always procure factions, and those factions the immediate recall of any person who was weak and hardy enough to undertake such a government, with the smallest intention of honestly discharging the duties of his office.

The arguments brought for not restoring Lord Pigot, from an apprehension of his revenge, were said to be of the same complexion. A governor was to be illegally, cruelly, and without any adequate cause, deposed, imprisoned, his life threatened, and highly endangered, by a bribed, corrupted council, and he was not to be restored, lest he should not then use his power with moderation. Was ever a more ridiculous system broached? The principle of doing mischief is to be maintained, and its consequences endured, lest by disarming the authors, and restoring authority to its rightful possessors, they might chance to exert it too rigidly on the delinquents.

They observed with great acrimony, that most of the ministers, with the law officers of the crown, were so sensible of the shameful nature of this business, that they did not chuse to appear in it, to which only they attributed their absence; and they expressed with equal asperity their apprehension, that those absent servants of the crown had a full persuasion, that a sufficient number, who were not troubled with those scruples, would attend to do it for them. Upon the whole they concluded, that as

administration had taken so open and decided a part in this business, and by the energy and over ruling influence of the crown, had seduced a majority in the Company, not only to act contrary to their own interests, and to every principle of justice, honour, and equity, but directly to overturn and undo the Company's own acts at home, and all that had been done, in obedience to its instructions, by its servants abroad, the intervention of parliament, in order to rescue that body from the ruinous consequences of the undue influence under which it laboured, became not only right and proper, but indispensably necessary for its preservation.

The question being at length put at one o'clock in the morning, the motion for the resolutions was rejected upon a closer division than usual, the majority being only 90 to 67.

Leaving the confusions of the east, we are now to turn to those of the west. The great age, and greater bodily infirmities of the Earl of Chatham, were not sufficient to restrain his ardour in what was so great a national concern, and which he considered as so much misconducted. As little were the disappointments that had attended his former efforts in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies, any more than the fate of all familiar propositions which had been made by others, capable of deterring him from the further pursuit of an object which he evidently held so much at heart.

The Lords being summoned for the purpose,

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pose, this nobleman, moved for an address to the throne, representing, that they were deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British colonies in America; and advising, that the most speedy and effectual measures should be taken for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; with an assurance, that the House would enter upon that great and necessary work with cheerfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of those valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and to redress would be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born subjects, than the rigours of chastisement and the horrors of civil war, which hitherto had served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must finally end in dissolving all ties between Great Britain and her colonies.

In further explanation of the design and purpose of his motion, the noble Earl said, that under the words *accumulated grievances*, he meant to convey every thing which had passed in parliament relative to America since the year 1763. That the proposal was specific. He meant by it the redress of all the American grievances, particularly including the right of disposing of their own money. He said this would be

the herald of peace; that it would open the way for treaty; that though much must still be left to be settled by treaty, this, by affording a proof of the sincerity and amicable disposition of parliament, would remove the present insurmountable impediments to an accommodation, when every thing else would follow of course. He particularly insisted upon the immediate necessity of adopting the proposed measure, from the imminent danger to which in our present situation we were exposed to the house of Bourbon. A few weeks, he said, might decide our fate as a nation. A treaty between France and the Americans would be that final decision. We should not only lose the immense advantages which we had derived from the vast and increasing commerce of our colonies, but that commerce, and all those advantages, would be thrown into the hands of our natural and hereditary enemies. He said that our acts of navigation were already virtually repealed in consequence of this unhappy contest; and that however grievous it was to repeat, and fatal in the fact, the trade of England was now carried on in French and other foreign bottoms. He stated the impracticability of conquering America, and the ruinous consequences of the conquest if it had been practicable. And he declared, in that strong and emphatic language, by which this great statesman and orator was so peculiarly distinguished, that America was contending with Great Britain under a masked battery of France, which would open upon this country, as soon as she perceived that we were sufficiently weakened for her

her purpose, and found herself sufficiently prepared for war.

We have so repeatedly gone over all the ground of debate relative to the American contest, that it would be needless, if not superfluous, to enter particularly into the present. The motion was supported with great eloquence and ability, most of the powerful speakers on the side of opposition in the House of Lords having entered warmly and deeply into the debate. On the other side, the Lords in administration opposed it principally upon the supposition or assertion, that independency was the primary object with the Americans, and that their present opposition was merely the effect of a pre-meditated design of several years standing; that in such a disposition and determination on their side, all concession on ours would be not only fruitless, but ridiculous, degrading, and highly encouraging to their rebellious designs. That such an instance of meanness, and acknowledgement of weakness, would equally draw upon us the contempt of our friends, and excite into action the design or malice of our enemies. They denied any danger from France, and that the assistance given to the Americans proceeded from the court or ministers; the supplies of arms and military stores which the Americans received, and the numbers of French officers that served in their armies, were attributed to the spirit of enterprise in soldiers, and of avarice in merchants. They said, that the proposed address arraigned the conduct of the nation, and condemn-

ed, in the most improper terms, measures which had repeatedly received, in the fullest manner, the sanction both of parliament and people. That the motion held out nothing new, and was no more than a repetition of what had been proposed by the noble Earl himself, as well as by two noble Dukes, at different times, in that house.

It will be easily seen, that some of these arguments or positions afforded sufficient room to be replied to or controverted. The question being at length put about ten at night, Lord Chatham's motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 99, including 23 proxies, to 28, including two proxies, who supported the question.

The money bills, and a vote of credit, being now passed, the season far advanced, and such public business as it was thought fitting to bring forward in the present session dispatched, a prorogation of parliament became a matter of course. In the speech from the throne, an entire approbation of the conduct of parliament was expressed, and thanks returned for the unquestionable proofs they had given, of the continuance of their attachment to his Majesty's person and government, of a clear discernment of the true interests of their country, and of their steady perseverance in maintaining the rights of the legislature. The Commons could not be sufficiently thanked for the zeal and public spirit with which they had granted the large and extraordinary supplies, which there had been a necessity of requiring for the

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the service of the current year; and an acknowledgment was made of the particular marks of their affection to his Majesty, as well in enabling him to discharge the debts of his civil government, as in making so considerable an augmentation to the civil list revenue for his life. The speech concluded with a declared trust in the divine providence, that by a well concerted and vigorous exertion of

the great force which had been put into the royal hands, the operations of the present campaign by sea and land, would be blessed with such success as might most effectually tend to the suppression of the rebellion in America, and to the re-establishment of that constitutional obedience which all the subjects of a free state owe to the authority of law.

C H A P. VII.

State of affairs at New-York previous to the opening of the campaign. Loyal provincials embodied, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon. Expedition to Peek's Kill. To Danbury, under General Tryon. Magazines destroyed. General Wooster killed. Vessels and provisions destroyed at Sagg Harbour, by a detachment from Connecticut, under Colonel Meigs. Advantages derived by General Washington, from the detention of the army at New-York through the want of tents. Different schemes suggested for conducting the operations of the campaign, all tending to one object. General Sir William Howe takes the field; fails in his attempts to bring Washington to an action; retires to Amboy. Turns suddenly and advances upon the enemy. Skirmishes. Americans under Lord Sterling defeated. Washington regains his strong camp. Royal army passes over to Staten-Island. Alarm excited by the preparations for the grand expedition. General Prescott carried off from Rhode Island. Rate of interest upon the public loan, advanced by the Congress. Monuments decreed for the Generals Warren and Mercer. Fleet and army depart from Sandy Hook. Force embarked on the expedition. Congress, and Washington alarmed by the loss of Ticonderoga. Fleet arrives at the River Elk, after a tedious voyage, and difficult passage up Chesapeake Bay. Army lands at Elk Ferry. Declaration issued by the General. Washington returns to the defence of Philadelphia. Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red-Cay Creek. Various movements on both sides. Action at the Brandywine. General Knyphausen makes an attack at Chad's Ford. Lord Cornwallis marches round to the forks of the Brandywine, where he passes, in order to attack the enemy's right. Defeats General Sullivan. Pursues his advantages until stopped by night. General Knyphausen passes at Chad's Ford. Enemy every where defeated. Loss on both sides. Reflections on the action. Victory not decisive. Foreign officers in the American service. Motions of the armies. Engagement prevented by a great fall of rain. Major-General Grey surprises and defeats a party of Americans under General Wayne. Royal army passes the Schuylkill, and advances to Germantown. Lord Cornwallis takes possession of Philadelphia. Some of

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the principal inhabitants sent prisoners to Virginia, upon the approach of the army. Attack on the new batteries at Philadelphia. Delaware frigate taken. Works constructed by the Americans to render the passage of the Delaware impracticable. Successful expedition to Billing's Fort, and a passage made through the lower barrier. Royal army surprised and attacked by the Americans at German-Town. Americans repulsed with loss and pursued. Brigadier-General Agnew, and Colonel Bird killed. Army removes to Philadelphia. Unsuccessful attack upon the enemy's works on the Delaware. Hessians repulsed with great loss at Red Bank. Colonel Donop killed. Augusta man-of-war and Merlin sloop destroyed. New and effectual measures taken for forcing the enemy's works. Mud Island, and Red Bank, abandoned, and taken with their artillery and stores. Americans burn their galleys and other shipping. Passage of the Delaware opened to Philadelphia. General Sir William Howe, finding all his efforts to bring Washington to a general action fruitless, returns with the army to Philadelphia. Americans burn their camp at Valley Forge for the winter.

WE have already shewn the state and situation of the armies in America during the winter and greater part of the spring. As the season opened, and enlarged the field of enterprise, our commanders did not neglect seizing those advantages which nature and their naval superiority presented, in a country deeply intersected by navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberless inlets and channels, which the peculiar construction of the islands and coasts, admit in their junction with the ocean and those rivers.

In the mean time a considerable body of provincial troops was formed under the auspices of General Sir William Howe, which by degrees amounted to several thousand men, and which under that denomination included, not only American, but British and Irish refugees from the different parts of the continent. This corps was entirely officered, either by those gentlemen, who for their attachment to the royal cause had

been obliged to abandon their respective provinces, or by those who lived under that protection in the New-York Islands. The new troops were placed for the temporary time of their service, upon the same footing as to pay, subsistence, and clothing, with the established national bodies of the royal army, with the further advantage to the private men and non-commissioned officers, that they were entitled to considerable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles. This measure, besides its utility in point of strength, afforded some present provision to those, who having lost every thing in this unhappy contest, were now thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for support; whilst on the other side, instead of their being an heavy and unprofitable burden to the crown, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and useful instruments in effecting its purposes. At the same time, this acquisition of strength, derived from, and growing in the country, carried a

most

most flattering appearance, and seemed to indicate resources for the prosecution of the war in the very theatre of action.

As all new forces must of course be much fitter for defence, than for active service in the field, so it added much to the apparent utility of this measure, that the royal provincials could immediately be disposed of to the greatest advantage, in the protection and defence of New-York and the adjacent islands, supplying thereby the place of veteran troops, and affording a free scope to the distant operations of the grand army. To render this defensive system for the islands more complete, Governor Tryon, who already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmost pains in its establishment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of Major-General of the provincials, whereby he was enabled effectually to combine, and bring into action the joint force of these separate bodies.

The great natural strength of hazard an engagement with us, the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in respect to the seat of war, had induced the Americans, during the winter, to erect mills and establish their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. Thus it became their grand repository, and trusting in the security of this natural citadel, neither industry was lacking, nor expence spared, in abundantly providing it with immense supplies of provisions, forage, and stores, of all sorts. A place, otherwise of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies

about fifty miles up the North River from New-York, served as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received provisions, and dispensed supplies.

Sir William Howe was well aware of these circumstances in general, and was as well convinced of the decisive consequences which must ensue from the cutting off those resources, which the enemy had with such infinite labour and expence accumulated for the support and prosecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, would not only be dangerous, from the strength of the country, and impracticability of the ground; but must from its own nature be rendered abortive; as the length, the parade, and the manner of the preparation, would afford the Americans time and warning to assemble their whole force in that quarter; where, if we still persisted in our design, we must fight under every possible disadvantage, and a moral certainty of great loss; and if they did not

chuse, even upon these terms, to Peek's Kill was, however, within reach, and the General determined to profit of that circumstance. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and other armed vessels, was sent on board some transports up the North River for that service. The enemy, Mar. 23d. 1777. upon the approach of the British armament, finding, or thinking themselves unequal to

the defence of the place, and being convinced, that there was no possible time to remove any thing but their arms and bodies, set fire to the barracks and principal store-houses, and then retired to a strong pass at about two miles distance, which commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops upon their landing, perceiving that they could not have time or opportunity to bring off the provisions or other articles, completed the conflagration. All the magazines were destroyed. The troops re-embarked when the service was performed, and the armament, after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned.

This service, however, was far from filling up the outline of the General's design. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect, and something, if possible, must still be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their resources. He obtained intelligence, that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition was accordingly undertaken for the destruction of these deposits, the charge of which, as an introduction to his new military command, was committed to Governor Tryon, who was assisted by those active and able officers, Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine. The expedition was said to be undertaken on a plan of Ge-

neral Tryon, who had flattered himself with finding a junction of many provincials in that quarter as soon as he should appear with the troops.

The detachment appointed to this service consisted of about 2000 men, who being passed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament, were landed near Norwalk in April 25th. miles to the southward of Danbury. As the country was in no state of preparation, nor under any apprehension of the design, the troops advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. They now perceived that the country was rising to intercept their return, and as no carriages could be procured, if it had been otherwise, to bring off the stores and provisions, they immediately proceeded to the destruction of the magazine. In the execution of this prompt service, the town was unavoidably burnt.

The detachment returned on the 27th by the way of Ridgefield. In the mean time the Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily arrived from different quarters, and collected such militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every possible means to interrupt their march, until a greater force could arrive to support them with effect in the design of cutting off their retreat. The first of these officers hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilst Arnold, by crossing the country, gained their front, in order to dispute their passage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the British forces, who had large covering

ing parties well furnished with field pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which a militia not very numerous were got together, prevent the Americans, upon every advantage of ground, from making bold attempts to interrupt the progress of the King's army. In one of these skirmishes, Wooster, an experienced provincial officer, who had served with some reputation in the two former wars, at an age approaching closely to seventy, and in the active exertion of a valour, which favoured more of rashness, than of the temperance and discretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded, and died with the same resolution that he had lived.

The royal forces had only got quit of Wooster, when they found themselves engaged with Arnold, who had got possession of Ridgefield, and with less than an hour's advantage of time, had already thrown up some sort of an entrenchment to cover his front. The courage and discipline of the British troops, would have triumphed over an enemy more equal in force and condition. The village was forced, and the Americans drove back on all sides. The action was sharp, and Arnold displayed his usual intrepidity. His horse having been shot within a few yards of our foremost ranks, he suddenly disengaged himself, and drawing out a pistol, shot the soldier dead who was running up to transfix him with his bayonet.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, the army was exceedingly harassed during this

day's march. Every advantageous post was seized and disputed, whilst hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to disturb the order of march, and to profit of every difficulty of ground. The army at length gained, in good time, the Hill of Compo, within cannon shot of the ships. It was then evening, and their ammunition exhausted, although it is reported, that they had been supplied with sixty rounds a man at their outset upon the expedition. The forces immediately formed upon the high ground, where the enemy seemed more determined and resolute in their attack than they had been hitherto. In this situation, the General ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets. This order was executed with such impetuosity, that the enemy were totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the shore for their reception, the troops were reembarked without further molestation.

Large quantities of corn, flour, and salt provisions, a great number of tents, with various military stores and necessaries, were destroyed in the course of this expedition. The loss of men on the royal side, was, as usual, much less considerable than could have been expected; the whole, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to 172, of whom more than two-thirds were wounded. The general loss under all these heads on the American side was more than double, and the number of the slain about four to one. On the British side no officer was killed. On theirs, besides General Wooster, they lost three colonels, and a Dr. Atwater, a gentleman

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of consideration in that country. The number of officers that happened to be in the country, and to assemble upon the occasion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilst the raw and undisciplined state of the militia, together with their weakness in point of number, obliged the former, as well as those volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to uncommon exertions, and to expose themselves in an extraordinary degree. These circumstances may account for the number of men of rank, in their service, who fell on that side.

Upon the whole, the effect of this expedition did not probably answer the expectation upon which it was founded. The actual public stores at Danbury and other places, were far inferior to what they had been supposed or represented; and though much mischief was done, it may appear doubtful, whether the loss sustained on the one side, was equivalent to the risque encountered on the other. Events, however, are not to be considered as tests of conduct, and it must ever be one of the first objects with a great General, to render the force of the enemy ineffectual by cutting off their resources.

It was perhaps in return for this expedition that the Connecticut men not long after paid a visit to Long Island. Having received intelligence that commissioners had for some time been employed on the east end of Long Island, in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour; the distance of that place from New-

York, and the weakness of the protection, which consisted only in a company of foot, and an armed schooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a design to frustrate that scheme of supplying the wants of the army. The principal difficulty and danger lay in the passing and repassing of the Sound, which was continually traversed by the British cruisers.

Colonel Meigs, an enterprising officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprise. Having passed his detachment in whale-boats through the Sound, and landed on the north branch of the island; where it is intersected by a bay that runs in far from the east end, it seems by the account, which is not in that part very clear, as if they had carried their boats over that arm of the land. They, however, embarked again on the bay, which he crossed with 130 men, and landed on the south branch of the island, within four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and notwithstanding the resistance they met with from the guard and the crews of the vessels, and the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape shot at 150 yards distance, they fully completed their design, having burnt a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on the shore. They brought off with them about 90 prisoners, consisting of the officer who commanded, with his men, the commissioners, and most of the masters and crews of the

the small vessels which they destroyed. A circumstance which renders this expedition particularly curious, if a fact, is asserted by the Americans. They say, that the party returned to Guildford, in Connecticut, in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having, during that space, not only effectually completed the design of their expedition, but having traversed, no less, by land and by water, than 90 miles. A degree of expedition, which requires some credulity to be admitted; and from whence, if the fact is established, it would appear that Meigs possesses no inconsiderable portion of that spirit which operated in the Canada expedition.

The season for action was now advanced; but from some improvidence or inattention unaccounted for, at home, the army was restrained from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage. Lord Cornwallis, however, made shift with the old tents, to encamp the forces at Brunswick on the hills that commanded the Raritan, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; the example being followed at the latter place by General Vaughan.

This delay was of the utmost importance to the Americans. The winter campaign had been principally carried on by detachments of the militia, the greater part of whom returned home when the time of their service was expired. Others, more generous, more patient of toil, or more sanguine in the common cause, outstayed the allotted time, merely from a confederation of the weakness of the army, and the ruin which must attend their departure before it was

reinforced. In the mean time, the business of recruiting under an engagement of serving during the war, or even for three years, went on but slowly. The term of service was contrary to the genius and habits of the people, and the different provinces found the greatest difficulty in raising any thing near the stipulated proportion of troops which had been allotted for each by the congress. In this extremity, the making of draughts from the militia, was looked to in several as the dernier resort. Such an act of force, however, upon those who were contending for liberty on the most enlarged plans, and who considered all the rights of freedom as sacred, was irksome and dangerous. Every method was tried, to avoid having recourse to this disagreeable measure and final resource. In some of the colonies the enlisting of apprentices, and of Irish indentured servants was permitted, contrary to former resolutions and decrees, with a promise of indemnification to their masters. As a farther check upon the increase of the force in the Jerseys, the New-England provinces, which abounded with men, were taken up with their domestic concerns. An invasion was expected on the side of Canada; Hudson's River and Rhode-Island afforded continual room for apprehension; nor did an expedition against Boston appear at all improbable; especially, as the great number of British prizes which were brought into that port, had, besides rendering it an object of the first importance, renewed, and even increased, if possible, the detestation and abhorrence with which that people had been long regarded.

In such circumstances, the advantages of an early campaign, and the benefit which the enemy derived from the delay, are obvious. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign, grew bold in summer; and the certainty of a future winter, had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. Upon this increase of strength, towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his former position in the neighbourhood of Morris-Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle Brook.

Upon this single movement, hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerseys. Washington turned that advantageous situation, to every account of which it was capable. His camp, winding along the course of the hills was strongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better secured by its immediate natural or artificial defences, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw in the way of an enemy. In this situation he commanded a view of the British encampment on the hills of Brunswick, and of much of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy.

The great object of the campaign on the side of New-York seems to have been, that Sir William Howe should have penetrated through the Jerseys to the Delaware, driving Washington before him, so as to clear those provinces entirely of the enemy, at the same time, reducing the inhabitants to so effec-

tual a state of subjection, as to establish a safe and open communication between that city and the army. If in the prosecution of this design the enemy hazarded a battle, nothing was more wished, nor could any great doubt be entertained of success; or if they constantly retired, which was more to be expected, the consequences in regard to the general objects would be nearly the same, and the army having, by the reduction of the Jerseys, left every thing safe in its rear, and secured the passage of the Delaware, would of course become masters of Philadelphia, which from its situation was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Washington, at the certain expence and hazard of a battle.

In this manner several conceived and reasoned on the operations in Jersey. Others were clearly of opinion, that the bringing of Washington to a decisive action upon terms of any tolerable equality with regard to ground, in such a country, and against his inclinations, w^s a thing impracticable. That if he could not be brought to such an action in such a manner, so as wholly to drive him out of the Jerseys, the attempt to pass a river like the Delaware, full of armed vessels in its stream, strong forts in its islands, great obstructions in its channel, with an enemy in front, and leaving a strong army on their rear, would be a very unadvised enterprize; and the failure in it would be the total and immediate ruin of the royal cause in America.

On the other hand, if the obstacles in the Jerseys were found to great, that they could not be over-
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sonic without much loss of time and expence of blood, it was thought advisable, in those circumstances, to profit of the powerful naval force, and the infinite number of transports and vessels of all sorts which lay at New-York; to combine this powerful auxiliary (which had hitherto produced such signal advantages, in every instance where it could be brought into action) with the land force, and by conveying the army by sea to the place of its destination, to elude all those difficulties, by which the passage through the Jerseys might be clogged. In this alternative, the object was still the same, the means of attaining it being only changed, Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly chosen, and the general opinion at that time pointed it out as the most eligible, the passage by sea seemed the most secure of its effect, though unquestionably the slowest in the operation. The Delaware, or the great Bay of Chesapeake, opened the way into the heart of the richest and best of the central colonies, and led either directly, or by crossing a country of no great extent, to the possession of that place. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms, and center of action, whilst every part of the three hostile and flourishing provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be exposed to the combined powerful action, and continual operation of the land and marine force. However, before this plan was adopted, as we shall see, measures were taken in the Jerseys, if possible, to bring Washington to an action.

The operations in the southern or central provinces, however efficacious or extensive, did not, by any means, include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was of course to be expected on the side of Canada, where a very considerable army had been collected, and by the success of the last campaign on the lakes, had a way opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of the New-England and New-York provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to General Burgoyne, who was reported to be author of the plan. The great body was to be seconded by a lesser expedition from the upper part of Canada, by the way of Oswego to the Mohawk River. This scheme was eagerly adopted by the ministers, who founded the greatest hopes upon its success. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete possession of Hudson's River, the establishment of a communication between the two armies, the cutting off all intercourse between the Northern and Southern Colonies, with the consequent opportunity of crushing the former, detached and cut off from all assistance, it was now hoped would have been realized. The greater hopes were conceived of it, from the opinion entertained of the effect of the savages on the minds of the Americans. It was known, that the provincials in general were in great dread of them from their great and desolating manner of making war. These were therefore collected at great expence, and with much labour, from all parts of the continent. In a word, this expedition seemed to become the favourite object of the present year.

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The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anspach troops, and a number of British and German recruits, having at length arrived at New-York, by the beginning of June, the General, Sir William Howe, passed over to the Jerseys, and took the field about the middle of that month. The enemy were now in a strong state of defence. Washington's army, besides the advantages it derived from the inaccessible posts which it occupied, was become more considerable as to number and force. Several bodies of the New-England troops, under the Generals Gates, Parsons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to pass over to the Jerseys, whenever opportunity invited their action, or the necessity of their friends demanded their assistance. At the same time, the Jersey militia assembled from every quarter with the greatest alacrity, so that in every position it took, and motion it made, the army was watched and environed by enemies.

The General left nothing untried that could provoke Washington to an engagement, nor no measure untried that could induce him to quit his position. He pushed on detachments; and made movements, as if he intended to pass him, and advance to the Delaware. This manoeuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of his lines, where he continued for four days, exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the situation of his posts, hoping that some weak or unguarded part might be found, upon which an attack could be ventured with a probability of suc-

cess, or that, in the nearness of the armies, chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occasion some movement, or be productive of some circumstance, which would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Washington knew the full value of his situation. As he had too much temper to be provoked or surprized, into a dereliction of his advantages, so he had too much penetration to lose them by circumvention or sleight. And he had too long profited of that rule of conduct, from which he had not once hitherto deviated during the course of the troubles, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a single action, to depart from it upon this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

Sir William Howe did not yet seem to have abandoned his design, of enticing Washington to quit his fastnesses. He suddenly retreated, and June 19th, not without some apparent marks of precipitation, from his position in the front of the enemy, and withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. If the General's design was what we have supposed, this movement produced all the immediate effect which he could have expected. The army was eagerly pursued by several large bodies of the American regular forces as well as of the Jersey militia, under the command of the Generals Maxwell, Lord Sterling, and Conway; the latter of whom was a Colonel of the Irish Brigade, and one of that numerous train of officers in the French service, who had taken an active part against

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against Great Britain in this unhappy civil war.

Such trifling advantages as the best regulated retreat must afford to the purifiers, and some excesses committed, perhaps with a view to the general design, by the retiring soldiers, served to increase the ardour, and inflame the passions of the Americans. The measures which the General immediately adopted at Amboy completed the delusion. The bridge which was intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which separates the Continent from Staten Island. The heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army, were passed over. Some of the troops followed; and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army. By these judicious measures, if the immediate design failed of effect, every thing was forwarded as much as it could be for the intended embarkation; a measure of which the Americans had as yet no knowledge.

Every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, in inducing the Americans to believe, that this retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their superiority, and a dread of their power: Even Washington himself, with all his caution and penetration, was so far imposed upon by this feint, that he quitted his secure posts upon the Hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble Town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties.

The British General lost no time in endeavouring to profit of those circumstances. He immediately marched the army

back by different routes, and with great expedition, from Amboy. He had three objects in view. To cut off some of the principal advanced parties; to come up with, and bring the enemy to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble Town; or, if this design, through the celerity of the enemy, failed in the effect, it was intended that Lord Cornwallis, who, with his column, was to take a considerable circuit to the right, should, by turning the enemy's left, take possession of some passes in the mountains, which, by their situation and command of ground, would have reduced them to a necessity of abandoning that strong camp, which had hitherto afforded them so advantageous a security.

Lord Cornwallis having dispersed the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at length with Lord Sterling, who, with about 3000 men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered by artillery judiciously disposed, not only lay full in his way, but shewed a determination to dispute his passage with vigour and firmness. The ardour excited upon this occasion by an emulation between the British and Hessian troops was conspicuous and irresistible. All obstacles gave way to their impetuosity in pressing forward, to try who should obtain the honour of first coming to a close engagement with the enemy. The party of Americans first attacked, unable to withstand the shock, were soon routed on all sides, having sustained, besides no inconsiderable loss in men, that of three pieces of brass ordnance, which were taken by the British guards, and the Hessian grenadiers. The pursuit was continued as far as Westfield,

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but the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, prevented its effect.

In the mean time, Gen. Washington soon perceived, and as speedily remedied his error, by withdrawing his army from the plains, and again recovering his strong camp on the hills. At the same time, penetrating into Lord Cornwallis's further design, he secured those passes in the mountains, the possession of which by the British troops, would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, which could not have been executed without danger.

Thus was this, apparently, well concerted scheme of bringing the enemy to an action, or at least of withdrawing them from their strong holds, rendered abortive, by the caution and prudence of Gen. Washington. Sir William Howe was now convinced, that he was too firmly attached to his defensive plan of conducting the war, to be induced by any means, other than by some very clear and decided advantage, to hazard a general engagement. Nothing then remained to be done in the Jerseys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force in his rear, appeared to the British commanders no better than madness. All delay was therefore not only fruitless, but a waste of that time and season, which might be employed to great advantage elsewhere. The General accordingly returned with the army to Amboy, on the second day from its departure on the expedition, and passed it over on the next to Staten Island, from whence the

embarkation was intended to take place.

The preparation for this grand expedition excited a general alarm throughout the Continent, Boston, the North River, the Delaware, Chesapeak-Bay, and even Charles-Town, were alternately held to be its objects. General Washington, in pursuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New-York, and the other islands, was constantly dispatching expresses to put those places upon their guard, against which, from immediate information, he supposed for the time the storm to be directed. It was one of the manifest advantages of proceeding by sea, that it was impossible for Washington directly to know where the storm would fall. He must therefore keep his position; and the King's army must necessarily make a considerable progress towards its object, before he could be in a condition to resist them; and such a progress would not leave him that choice of posts, by which hitherto he had avoided a general action.

During the cessation procured by preparation on the one side, and apprehension on the other, a spirited adventure on the side of Rhode Island, not only retaliated the surprize of Gen. Lee, but seemed to procure an indemnification for his person. Col. Barton, a Provincial, with several other officers and volunteers, passed by night from Providence to Rhode Island, July 10th. and though they had a long passage by water, they eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard boats which surrounded the island, and conducted their enterprise,

terprise with such silence, boldness, and dexterity, that they surprised Gen. Prescot, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his Aid-de-Camp, through all those perils, safe to the Continent. This little adventure produced much exultation on the one side, and more regret than it seemed to deserve on the other, from the influence which it must necessarily have on the destination of Gen. Lee. It was, however, particularly galling and grievous to Gen. Prescot, who not long before had carried matters to such a length, as to set a price upon Arnold, and offer a reward for taking his person, as if he had been a common out-law or robber; an insult which Arnold immediately returned, by setting an inferior price upon the General's person.

Some time previous to these transactions, the Congress had found it necessary to advance the rate of interest upon the large loan which they proposed for the service, and upon the credit of the United Provinces, from four, which was first offered, to fix per cent. As a testimony of public gratitude, and a future incitement to, what they considered or held out, as virtue and patriotism, they ordered, that a monument should be erected at Boston, in honour of Major General Warren, who commanded and fell in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, in honour of Brigadier General Mercer, who was slain in the action near Prince-Town; the resolution conveying, in a very few words, the highest eulogium on the character and merits of the deceased. They like-

wise decreed, that the eldest son of the former of these gentlemen, and the youngest son of the latter, should be educated at the expence of the United States. As Mercer had a good landed estate, the propriety of adopting his youngest son as the child of the public is obvious.

Notwithstanding the preparations that had already been made for the embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of near 300 vessels, yet such are the unavoidable delays incident to such operations when at all extensive, that it was not until the 23d of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, the General ordered some transports, with a ship cut down to act as a floating battery, up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which succeeded so far as to induce Washington to detach a considerable body of his army across that river.

The force that embarked upon the expedition consisted of 36 British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left for the protection of New York and the adjoining islands. Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions. So much was the active force of the army restrained, by the possession, which it was, however, indispensably necessary to hold, of these important posts. It is said, that the General intended

intended to have taken a greater force with him upon the expedition; but that upon the representations of Gen. Clinton, who was to command in his absence, of the danger to which the islands would be exposed, from the extensiveness of their coasts, and the great number of posts that were necessarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of these arguments by relanding several regiments.

Whilst both, Gen. Washington and the Congress were sufficiently engaged, by their attention to the movements, and apprehension of the designs, of the powerful fleet and army which was conducted by the brother Generals and Commissioners, the rapid progress of General Burgoyne on the side of the Lakes, and the unaccountable conduct of their own commanders in abandoning Ticonderoga; were events so alarming and unexpected, that they could not fail to perplex their counsels, and considerably to impede their defensive preparations in other parts. The Congress behaved with firmness in this exigency. They immediately issued orders for a recall to head quarters, and an enquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had abandoned Ticonderoga: they directed Washington to appoint other commanders; and they likewise directed him to summon such numbers of the militia from the eastern and central provinces for the northern service, as he should deem sufficient for restraining the progress of the enemy.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the fleet and army, engaged on the expedition. It cost them a week to gain the Capes of Delaware. The information

which the commanders received there, of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, afforded so little encouragement to the prosecution of their design by that way, that it was given up, and a passage by Chesapeak Bay, to that part of Maryland which lies to the East of that vast inlet, and not at a very great distance to the South-West of Philadelphia, was adopted in its place, as presenting fewer obstacles to their operations. The winds were so contrary in this part of the voyage, that the middle of August was turned before they entered Chesapeak Bay; a circumstance highly inconvenient and irksome in that hot season of the year, with so great a number of men and horses crowded and cooped up in the vessels; but which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences, if the foresight of the commanders had not guarded against every event, by the unbounded provision they had made for the voyage, as a failure in any one article, even that of water, would have been probably irremediable.

The winds fortunately proved fair in the Bay, so that the fleet gained the mouth of the River Elk near its extremity, in safety, thro' a most intricate and dangerous navigation for such a multitude of vessels, in which the Admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his usual ability and perseverance. Having proceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their passage, the army was at length relieved from its long and tiresome confinement on board the transports, being landed without

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without any opposition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and condition which could scarcely have been expected, on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions, the General not permitting the troops to be much encumbered with baggage; indeed the scarcity of carriage rendered even a great abridgment in the article of tents necessary.

In the mean time, Gen. Washington, with the army from the Jerseys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia, and upon advice of the descent at Elk, advanced to the Brandywine Creek, or River, which, crossing the country about half way to that city, falls into the Delaware. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 15,000 men, which was probably about the number, making the necessary allowance for posts and communications, that the royal army could bring into action.

Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Pennsylvania, the Delaware Counties, and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total desertion and desolation of the country in the front of the army, published a declaration, in which he promised, that the strictest regularity, good order and discipline, should be observed by the army, and the most perfect security and effectual protection afforded to all his Majesty's peaceable and well-disposed subjects; extending at the same time this security and protection to such persons, who not hav-

ing been guilty of assuming legislative or judicial authority, might otherwise have acted illegally in subordinate stations, upon the provision of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanor for the future. He also offered a free and general pardon to all officers and soldiers in arms, who should surrender themselves to the royal army.

It was not till the 3d of September, that the army was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and pursue its course towards Philadelphia. In the mean time, the enemy had advanced from the Brandywine, and taken post on Red Clay Creek, from whence they pushed detachments forward, to occupy difficult posts in the woods, and to interrupt, by continual skirmishes, the line of march. As the country was difficult, woody, and not well known, and that the genius of the enemy lay to profit of such circumstances, the General advanced slowly, and with extraordinary caution. He was from necessity, as well as disposition, sparing of his troops. Recruits were brought from a prodigious distance, and procured with difficulty even at the source. Every man killed, wounded, or taken, was to him an irreparable loss, and so far as it went, an incurable weakening of the army, for the present year at least. On the other hand, the enemy were at home. Every loss they suffered was not only immediately repaired, but the military ability of the survivors was increased by every destruction of their fellows.

This caution could not, however, prevent some skirmishes, in which the royal forces were almost always victorious. It does not appear

pear that the Americans made all the use that might be expected of the advantages which the country afforded for harassing and impeding the progress of the British army. After several movements on both sides, the enemy retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took possession of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of that river.

In this situation the British army Sept. 11th. at day break, advanced in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of Gen. Knyphausen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the center of the enemy's line; where they expected, and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other less practicable fords and passages for some miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced on both sides about ten o'clock, which was well supported during the day, whilst the General, to amuse and deceive the enemy, made repeated dispositions for forcing the Ford, the passage of the River seeming to be his immediate and determined object. To impede or frustrate this design, they had passed several detachments to the other side, who, after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the River. Thus the noise and semblance of a battle was held up, and the expectation kept continually alive to the most immediate and decisive consequences.

Whilst the attention of the Americans was thus fully occupied in the neighbourhood of Chad's Ford,

and that they supposed the whole royal force was in their front; Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a long circuitous march to the left, until he gained the Forks of the Brandywine, where the division of the river rendered it of course more practicable. By this very judicious movement, his Lordship passed both branches of the river at Trimble's and at Jeffery's Ford, without opposition or difficulty, about two o'clock in the afternoon; and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right.

General Washington, having, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon; endeavoured, as well as he could, to provide against its effect, by detaching General Sullivan, with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppose Lord Cornwallis. Sullivan shewed a considerable share of judgment and ability in the execution of this commission. He took a very strong position on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, his artillery advantageously disposed, and both flanks covered with very thick woods.

As this disposition obliged Lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle; it was about four o'clock before the action began. Neither the good disposition of the enemy, the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, were at all sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of the British and Hessian troops. The light infantry, chasseurs, gradiers, and guards, rushing on through

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through all obstacles and dangers, drove the enemy, in spite of all their efforts, though not without a spirited opposition, from their posts; and pursued them pellmell into the woods on their rear. In the mean time, a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken, took a second strong position in a wood on the same side, from whence, after some considerable resistance, they were dislodged and pursued by detachments from the second line.

Several bodies of the troops that were first engaged, got so deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerness of pursuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the mean time, as the main and collected body continued advancing, they came upon a corps of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken possession of a strong post, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. A very warm engagement now ensued, and this post was so vigorously defended, that it was some time after dark before it could be forced. The darkness, the uncertainty of the ground, of General Knyphausen's situation, together with the extreme fatigue which the troops had undergone, in a long march and severe action, which had scarcely admitted of the smallest respite during the whole course of the day, all concurred in preventing the army from pursuing its advantages any farther.

General Knyphausen, after successfully amusing the enemy all day with the apprehension of an attack which he did not intend, made his passage good in the evening, when he found that they were already

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deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this instant, the approach of some of the British troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the enemy into such a consternation; that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all parts. The lateness and darkness of the evening, prevented a pursuit here, as it had done on the right.

A few hours more daylight, would have been undoubtedly productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans.

A part of their troops, among whom were particularly numbered some of the Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceedingly well in some of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmness, and resolution, and preserving such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not have discredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly. Their loss was very considerable, which probably was the cause that it was not particularly specified in their own accounts. In the Gazette it was computed, at about 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners. They also lost ten small field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all, but one, were brass.

The loss in the royal army was not in proportion, being something under five hundred, of which the slain did not amount to one-fifth. The officers suffered considerably, especially in wounded, though no one of higher rank than

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a captain was killed. The enemy retired first to Chester, and on the next day to Philadelphia. The victorious army lay that night on the field of battle.

Washington, so far as we can judge at this distance, seems to have been more out-generaled in this action, than any other since the beginning of the war. This conclusion is not, however, to be considered as established; as we are sensible that it may well be questioned, from the premises even before us. The defense of such a length of river, intersected with fords, and some at remote distances, was undoubtedly impracticable. If it be asked then why the attempt was made, it may be answered, that his great object was to harass, and to interrupt the progress of the royal army, to Philadelphia, by every possible means, which did not involve his own in the risque of a general engagement; that even a superior loss of men, was not to be considered by him, to whom perhaps it was necessary to learn, even by a dangerous experiment, the improvement and state of his own troops. His choice of a post on the Brandywine, in preference to those more defensible that were nearer to Philadelphia, has been censured; but how far this choice was altogether in his power does not fully appear. And, however deficient he was in point of intelligence, with respect to Lord Cornwallis's movement, he shewed great ability in his endeavours to remedy that negligence, by the prompt and judicious measures which he took to cover his right. Whatever the merits or demerits were on this side of the question, it must be acknowledged, that the

movements of the royal army were judicious and masterly.

The present unhappy contest was so interesting to foreigners, and rendered America so conspicuous a theatre of action, that it drew bold and enterprizing spirits, from different parts of Europe, either merely in search of glory and rank, or to acquire military experience and improvement. Among the numerous instances of this nature which might be given, a few are necessary, and will be sufficient. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, of the first rank, and of large fortune, was so carried away by this enthusiasm, as to purchase and freight a ship with military stores (in which he embarked with several of his friends) for the service of the Americans; he bore a command, and was wounded in this action. The Baron St. Ovary, another French volunteer, for whose release the Congress shewed a particular attention, was soon after made a prisoner. De Coudry, a French General, was about this time drowned in the Schuylkill, through his eagerness to come in time into action. Roche de Fermoy, was a member of the council of war, who had signed the resolution for abandoning Ticonderoga. Puławski, a noble Pole, commanded a detachment of American light-horse, in the action of the Brandywine. Count Grabouskie, another Polish nobleman, was about the same time killed on the North River, exhibiting great intrepidity on the British side, and bestowing his last breath in encomiums on the undaunted courage displayed by the partners of his danger, and witnesses of his fall.

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It is to be observed, that in the battle of the Brandywine, the rebel forces were met in the open field, and with no very great advantage of situation. A victory was clearly obtained over them; but it was not of that final and decisive kind which the public had expected as the certain consequence of such a meeting. People rarely consider how much trivial and accidental circumstances render all things of this kind extremely uncertain, even with any superiority of troops, or goodness of generalship.

Notwithstanding the victory of the King's troops, and the precipitate flight of the enemy, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumspection; and it did not seem unnecessary; for the rebels were not disheartened; and Mr. Washington exerted himself with ability and diligence to repair his defeat. The army was posted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Asheton, whilst a detachment was sent to seize on Wilmington, which was made a receptacle for the sick and wounded. Upon a movement towards Goshen, the General received intelligence upon his march, that the enemy had quitted Philadelphia, and were advanced upon the Lancaster road, a few miles above that place. Upon this advice, he took such effectual measures for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed could have frustrated his design. An excessive fall of rain, which overtook both armies upon their march, and which continued without intermission for 24 hours, rendered both parties equally and totally incapable of action.

In the course of a number of

movements on both sides, which took place for some days after, and in which every measure was ineffectually used, to involve the enemy in similar circumstances to those which they had so lately and with such loss escaped, intelligence having been received, that General Wayne, with 1500 men, was lying in the woods upon some scheme of enterprize, in the rear, and at no great distance from the left wing of the army. Major-General Grey was detached at night, with two regiments, and a body of light infantry, to surprize that corps. That General conducted the enterprize with equal ability and success; and, perhaps, in emulation of a remarkable action of the late war in Germany, took effectual measures that a single shot should not be fired in the course of the expedition, and that the execution should only be done by the point of the bayonet. In the prosecution of this design, the enemy's out-posts and pickets were completely surprized and forced without noise, about one in the morning, and the troops being guided by the light of their fires, rushed in upon the encampment, where a severe and silent execution took place, about 300 being killed or wounded upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken; the remainder escaping by the darkness of the night, and some prudent dispositions made by the officer who commanded the Americans, with the loss of the greater part of their baggage, arms, and stores. The victors, in this brise action, lost only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the same number wounded.

The General finding that the enemy could not by any means be brought to action, and that they were evidently abandoning even the protection of the capital, rather than hazard that final decision, made such movements, and took such positions as gave him the command of the Schuylkill, and enabled him, at length, to pass the army over that river without opposition. There being nothing now to impede his progress, the army

Sept. 26th. advanced to Germantown, and Lord Cornwallis, on the next morning, took possession of Philadelphia. Thus was the rich and flourishing city of Philadelphia, the capital late of the most rising colony, and attended with the most singular circumstances, that history can give any example of, and thefeat of that general congress of delegates, who dispensed laws and government to the continent of North America, reduced without opposition, and consequently without damage.

This circumstance was more fortunate than had been expected. For it was generally apprehended, and had been even spoken of by themselves as a settled and fixed determination, to destroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than suffer it to become a place of arms, and the centre of operation to the British fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and some other of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been justly considered as strongly attached to the royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling powers, had been taken into custody upon the immediate danger

of an invasion. These gentlemen positively refused to give any security in writing, or even verbal attestation, of attachment, submission, or allegiance, to the present government, or of not holding a correspondence with those whom they represented as enemies. They even refused to confine themselves to their respective dwelling-houses, and boldly appealing to the laws for redress and security to their persons, strongly reproached those, who under the pretence of asserting and protecting the liberties of the subject, had involved the whole continent in civil war and contention, and who thus, at the same time, in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, deprived them of their personal liberty, and of every security which they derived from the laws. They were answered, that the laws themselves, and all other considerations, must give way to the public safety, in cases of great and imminent danger; that there was no new nor particular hardship in the present measure, which was justified by the practice of all states in similar circumstances; that in England, in its highest state of freedom, and under its happiest governments, the Habeas Corpus law was suspended in cases of internal commotion, or the apprehension of foreign invasion; that there, suspicion only was a sufficient ground for securing the person of the subject, without regard to rank, quality, or to any security he might propose to give for his peaceable demeanour; but that their situation was much more favourable to themselves, if their incorrigible obstinacy, their dangerous designs against the state, and their mortal enmity

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enmity to the government, had not precluded them from its benefit; they were not retained in prison merely upon suspicion, however strong and well founded that was, and however justifiable the measure would be upon that ground only; it was immediately in their power to return in the most unrestrained liberty to their habitations, only by complying with that very moderate test of their principles and conduct which was required, and shewing that obedience to government, and good disposition to the state, which every member of society owed to the community to which he belonged, as a return for the protection which he received. But that as they denied all allegiance to the state, they of course disclaimed its protection, and forfeited all the privileges of citizenship; whilst by refusing every security for their peaceable demeanour, they could only be considered as its most dangerous and determined enemies. As these gentlemen were unconquerable in their resolution not to submit to the proposed test, they were all sent off to Staunton, in Virginia, as a place of security, upon the approach of the royal army.

As soon as Lord Howe had received intelligence of the success at the Brandywine, and the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, he took the most speedy and effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, not only to be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to supply the army with those provisions, stores, and necessaries, which he knew, must by that time have been indispensably necessary. The voyage was intricate, tedious,

and dangerous; and nothing less than the superior skill, and ability which was exerted, in the conduct and management of so great a number of ships, could have prevented the loss from being considerable. As the passage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the western or Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourse of the American vessels between their upper and lower posts, as to protect the city from any insult by water. The necessity of this measure became obvious, almost as soon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, they commenced, and supported for some hours, a very heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, display the judgment, which their knowledge of the river might be supposed to afford. Upon the falling of the tide, the Delaware grounded so effectually that she could not be got off, which being soon perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with so true a direction and excellent effect, that the Delaware being obliged to strike her colours, was boarded and taken by an officer and detachment of that corps. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately profited of the effect of the battalion guns, by directing the whole fire of the batteries to the other vessels, which were

were compelled to retire with the loss of a schooner which was driven ashore.

The Americans had at vast expense, and with wonderful labour and industry, constructed great and numerous works, to render the passage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia impracticable. In the prosecution of this design, they had erected works and batteries upon a flat, low, marshy island, or rather a bank of mud and sand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware, near the junction of the Schuylkill, and which from its nature was called Mud, but from these defences, Fort-Island. On the opposite shore of New Jersey, at a place called Red Bank, they had also constructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between, or under the cover of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of frames or machines, to which, from a resemblance in the construction, they had given the appellation of chevaux-de-frize, being composed of transverse beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and strongly headed with iron. These were of such a weight and strength, and sunk in such a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and destructive to any ship which had the misfortune of striking against them. No attempt for raising them, or for opening the channel in any manner, could, however, be made, until the command of the shores on both sides was fully obtained.

About three miles lower down the river, they had sunk other ranges of these machines, and were constructing for their protection some considerable and extensive

works, which, though not yet finished, were in such forwardness as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jersey side called Billing's Point. These works and machines were further supported by several gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire-ships. In a word, the Delaware seemed to teem with every defensive preparation, which could render the hostile operations and movements of a fleet, in the confined and uncertain navigation of a river, extremely dangerous.

Upon the representation of Captain Hammond, of the Rocabuck, who with some other ships of war had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the General detached two regiments, consisting of three battalions, under Colonel Stirling, to dislodge the enemy from Billing's Fort. The detachment having crossed the river from Chester, where the ships lay, performed the service effectually without loss or opposition. Oct. 1st. The enemy, without waiting to be attacked, as soon as they heard of their approach, immediately spiked their artillery, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greatest precipitation. The detachment waited to destroy, or to render un-serviceable, those parts of the works which fronted the river. This success, with the spirit and perseverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ships under his command, enabled Captain Hammond, through great difficulties, and a vigorous opposition from the marine force of the enemy, to carry the principal object of the expedition

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expedition into effect, by cutting away and weighing up so much of the chevaux-de-frize, as opened a narrow and difficult passage for ships through this lower barrier.

Upon the return of the detachment from Jersey, another regiment was sent to meet them at Chester, in order that they might all together form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp. The army still lay at German-Town, a very long and considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued street of two miles in length. The line of encampment crossed German-Town at right angles about the center, the left wing extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front, by the mounted and dismounted German chasseurs; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers, were in the front of the right; and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were posted at the head of the village. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and we have already seen, that three regiments had been detached on the side of Chester.

The enemy were encamped at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German-Town. They had received some reinforcements, and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Chester. These circumstances induced an enterprize, little expected, and seemingly as little suited, to the general caution,

and to the supposed genius and disposition of Washington. Instead of shunning, as usual, every thing that might lead to an action, the American army quitted its strong post at Skippach Creek at six in the evening, and marched all night to surprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German-Town.

At three o'clock in the morning, their approach was discovered by the patrols, and the army was immediately called to arms. They began their attack upon the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry by which it was accompanied. These corps, after a vigorous resistance, being at length overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. In this exigence, a measure upon which much of the future fortune of the day depended, was instantly and happily adopted, by Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave, who threw himself with six companies of the 40th regiment into a large and strong stone house, which lay fall in the front of the enemy.

By this measure they were check-ed in their forward hope and de-sign of gaining complete and im-mEDIATE possession of that long town; which, among other great and obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army. The Colonel and his brave party, surrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every side with great resolution, defended the houle with the most undaunted courage; and though the enemy at length brought can-non up to the assault, he still main-tained his post with equal intre-pidity, pouring a dreadful and un-ceasing

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ceasing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken such a turn as afforded him relief.

This was accomplished by Major-General Grey, who bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the 3d brigade, who attacked the enemy with vigour, and were as bravely supported and seconded, by Brigadier-General Agnew, at the head of the 4th brigade. The engagement was now for some time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the opposite side of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total disorder, and driven out of the town with considerable slaughter.

In the mean time, the light infantry and pickets of the right wing, supported by the 4th, and seconded by the 49th regiment, were warmly engaged with the enemy's left; but General Grey, after forcing their troops in the village, having passed it, and bringing the left wing forward, they immediately retired on all sides. The enemy was pursued for some miles; but the country being woody, strong, and enclosed, the pursuit was attended with so little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a squadron of light-horse from Philadelphia, towards the close of the engagement, and joined in the pursuit; whilst three battalions of grenadiers from the same place, who had run themselves out of breath in the ardour of succouring their fellows, were too late to come in for any share of the action.

It appears that the morning was exceedingly foggy, to which the

Americans (who had considerable success in the beginning of the action) attribute their not improving the advantages they at first gained, in the manner which they would otherwise have done. For they were not only, as they assert, through this circumstance, prevented from observing the true situation of the enemy, by which the latter had time to recover from the effect of the first impression they had made on them; but the different bodies of their own army were kept in ignorance of each others movements and success, and were consequently incapable of acting in concert. It is even said, that some of their parties, in the thickness of the fog, had poured their fire upon each other under a blind mistake on both sides of being engaged with the enemy. Washington paid great compliments to the right wing for its good behaviour, of which he had been a witness, but he left the conduct of the left, at least doubtful, by saying that he had not yet received sufficient information to found any opinion on.

The loss of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few prisoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to 535; but the proportion of slain was still smaller than in that engagement, and scarcely exceeded 70. In this number were unhappily some very brave and distinguished officers; particularly Brigadier-General Agnew, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was considerable. The American loss was estimated in the Gazette, at between 200 and 300 slain, 600 wounded, and above 400 prisoners. Among

Among the slain was General Nash, and several others officers of all ranks; 54 officers were taken prisoners. In this action the Americans acted upon the offensive; and though repulsed with loss, shewed themselves a formidable adversary; capable of charging with resolution, and retreating with good order. The hope therefore entertained, from the effect of any fair action with them as decisive, and likely to put a speedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated.

The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages expected from that conquest. The rebel army, however straitned, still kept the field; and until the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious, that the army could not support itself in that town for the winter. Therefore, as the whole effect of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the King's army removed from German-Town to Philadelphia, as being a more convenient situation for the reduction of Mud, or Fort Island, and for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. The enemy had returned, after the action at German-Town, to their old camp at Skippach Creek, where they still continued.

Measures being concerted between the General and Admiral for removing the obstructions of the river, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the western shore, or Pennsylvania side, in hopes of assisting in dislodging the enemy from Mud Island, the difficulty of access to which, was found to render its reduction a much more tedious and difficult operation than had

been expected. He also detached a strong body of Hessians across the river at Cooper's Ferry, opposite the town, who were to march down and force the redoubt of Red Bank, whilst the ships, and the batteries on the other side, were to carry on their attacks against Mud Island and the enemy's marine force. The Hessian detachment was led by Colonel Donop, (who had gained great reputation in various actions of this war) and consisted, besides light infantry and chasseurs, of three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Mirbach. The American force at Red Bank was estimated at about 800 men.

Though nothing could exceed the good dispositions made for these several attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage displayed both by the land and naval force on their different elements, yet this enterprize not only failed of success, but was in every respect unfortunate. Colonel Oct. 22d. Donop attacked the enemy's entrenchments with the utmost gallantry, and, after a very sharp action, succeeded in carrying an extensive out-work; but he found the enemy better covered in the body of the redoubt, and the defence more vigorous than he expected. The brave Colonel was there mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Several of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with great loss. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, being likewise dangerously wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieutenant-Colonel Linsing, having suffered much in the approach to and retreat from

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from the assault, by the fire of the enemy's gallies and floating batteries. The loss of the Hessians, whether, as to private men or officers, was never particularly authenticated; it was, however, known to be very considerable; probably not less than four or five hundred men.

The men of war and frigates destined for the attack, having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, took every possible disposition that the nature and situation of the river would admit for the destruction of the upper works and defences, where they commenced their assault at the same time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. Fortune was not more favourable here than ashore. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any great effect upon the works. The extraordinary obstructions with which the enemy had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought some alteration in its known and natural channel. By this means, the Augusta man of war, and Merlin sloop, were grounded so fast at some distance from the chevaux-de-frise, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill and courage of the officers and crews of the several vessels, prevented the effect of four fire-ships which the enemy had sent to destroy the Augusta, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which placed the others under a necessity of retiring with the utmost expedition, to get beyond the effect of the explosion. In these urgent and difficult circumstances, the Merlin was hastily evacuated, and laid in a train of

destruction, and the greater part of the officers and crew of the Augusta saved; but the second Lieutenant, Chaplain, and Gunner, with no inconsiderable number of the common men, unhappily perished.

The ill success of this enterprise, by no means damped the resolution of the commanders, in prosecution of the absolute necessary work of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New ground was taken, new measures adopted, and every preparation made that could insure success to the design. Nor were the enemy idle on their side. They well understood the great consequence it was of to them to keep the naval force separated from the army, and to render the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to strengthen their defences.

The officers and seamen of the fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, provisions and stores, up the river, by a difficult channel on the west side, to a small marshy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud Island. Every Nov. 15th. thing being prepared for an attack, the Isis and Somerset men of war passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; several frigates drew up against a fort newly erected on the Jersey side, near Manto Creek, which was so situated as to flank the men of war in their station; and two armed vessels, mounted with 24 pounders, successfully made their way through the narrow channel on the western side at the back of Hogg Island; a matter

matter of the greatest importance with respect to the success of the attack, as these two vessels, in concert with the batteries newly erected in Province Island, enfiladed the principal works which the enemy had erected on Mud Island.

A heavy fire was supported on both sides. At length, the vigorous attack made by the Isis in front, and by the two armed vessels and the batteries in other quarters, so overpowered the enemy in the fort and works on Mud Island, that towards evening their artillery was entirely silenced. And they perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, and being also sensible that, in the present state of things, they were not defensible, they set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and abandoned the place in the night.

The loss of the enemy in men was said to be very considerable; that of the fleet, was more trifling than could have been supposed. Their artillery and some stores were taken at Mud Island. In two days after, Lord Cornwallis passed over with a detachment from Chester to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by a body of forces just arrived from New York. They proceeded all together to Red Bank, which the enemy abandoned at their approach, leaving their artillery with a considerable quantity of cannon-ball and stores behind them. The works were demolished.

The enemy's shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, several of their gallies and other armed vessels took the advantage of a favourable

night, to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and escape to places of security farther up. The discovery of this transaction occasioned the sending an officer with a party of seamen to man the Delaware frigate lately taken, and lying at Philadelphia, and the taking of such other measures, as rendered the escaping of the remainder impracticable. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels, which were all consumed to the amount of seventeen of different sorts, including the two floating batteries, and fire-ships. With all these advantages, the season of the year, and other impediments, rendered the clearing of the river, in any considerable degree, impracticable; so that the making or discovering of such a channel, as might admit the passage of transports and vessels of easy burden with provisions and necessaries for the use of the army at Philadelphia, was all that could be obtained at present.

General Washington being reinforced by 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marsh, where he encamped in a very strong position, with his right to the Wissahichon Creek; and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. As this movement seemed to indicate a disposition to adventure, General Howe was not without hopes, that the late reinforcement would encourage them to hazard a battle for the recovery of Philadelphia. If such was their intention, he was determined that they should not cool in it, for want of an opportunity of bringing it into action; or if they still adhered to their usual system of

of caution and defence, it was still reasonably to be hoped that upon a close inspection of their situation, some part of their camp would be found so vulnerable as to admit of a successful impression.

Upon these grounds the General marched the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and took post on Chesnut Hill, in the front of the enemy's right, on the next morning. Finding that their right afforded no opening for an attack, he changed his ground before day on the 7th, and took a new position opposite to their center and left. Some skirmishes happened, in which the enemy were constantly defeated, and their flying parties pursued home almost to their works. The General, at length, after continuing above three days constantly in their sight, advancing within a mile of their lines, and examining their works with the closest attention, finding that nothing could provoke or entice them to action, and that their camp was in every part inaccessible, gave up the prosecution of a design which was evidently fruitless. The army also suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, both officers and soldiers being totally destitute of tents and field equipage.

The General accordingly began his march to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 8th, in full view of the enemy, without being pursued, or in the smallest degree incommoded on his return. As the season was now too far advanced, to admit of any other attention than what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was sent out to procure forage for the winter, which was

successfully performed. In the mean time, Washington removed his camp from White Marsh to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very strong, and consequently secure position. Nothing could afford a stronger proof, to whoever considers the nature and disposition of those people, of the unbounded influence on the minds both of his officers and men which that General possessed, than his being able, not only to keep them together, but to submit to the inconveniences and distresses incident to living in a hatted camp, during the severe winter of that climate, and where all his supplies of provision and stores must come from a great distance, at much expence and no small hazard. It was also a proof, with many others, of the general strong disposition of America, to suffer all things rather than submit to force.

Such was the issue of the campaign upon the Delaware. A campaign which affords much room for the most serious reflection. The British arms were crowned with the most brilliant success. Two very considerable victories were obtained. In all lesser actions, bating the affair at Red Bank, they were equally triumphant. Yet with all this tide of success, all the fruit derived from our victories at the close of the campaign, amounted to no more than simply a good winter lodging for our army in the city of Philadelphia; whilst the troops possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. It was still more discouraging, that the enemy had given repeated proofs, that however he might

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might engage them when he thought it to his advantage, it was impossible for the royal army to bring him to action against his consent. This gave occasion to much uneasiness in England; where the news of the first successes had caused the greatest exultation, which was now succeeded with very gloomy reflections on the peculiar and fatal circumstances, which, from the nature of the country, and other co-operating causes, had distinguished this war, from all others in which we had ever been concerned; and in which victory and defeat were nearly productive of the same consequences.

C H A P. VIII.

Canada. Conduct of the northern expedition committed to General Burgoyne. Preparations made by General Carleton. Line of conduct pursued by him upon the new arrangement. Different opinions upon the utility and propriety of employing the Savages. State of the force under the command of General Burgoyne. Canadians obliged to contribute largely to the service. Expedition under Colonel St. Leger. War feast, and speech to the Indians at the river Bouquet. Manifesto. Royal army invest Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Council of war held, and the forts abandoned by the Americans. Boom and bridge cut through. Pursuit by land and water. American gallies and batteaux destroyed near Skeneborough Water falls. Americans set fire to, and abandon their works. Rear of the Americans overtaken by General Frazer near Hubberton. Colonel Francis defeated and killed. General St. Clair, with the remains of his army, take to the woods; and arrive at length at Fort Edward. Enemy bravely repulsed by Colonel Hill, and the 9th regiment, who are obliged to engage under a vast superiority of force. Americans set fire to, and abandon Fort Anne. Extraordinary difficulties encountered by the royal army in the march to Fort Edward. American Army retires to Saratoga.

WE now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the most mischievous consequences of defeat in another. The war upon the side of Canada and the lakes was committed to the charge of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; an officer whose ability was unquestioned, and whose spirit of enterprize, and thirst for military glory, however rivalled, could not possibly be exceeded. Governor's constant residence in his province, could not fail of being sensibly felt, and could scarcely be supposed not to give umbrage, to General Carleton, to whose abilities, and resolution, this nation in general acknowledge, and the world attributed, the preservation of Canada. It was said, that his powers had been diminished in proportion to the greatness of his services. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now suddenly restrained

This appointment, however palliated or justified, by the propriety or supposed necessity of the Go-

restrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, said his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain destroyed, and Crown Point recovered, under his authority. The lateness of the season only, prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately prosecuting the war to the southward. He had, during the winter, exerted his usual industry, and applied his military skill and judgment, in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the success of the design in the ensuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, instead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpose, he received an arrangement totally new, which as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his discretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular service of each corps, with its subdivisions, and the smallest detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and precisely specified by the Minister. He was not even consulted as to the number or nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or security of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands, and officers who lately acted under his direction, were, by a detraction from his authority,

virtually placed in independent commands; for their instructions to put themselves under the orders of Sir William Howe, seemed little more than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his side, would lead him to such a distance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the Governor felt and understood this arrangement and these appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, seems evident from the immediate resignation of his government which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the passage of his successor from Europe, were all works of time, he was still, however ungrateful the task, obliged to continue in the exercise of his office, during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under these circumstances, and in this trying and difficult situation, he endeavoured to shew that resentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himself with the same diligence and energy, to forward by every possible means, and to support in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praiseworthy, was not less necessary, from the peculiar nature of the service which was to be performed; a service exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts; and many unusual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, dislike, obstinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference

difference of opinion in some disputable points, might frustrate all the hopes, founded upon such a system.

Nothing of this sort intervened, to damp the spirit or to defeat the success of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the ministers, and more particularly the noble Lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly interested in the event, but had founded the most sanguine hopes upon the success of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their side, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be spared for that particular service, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Besides, Canada it was hoped would supply a warlike though undisciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the service and country.

To strengthen and increase this irregular, but necessary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to supply those numerous loyalists, who were expected to join the royal army as soon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is considered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undisciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult posts, and driven out of woods and fastnesses, so this part of the service was particularly attended to, and the brass train that was sent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied

as to officers and private men, than had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the present in number.

Besides these forces, several nations of savages had been induced to come into the field. This measure was defended upon the supposed necessity of the case; as if from their character it was presumed they could not lie still, and if not engaged in the King's service, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, General Carleton did not in the preceding year make much use of them; but civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise of their appearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of discussion, which we want materials to settle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure. Others said, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to use them, knowing that they were capricious, inconstant, and intractable. That as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from those of civilized nations, so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible specimens of passive valour which they sometimes exhibited in cases adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is considered as fair and generous service among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely seek and are included

included in one common danger, trusting only for success to their superior skill and courage. That their object and design in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to destroy. In a word, that their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their actions cruel and barbarous.

Whatever his reasons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it, as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Those who were particularly warm in their zeal against the colonies, began somewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They insisted, that every appearance of lenience in such circumstances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to disobedience, and increasing the objects of punishment. That on the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of punishment, were at all times the sure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accomplishment of so great and happy a purpose, as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government. And that in all convulsions of states, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities

which were intended or wished to be confined entirely to the guilty; but such was the lot and condition of mankind, and this evil, however deplored, could not in numberless instances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was supported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the subordinate departments of the state; it was also generally supposed to be consonant to the opinions of the ministers, and that General Carleton's scruples, or niceties upon this point, were by no means acceptable.

However this was, in the present arrangement, the aid of the savages was considered as a principal member of that force which was destined to the prosecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to use his utmost weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in support of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the present service. Nor was his success disproportional to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now liberally distributed amongst them, from their own innate thirst for war and plunder, or more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that he became at length apprehensive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by General Burgoyne,

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Burgoyne, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. Of these, the German corps (consisting mostly of Brunswickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the proposals which he laid before the Minister, consisted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, besides the artillery, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other workmen, with a thousand, or more, savages. We have no certain information what number of these auxiliaries were in actual service upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants must have sensibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this service. In the proposals laid before the Minister, besides the militia and various species of workmen supposed necessary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patrols, and posts, were expected to occupy the woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected in Canada, partly to prevent desertion and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties necessary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel St. John's, Chamblee and Isle au Noix, which it was supposed would amount to 2000 men. A still greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their seed-sowing season, was for the transport of all the provisions, artilleries, and baggage of the army,

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from the different repositories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, besides the corvees for making the roads. It was estimated that this service would, for some time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no less than 2000 men, besides a very large proportion of horses and carts.

General Burgoyne was seconded by able and excellent officers. Of these, Major-General Philips of the artillery, who had gained such distinguished renown by his conduct in that service during the late war in Germany, deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewise assisted by the Brigadier-Generals, Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers; with the Brunswick Major-General Baron Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Speeht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished, the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed seven or eight hundred men, consisting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments; a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raised by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnson, being mostly emigrants from his own country adjoining to the intended scene of action, with some Hanau chasseurs; a company of Canadians; and another of newly raised rangers. These were joined by a strong body of savages, in part conducted; or if it may be termed officered, by a number of British and Americans. The regular force left in Canada including

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including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at no very great distance to the northward of Crown Point, General Burgoyne there met the Indians in Congress, and afterwards, in compliance with the customs of those people, gave them a war feast. The speech which he made to the savages upon June 21, this occasion has been

published. It was calculated, in those powerful strains of elocution by which that gentleman is distinguished, to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. For this purpose he took pains in explaining to them the distinction between a war carried on against a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hostile, and the present, in which good and faithful subjects were largely, and of necessity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down several injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; but that under no pretence, subtlety, or colour of prevarication, they should scalp the wounded, or even dying; much less kill persons in that condition, by way of evading the in-

junction. And they were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed that they should be called to account for scalps. These endeavours did in some measure mitigate, but were not of force wholly to restrain their ferocity, of which some unhappy instances afterwards appeared.

The General soon after dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impression of fear derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey, described with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now spread by sea and land, to embrace or to crush every part of America, was displayed in full, lofty, and expressive language. The rebellion, with its effects, and the conduct of the present governors and governments, were charged with the highest colouring, and exhibited a most hideous picture, of unparalleled injustice, cruelty, persecution and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should actually assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in the re-establishment of legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by circumstances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. And all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed

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in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who persevered in their hostility.

The army having made a short stay at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their destination. Although the rash and ill conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758, with the consequent repulse and heavy loss sustained by the British army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this distance of time be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of its situation, as well as of its state of defence.

Ticonderoga lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north at the extremity of that inlet. The first of these places is situated on an angle of land, which is surrounded on three sides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth side was covered by a deep marsh, and where that fails, the old French lines still continued as a defence on the north-west quarter. The Americans strengthened these lines with additional works and a blockhouse. They had other posts with works and blockhouses, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had also two new blockhouses with other works.

On the eastern shore of the inlet and opposite to Ticonderoga, the

Americans had taken still more pains in fortifying a high circular hill, to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this, which is Table land, they had erected a star fort, enclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered these lower works.

The Americans, with their usual industry, had joined these two posts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and most laborious work. The bridge was supported on 22 sunken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the sunken pillars. On the Lake Champlain side of the bridge, it was defended by a boom composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by riveted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half square. Thus not only a communication was maintained between these two posts, but all access by water from the northern side was totally cut off.

It is to be observed, that as the inlet immediately after passing Ticonderoga, assumes a new form, suddenly widening to a considerable breadth, and becoming navi-

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gable to vessels of burden, so from thence it also holds the name of Champlain, although it is not yet properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the southern gut from Lake George, besides being narrow, is also rendered unnavigable by shallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eastern side called, in this part, South River, but higher up towards its source, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South Bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of these waters at Ticonderoga, forms a small bay to the southward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land formed by their junction, is composed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto seen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that Mount; but their works were already far too extensive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thousand men to be effectually manned. It was likewise hoped, that the difficulty of access to the Sugar Mount, and the savage inequality of its surface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its situation.

It would be exceedingly difficult from the information before us, to form any authentic estimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual de-

fence of these two posts. It appears by the commander in chief, General St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the Congress, as well as by the resolutions of the council of war which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that these were ill equipped, and worse armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm so essential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would seem not only satisfactory but conclusive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the transactions of the campaign, transmitted by the war office of Massachusetts Bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ship was sent out on purpose, they state St. Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be observed, that they talk with great bitterness of that General's conduct, as he had done in his first letter to congress, with respect to the behaviour of two of their regiments: It may also be supposed, that in a statement of their affairs intended to operate upon the sentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received essential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increase the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakness to their counsels, or inefficacy to their arms.

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As the royal army approached to the object of its destination, it advanced with equal caution and order, on both sides of the lake, the naval force keeping its station in the center, until the one had begun to enclose the enemy on the land side, and the frigates and gun-boats cast anchor just out of cannon shot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga side, upon the 2d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and set fire to their works, block-houses, and saw-mills, towards Lake George, and without sally, interruption, or the smallest motion or diversion, permitted Major General Philips to take possession of the very advantageous post of Mount Hope, which, besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The same supineness and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their side, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was so much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with such expedition in the construction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, stores and provisions, and the establishment of its posts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were so far advanced, as to require little more time for completely investing the posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was also examined, and the advantages it presented were so important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty,

from the necessity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and constructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous task was undertaken, and already far advanced towards its completion, through the spirit, judgment, and active industry of General Philips.

In these circumstances, a hasty council was on that day held by the American Generals, to which their principal went, as he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It was represented, that their whole effective numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole must consequently be upon constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the fatigue for any length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely invested on all sides within 24 hours, nothing could save the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both posts. This determination was unanimously agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night:

However justly this representation of their condition and circumstances was founded, and however necessary the determination of the council was in the present state of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the side of the commanders, must strike every common observer. If their force was not sufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this resolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and stores, and demolish the works before

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before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they wait to be nearly surrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a surrender under any conditions that could be proposed, and little less destructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by storm?

These are questions that time and better information alone can answer, if ever they should clearly answer, in favour of the American Generals.

The baggage of the army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment on board above 200 batteaux, and dispatched, under convoy of five armed gallies, up the south river, in their way to Skeneborough. The main army took its route by the way of Castletown, to reach the same place by land.

July 6th. The first light of the morning had no sooner discovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly pursued by Brigadier General Frazer, at the head of his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Major General Reidefeld was also ordered to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support the Brigadier, or to act separately, as occasion might require, or circumstances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which, with those taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skeneborough, amounted to no less than 128 pieces, of all sorts,

serviceable and unserviceable. They also left some military stores of different sorts, and no inconsiderable stock of provisions in the forts.

General Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person. That bridge and those works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in less time by the British seamen and artificers, than it would have cost them to have described their structure. In a word, they did their business with such speed and effect, that not only the gun-boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had passed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of the gun-boats, was closely engaged with the enemies gallies near Skeneborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their speedy flight prevented the execution of that design. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, lost all spirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their despair, set fire to their works, stockaded fort, mills, and batteaux, after which they escaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek.

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Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, besides their baggage, with ammunition, stores, and provisions; so that they were now left naked in the woods, destitute of provision, and without any other means of defence, than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confusion and dismay, equally attended their main body on the left. The soldiers had lost all respect for, and confidence in their commanders. It would be fruitless to expect resolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brigadier Frazer continued and supported the chase through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his usual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great distance, and were commanded by Colonel Francis, one of their best and bravest officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up

7th. with the enemy at five in the morning, whom he found strongly posted, with great advantage of ground, and a still greater superiority in point of number. As we expected every moment to be joined by General Reidefel, and was apprehensive that the enemy might escape if he delayed, he did not hesitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they possessed in ground and number, and perhaps more than both, the goodness of their commander, induced them to make a better stand than might have been expected from their condition in other respects.

As Frazer's corps was not supported near so soon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave several striking proofs of their superiority, affairs were still undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length decisive. The enemy fled on all sides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field. About the same number, besides a Colonel, seven Captains, and ten Subalterns were taken prisoners. Above 600 were supposed to be wounded, many of whom perished miserably in the woods. The principal loss on the side of the royal army, was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Castletown, about six miles farther on. Upon the account of this disaster, and of the more fatal stroke at Skenesborough, and under the apprehension of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he struck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he should direct his course towards the New England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

During these advantages on the left, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skenesborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilst another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to dislodge the enemy from that post.

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In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, consisting, as he conceived, of six times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front ineffectual to force the judicious position which he had taken, attempted to surround the regiment. This alarming attempt put him under a necessity of changing his ground in the heat of action. Nothing less than the most perfect discipline, supported by the coolest intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute so critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in such circumstances. It was however performed with such steadiness and effect, that the enemy, after an attack of three hours, were so totally repulsed, and with such loss, that after setting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudson's river.

The loss of the royal army, in all this service, and in so many different engagements, some of which were warm, and seemed liable to loss, was very small. The whole in killed and wounded, not much exceeding two hundred men.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which swept every thing away before the northern army in its outset. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that and their powers to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt, considered their own toils to be nearly at an end, Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be

rather a matter of some time, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation, and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and most degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Those who still regarded them as men, and who had not yet lost all affection to them as brethren; who also retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon constitutional principles, without sacrificing the dignity or the just authority of government on the one side, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impossible, notwithstanding their favourable dispositions in general, could not help feeling upon this occasion, that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further resistance, would serve only to render the terms of their submission the worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of those grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes.

General Burgoyne continued for some days, with the army partly at Skeneborough, and partly spread in the adjoining country. They

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They were under the necessity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and provisions. In the mean time, no labour was spared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing against the enemy. Equal industry was used in clearing the Wood Creek from the obstacles of fallen trees, sunken stones, and other impediments which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a passage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp equipage. Nor was less diligence used at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, provision vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. These were all laborious works, but the spirit of the army was at that time superior to toil or danger.

General Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudson's river, where he was endeavoring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a roundabout march of seven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badness of the weather, with the want of covering, provisions, and all manner of necessaries, they had suffered the most extreme misery. Many others of the fugitives had also arrived; but so totally broken down, that they were nearly as destitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, and spirit, to use them with effect.

Although the direct distance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood Creek determined, or even from Skenes-

borough to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be considered as a moderate ride of exercise, yet such is the savage face and impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties which the industry of the enemy had thrown in the way, that the progress of the army thither, was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will scarcely be believed in after-times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it cost an active and spirited army, without an enemy in force to impede his progress, not many fewer days in passing from one part to another of a country, than the distance, in a direct line, would have measured miles. Yet such, however extraordinary, is the fact. Besides that the country was a wilderness in almost every part of the passage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall across and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; so that the troops had several layers of these frequently to remove, in places where they could not possibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that in that short space, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, besides others to repair; and one of these was of log-work, over a morass two miles in extent. All these toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their usual spirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much dispirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially to

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to these difficulties. Some skirmishing and firing there was, however, on every day's march, in which, as usual, they constantly came off losers.

It is true, that General Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudson's river, by which most of their particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reason, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the prosecution of their success, to a cold and spiritless voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the resistance and delay which they must expect at Fort George; whereas, when the garrison per-

ceived that the army was marching in a direction, which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly consult their safety in time, by abandoning the post.

The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have seen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthusiasm of the army, as well as of the General, upon their arrival on the Hudson's river, which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes, may be better conceived than described. As the enemy, by previously abandoning Fort George, and burning their vessels, had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of provisions, stores, and necessaries, was already arrived at that post from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in transporting these articles, with artillery, batteaux, and such other matters as they judged necessary for the prosecution of their future measures from Fort George to Hudson's river.

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General terror excited by the loss of Ticonderoga, and the expected progress of the savages. New England governments notwithstanding shew no appearance of submission. Arnold sent with a reinforcement to the northern army. Ill effects produced by the cruelties of the Indians. Difficulties experienced by the royal army in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and in the conveyance of provisions and stores from Lake George. Movement made down the North River, and a bridge of rafts thrown over near Saratoga, in order to facilitate the operations of Colonel St. Leger. Expedition to surprize the magazines at Bennington, under the conduct of Colonel Baum. Colonel Breyman ordered forward to support the expedition. Baum defeated and taken prisoner; Breyman also defeated. Ill consequences. Fort Stanwix obstinately defended against Colonel St. Leger. General Harkimer attempts to relieve the fort with a body of militia, who are mostly cut to pieces. Cruelty, and ill conduct of the savages; grow full and intractable; oblige Colonel Sir Leger to raise the siege with precipitation and loss. Villainy of their behaviour on the retreat. Siege raised before the arrival of Arnold and his detachment to the relief of the fort. General Gates takes the command of the American army. General Burgoyne with the royal army pass the North River at Saratoga, and advance to attack the enemy near Still Water. Difference of opinion upon that measure, as well as the motives which led to its being adopted. Severe and heavy action on the nineteenth of September. Both armies fortify their camps. Unfortunate action on the seventh of October. Camp stormed. Death of General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and Sir James Clarke. Distressed situation of the royal army. Masterly movement made, and an entire new position taken in the night. New engagement eagerly sought, but refused on the next day by the enemy. Retreat to Saratoga. Previous desertion of the Indians and others. Royal army reduced to the utmost straits. Nearly surrounded on all sides. Cut off from all means of subsistence, and possibility of retreat. Councils of war. Convention concluded with General Gates. Terms of the convention. State of the army. Successful expedition by Sir Henry Clinton and General Vaughan up the North River. Several forts taken; Esopus and other places destroyed. Colonel Campbell, with the Majors Sill and Grant, and Count Grabouskie, a Polish nobleman, killed in this expedition. Some observations on the campaign.

NOTHING could exceed the astonishment and terror, which the loss of Ticonderoga, and its immediate consequences, spread throughout the New England provinces. The General's manifesto, in which he displayed

the powers and numbers of the savages, added perhaps to the effect. It was remarkable, however, that in the midst of all these disasters, and consequent terrors, no sort of disposition to submit appeared in any quarter.

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The New-England governments in particular, though most immediately menaced, did not sink under their apprehension of the common danger. They, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. Arnold, whom we have lately seen at the engagement at Danbury, was immediately sent to the reinforcement of the northern army, who carried with him a train of artillery which he received from Washington. On his arrival he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Still Water, a central situation between that place, and the mouth of the Mohawk river, where it falls into Hudson's. This movement, was to be the nearer at hand to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of these rivers. His forces were daily increased through the outrages of the savages, who, notwithstanding the regulations and endeavours of General Burgoyne, were too prone to the exercise of their usual cruelties, to be effectually restrained by any means. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiscriminate rage. Among other instances of this nature, the murder of Miss M'Crea, which happened some small time after, struck every breast with horror. Every circumstance of this horrid transaction served to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth, and bloom of beauty. Her father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause; and to wind up the

catastrophe of this odious tragedy, she was to have been married to a British officer on the very day that she was massacred.

Occasion was thence taken to exasperate the people, and to blacken the royal party and army. People were too apt to jumble promiscuously, and to place in one point of view, the cruelties of these barbarians, and the cause in which they were exerted. They equally execrated both. Whilst they abhorred and detested that army, which submitted to accept of such an aid, they loudly condemned and reprobated that government, which could call such auxiliaries into a civil contest; thereby endeavouring, as they said, not to subdue but to exterminate, a people whom they affected to consider, and pretended to reclaim as subjects. General Gates, in the course of these transactions, was not wanting by several publications to aggravate and inflame the picture of these excesses; and with no small effect.

By this means, the advantages expected from the terror excited by these savage auxiliaries were not only counteracted; but this terror, rather, it may be thought, produced a directly contrary effect. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting; they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations, and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods,

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woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force.

In the mean time, the army under General Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which increased as it farther advanced, until they at length became insurmountable. From the 30th of July, to the 15th of August, the army was continually employed, and every possible measure used, for the bringing forward of batteaux, provisions, and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River, a distance of about 18 miles. The toil was excessive in this service, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads were in some parts steep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horses which had been supplied by contract in Canada, through the various delays and accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of passage by land and carriage by water, not more than one-third were yet arrived. The industry of the General had been able to collect no more than 50 teams of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched, or this in which he at present sojourned. These resources were totally inadequate to the purposes of supplying the army with provisions for its current consumption, and to the establishment at the same time of such a magazine as would

enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all these difficulties; and the impediments to the service were so various and stubborn, that after the utmost exertions for fifteen successive days, there was not above four days provision in store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson's River.

In these embarrassing and distressing circumstances, the General received intelligence, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived before, and was conducting his operations against Fort Stanwix. He instantly and justly conceived, that a rapid movement forward at this critical juncture would be of the utmost importance. If the enemy proceeded up the Mohawk, and that St. Leger succeeded, he would be liable to get between two fires; or at any rate, General Burgoyne's army would get between him and Albany, so that he must either stand an action, or by passing the Hudson's River, endeavour to secure a retreat higher up to the New-England provinces. If, on the other hand, he abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and fell back to Albany, the Mohawk country would of course be entirely laid open, the juncture with St. Leger established, and the combined army at liberty and leisure to prescribe and chuse its future line of operation.

The propriety of the movement was evident; but the difficulty lay, and great indeed it was, in finding means to carry the design into execution. To maintain such a communication with Fort George during the whole time of so extensive a movement, as would afford a daily supply of provision to an army,

army, whilst its distance was continually increasing, and its course liable to frequent variation, was obviously impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of posts for such an extent; continual escorts for every separate supply would be a still greater drain; and in either case, the enemy had a body of militia within a night's march, at White Creek, sufficient to break the line of communication.

Some other source of supply was therefore to be sought, or the design to be dropped, and the prospect of advantage which it presented totally relinquished. The enemy received large supplies of live cattle from the New-England provinces, which passing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route of Manchester, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampshire grants, a tract of land disputed between that province and New York, until they were at length deposited at Bennington, from whence they were conveyed as occasion required to the rebel army. Bennington lies between the forks of the Hosick River, before their obtaining that name, and without being touched by either, and not 20 miles to the eastward of Hudson's; a place so obscure, and so incapable from situation of being otherwise, that nothing but the present troubles could have called it into notice. It was however at this time, besides being a store for cattle, a deposit for large quantities of corn and other necessaries; and what rendered it an object of particular attention to the royal army, a large number of wheel carriages, of which they were in particular want, were also laid up

there. This place was guarded by a body of militia, which underwent such frequent changes that its number was necessarily uncertain.

The General saw that the possession of this deposit, would at once remove all the impediments that restrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the prosecution of his design. He accordingly laid a scheme to surprize the place, and entrusted the execution of it to the German Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, who had been already selected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition tending to similar purposes, towards the borders of the Connecticut River.

The force allotted to this service amounted to about 500 men, consisting of about 200 of Reidesel's dismounted German dragoons, Captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of provincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps carried with them two light pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate this operation, and to be ready to take advantage of its success, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's River, where it encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga, having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the advanced corps were passed to that place. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, were posted at Batten Kill, in order if necessary to support Baum.

The latter in his march fell in with a party of the enemy who were

were escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty and sent back to the camp. The same fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horses and carriages, concurred with the badness of the road, in rendering Baum's advance so tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his design, and had time to prepare for his reception. Upon his approach to the place, having received intelligence that the enemy were too strong to be attacked by his present force with any prospect of success, he took a tolerable good post near Santoick Mills, on the nearer branch of what becomes afterwards the Hosick River, which is there called Walloon Creek, and at about four miles distance from Bennington; dispatching at the same time an express to the General with an account of his situation.

Colonel Breyman was accordingly dispatched from Batten Kill to reinforce Baum. That evil fortune now began to appear, which for some time after continued to sweep every thing before it. Breyman was so overlayed by bad weather, so sunk and embarrassed in bad roads, and met with such delays from the weakness and tiring of horses, and the difficulty of paling the artillery carriages, through a country scarcely practicable at any time, and now rendered much worse by the continual rain, that he was from eight in the morning of the 15th of August, to four in the afternoon of the following day, notwithstanding every possible exertion of men and officers, in getting forward about twenty-four miles.

A General Starke, who commanded the militia at Bennington, determining not to wait for the junction of the two parties, advanced in the morning, whilst Breyman was yet struggling with the difficulties of his march, to attack Baum in his post, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defensible as time and its nature would permit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were so eager in their hopes to find what they wished to be real, that when the enemy were surrounding his posts on all sides, they for some time persuaded him, that they were bodies of armed friends who were coming to his assistance. The colonel soon discovered their error, and made a brave defence. His small works being at length carried on every side, and his two pieces of cannon taken, most of the Indians, with several of the provincials, Canadians, and British marksmen, escaped in the woods. The German dragoons still kept together, and when their ammunition was expended, were bravely led by their Colonel to charge with their swords. They were soon overwhelmed, and the survivors, among whom was their wounded Colonel, were made prisoners.

Breyman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the smallest information of this engagement, arrived near the same ground about four in the afternoon, where, instead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by the enemy. Notwithstanding the severe fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and resolution, and drove the Americans in the beginning

beginning from two or three different hills on which they had posts. They were however at length over-powered, and their ammunition being unfortunately expended, although each soldier had brought out forty rounds in his pouch, they were obliged with great reluctance to abandon the two pieces of artillery they had brought with them, and to retreat in the best manner they could; a circumstance to which the lateness of the evening was very favourable.

The loss of men sustained by these two engagements could not be less than five or six hundred, of whom, however, the greater part were prisoners. But this was not the only or the greatest loss. The reputation and courage which it afforded to the militia, to find that they were able to defeat regular forces; that neither Englishmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impression; and the hope and confidence excited by the artillery, and other trophies of victory, were of much greater consequence. This was the first turn which fortune had taken in favour of the Americans in the northern war, since some time before the death of Montgomery; misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had trod upon the heel of defeat, since that period. This was the first instance in the present campaign, in which she seemed even wavering, much less that she for a moment quitted the royal standard. The exultation was accordingly great on the one side; nor could the other avoid feeling some damp to that eagerness of hope, and receiving some check to that assured confidence of success, which an unmixed series

of fortunate events must naturally excite.

St. Leger's attempt upon Fort Stanwix, (now named by the Americans Fort Schuyler) was soon after its commencement favoured by a success so signal, as would in other cases, and a more fortunate season, have been decisive as to the fate of a stronger and much more important fortress. General Harkimer, a leading man of that country, was marching at the head of eight or nine hundred of the Tryon county militia, with a convoy of provisions, to the relief of the fort. St. Leger, well aware of the danger of being attacked in his trenches, and of withstanding the whole weight of the garrison in some particular and probably weak point at the same instant, and equally well understanding the kind of service for which the Indians were particularly calculated, judiciously detached Sir John Johnson, with some regulars, the whole or part of his own regiment, and the savages, to lie in ambush in the woods, and intercept the enemy upon their march.

It should seem by the conduct of the militia and their leader, that they were not only totally ignorant of all military duties, but that they had even never heard by report of the nature of an Indian war, or of that peculiar service in the woods; to which from its nature and situation their country was at all times liable. Without examination of their ground, without a reconnoitring, or flanking party, they plunged blindly into the trap that was laid for their destruction. Being thrown into sudden and inevitable disorder, by a near and heavy fire on almost

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almost all fides, it was completed by the Indians, who instantly pursuing their fire, rushed in upon their broken ranks, and made a most dreadful slaughter amongst them with their spears and hatchets. Notwithstanding their want of conduct, the militia shewed no want of courage in their deplorable situation. In the midst of such extreme danger, and so bloody an execution, rendered still more terrible by the horrid appearance and demeanour of the principal actors, they recollect ed themselves so far as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them after to maintain a sort of running fight, by which about one third of their number was preserved.

The loss was supposed to be on their side about 400 killed, and half that number prisoners. It was thought of the greater consequence, as almost all those who were considered as the principal leaders and instigators of rebellion in that country were now destroyed. The triumph and exultation were accordingly great, and all opposition from the militia in that country, was supposed to be at an end. The circumstance of old neighbourhood and personal knowledge between many of the parties, in the present rage and animosity of faction, could by no means be favourable to the extension of mercy; even supposing that it might have been otherwise practised with prudence and safety, at a time when the power of the Indians was rather prevalent, and that their rage was implacable. For according to their computation and ideas of loss, the savages had purchased this victory exceeding dearly, 33 of their number having been slain, and 29 wounded,

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among whom were several of their principal leaders, and of their most distinguished and favourite warriors. This loss accordingly rendered them so discontented, intractable and ferocious, that the service was greatly affected by their ill disposition. The unhappy prisoners were however its first objects; most of whom they inhumanely butchered in cool blood. The New Yorkers, rangers, and other troops, were not without loss in this action.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the garrison, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diversion in their favour, by a vigorous and well-conducted sally, under the direction of Colonel Willet, their second in command. Willet conducted his business with ability and spirit. He did considerable mischief in the camp, brought off some trophies, no inconsiderable spoil, some of which consisted in articles that were greatly wanted, a few prisoners, and returned with little or no loss. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They passed by night through the besiegers works, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made their way for 50 miles through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country, and bring relief to the fort. Such an action demands the praise even of an enemy.

Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit of his victory by intimidating the garrison. He sent verbal and written messages,

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stating their hopeless situation, the utter destruction of their friends, the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as General Burgoyne, after destroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany receiving the submission of all the adjoining countries, and by prodigiously magnifying his own force. He represented, that in this state of things, if, through an incorrigible obstinacy, they should continue a hopeless and fruitless defence, they would, according to the practice of the most civilized nations, be cut off from all conditions, and every hope of mercy. But he particularly dwelt upon the pains he had taken in softening the rage of the Indians for their late loss, and obtaining from them security, that in case of an immediate surrender of the fort, every man of the garrison should be spared; whilst on the other hand they declared with the most bitter execrations, that if they met with any further resistance, they would not only massacre the garrison, but that every man, woman, and child in the Mohawk country, would necessarily, and however against his will, fall sacrifices to the fury of the savages. This point he said he pressed entirely on the score of humanity; he promised on his part, in case of an immediate surrender, every attention which a humane and generous enemy could give.

The Governor, Colonel Gansevoort, behaved with great firmness. He replied, that he had been entrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States of America; that he would defend the trust committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity; and that he neither thought

himself accountable for, nor should he at all concern himself about any consequences that attended the discharge of his duty. It was shrewdly remarked in the fort, that half the pains would not have been taken to display the force immediately without, or the success at a distance, if they bore any proportion at all to the magnitude in which they were represented.

The British commander was much disappointed in the state of the fort. It was stronger, in better condition, and much better defended than he expected. After great labour in his approaches, he found his artillery deficient, being insufficient in weight to make any considerable impression. The only remedy was to bring his approaches so near, that they must take effect; which he set about with the greatest diligence. In the mean time, the Indians continued sullen and intractable. Their late losses might have been cured by certain advantages; but the misfortune was, they had yet got no plunder, and their prospect of getting any seemed to grow every day fainter. It is the peculiar characteristic of that people, to exhibit in certain instances degrees of courage and perseverance which shock reason and credibility, and to betray in others the greatest irresolution and timidity; with a total want of that constancy which might enable them for any length of time to struggle with difficulty.

Whilst the commander was carrying on his operations with the utmost industry, the Indians received a flying report that Arnold was coming with a thousand men to relieve the fort. The commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promising to lead them himself,

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to bring all his best troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of consulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Whilst he was thus endeavouring to soothe their temper, and to revive their flagging spirits, other scouts arrived with intelligence, probably contrived in part by themselves, which first doubled, and afterwards trebled the number of the enemy, with the comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. The Colonel returned to camp, and called a council of their chiefs, hoping that by the influence which Sir John Johnson, and the superintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand. He was disappointed. A part of the Indians decamped whilst the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat.

Aug. 24d. The retreat was of course precipitate; or it was rather, in plain terms, a flight, attended with disagreeable circumstances. The tents, with most of the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the garrison. It appears by the Colonel's own account that he was as apprehensive of danger from the fury of his savage allies, as he could from the relentment of his declared American enemies. It also appears from the same authority, that the Mef-sages, a nation of savages to the west, plundered several of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is said that they robbed the officers of

their baggage, and of every other article to which they took any liking; and the army in general of their provisions. They also say, that at a few miles distance from the camp, they first stripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all those British, German, and American soldiers, who from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cause, were separated from the main body.

The state of the fact with respect to the intended relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by the way of Half Moon up the Mohawk River with 2000 men for that purpose; and that for the greater expedition, he had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the 24th in the evening, two days after the siege had been raised. So that upon the whole, the intrac-tableness of the Indians, with their watchful apprehension of danger, probably saved them from a chastisement, which would not have been tenderly administered.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the present situation of affairs, than the unfortunate issue of this expedition. The Americans represtent this and the affair at Bennington as great and glorious victories. Nothing could exceed their exultation and confidence. Gansevoort and Willet, with General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had commanded at Bennington, were ranked amongst those who were considered as the saviours of their country. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all distinctions between themselves and regular troops.

troops. As this confidence, opinion, and pride increased, the apprehension of General Burgoyne's army of course declined, until it soon came to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publicly prognosticated. In the mean time General Gates, on whose conduct and ability it appears the Americans had placed much reliance, arrived to take the command of the army; an event which gave a new spur to their exertion, and afforded an additional support to their hopes. The arrival of Gates enabled Arnold, who still held the next place in every thing to the commander in chief, and between whom it appears the most perfect harmony prevailed, to set out on that expedition to Fort Stanwix, which has been just related.

During this time, General Burgoyne continued in his camp on the eastern shore of the Hudson's River, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where he used the most unremitting industry and perseverance, in bringing stores and provisions forward from Fort George. As a swell of the water occasioned by great rains had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another, of boats, over the river at the same place. Having at length by good management obtained and brought forward about thirty days provision, with other necessary stores, he took a resolution of passing the Hudson's River with the army, which he accordingly carried into execution towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy being then in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

Though this measure of passing

the Hudson's River has not only been a subject of much discussion at home, but also of parliamentary enquiry; yet as it still lies open, without any decision on its merits, and that the General's instructions are not publicly known, nor perhaps all his motives thoroughly understood, we shall not presume to form any opinion upon the question. It will be sufficient to observe, that in his letter to the American Minister, he says, That he thinks it a duty of justice to take upon himself the measure of having passed the Hudson's River, in order to force a passage to Albany. And that he did not think himself authorized to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year, admitted of no alternative. He also gives, in a subsequent part of the same letter, the following state of his reasoning, at a time when the army was in very critical and hazardous circumstances. "The expedition I commanded was evidently meant at first to be hazarded. Circumstances might require it should be devoted; a critical junction of Mr. Gates's force with Mr. Washington might possibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loss of my retreat to Canada, could only be a partial misfortune." Whether his retreat was at this period quite practicable, even if his orders had not been to advance at all hazards, is uncertain.

Such it seems were the principles of the General's conduct in some of the succeeding events. As the army advanced along the river towards the enemy, they found the country

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country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges necessary. Being at length Sept. 19th. arrived in the front of the enemy, some woods only of no great extent intervening, the General put himself at the head of the British line which composed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along such high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themselves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the Majors General Philips and Reidesel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side.

The enemy, being incapable from the nature of the country of perceiving the different combinations of the march, issued from their camp in great force, with a design of turning the right wing, and taking the British line on the flank. Being unexpectedly checked in this design, by the strong position of General Frazer, they immediately countermarched, and the same particularity of country which had occasioned their mistake, now operating as effectually to prevent the discovery, and consequently the taking any advantage of their subsequent movement, they directed their principal effort to the left of the same wing.

The British troops were not a little surprised at the boldness with which they began the attack, and the vigour and obstinacy with which it was sustained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till after sunset. Arnold led on the enemy,

and fought danger with an eagerness and intrepidity which though much in his character, was at no time more eminently distinguished. The enemy were, however, continually supplied with fresh troops, whilst the weight of the action lay principally for a long time upon the 20th, the 21st, and 62d regiments. It will be needless to say, that they behaved with their usual firmness and gallantry, though it may not be totally superfluous to observe, that the greater part of these three regiments were engaged for near four hours without intermission.

Most of the other corps of the army bore also a good share in the business of the day. The 24th regiment, which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry, were for some time brought into action, and charged with their usual spirit and bravery. Breyman's riflemen, and some other parts of his corps, also did good service; but these troops only acted partially and occasionally, as the heights on which they had been originally posted were of too great importance to be totally evacuated.

Major General Philips, upon first hearing the firing, made his way with Major Williams and a part of the artillery through a very difficult part of the wood, and from that time rendered most essential service. It seems as if in one instance his presence of mind had nearly saved the army, when, in the most critical point of time, he restored the action by leading up the 20th regiment, the enemy having then obtained a great superiority of fire. Though every part of the artillery performed, almost, wonders,

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wonders, the brave Captain Jones (who was unfortunately, though gloriously, killed) with his brigade, were particularly distinguished. Major-General Reidefel also exerted himself to bring up a part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect. Just as the light closed, the enemy retired; and left the royal army masters of the field of battle. The darkness equally prevented pursuit and prisoners.

Upon the whole, the royal army gained nothing but honour by this arduous struggle and hard-fought battle. They had now grappled with such an enemy as they had never before encountered in America; and such as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The flattering ideas that the Americans could only fight under the covert of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were incapable of sustaining a fair and open conflict in the field, were now at an end. This opinion had also been in some measure shaken in the south. Here they met with a foe who seemed as eager for action, as careless of danger, and as indifferent with respect to ground or cover as themselves; and after a hard and close contest of four hours, hand to hand, when darkness put an end to the engagement, the royal forces but barely kept the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp.

We lost many brave men in this action, and it was not much matter of comfort that the Americans had lost a greater number. The army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took a position nearly within can-

non shot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left so as to cover those meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteries and hospitals were placed. The 47th regiment, with that of Hesse Hanau, and a corps of provincials, were encamped in the meadows as an additional security. The enemy's right was incapable of approach, and their left was too strongly fortified to be insulted.

The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began from this time to slacken. Though the General complains in his dispatches of the ill effects of their desertion, he does not specify the particular time of their abandoning the army. This close and dangerous service was by no means suited to their disposition, and the prospects of plunder were narrowed to nothing. Fidelity and honour were principles for which they had no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas. Some letters have lately passed between Gates and General Burgoyne, in which bitter reproaches relative to the barbarities committed by the savages were thrown out by the one, and those charges were in general denied, and in part palliated on the other. The savages likewise received some check on account of the murder of Miss M'Crea. Upon some or all of these accounts they deserted the army in the season of its danger and distress, when their aid would have been most particularly useful; and afforded a second instance within a short time of the little reliance that should be placed on such auxiliaries.

A great desertion also prevailed amongst the Canadians and British provincials,

provincials, nor does it seem as if the fidelity or services of those who remained were much depended on or esteemed. General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did he entirely forsake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully succoured, if wanted, or at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a strong force from the army at New-York. He now received with great difficulty a letter in cypher from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diversion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery and some other fortresses which the rebels had erected in the highlands, in order to guard the passage up that river to Albany. Though this diversion fell far short of the aid which the General expected, he, however, hoped that it might afford essential service by obliging Gates to divide his army. He accordingly returned the messenger, and afterwards dispatched two officers in disguise, and other confidential persons, all separately and by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact state, situation, and condition; to press him urgently to the immediate prosecution of his design; and to inform him, that he was enabled in point of provision, and fixed in his determination, to hold his present position, in the hope of favourable events, until the 12th of the following month.

In the mean time every means were used for fortifying the camp, and strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hospitals, not only to guard against any sudden attack, but for their security in any future movement which the army might make

in order to turn the enemy's flank. The strictest watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own security, became every day more indispensable, as Gates's army was continually increasing in force by the accession of fresh bodies of the militia.

The spirit of exertion and enterprise which was now raised in the New-England provinces, was become too general, and too much animated by success, to be easily withstood at once in all the different points of its direction. Whilst General Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himself immediately involved in circumstances sufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increased, and his situation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprise of the militia from the upper parts of New Hampshire and the head of the Connecticut, totally to cut off all means of communication with Canada, by recovering the forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and becoming again masters, at least, of Lake George.

The expedition was under the direction of General Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the Colonels Brown, Johnston, and Woodbury, with detachments of about 500 men each. They conducted their operations with such secrecy and address, that they effectually surprized all the out posts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, with 200 batteaux,

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teaux, an armed sloop, and several gunboats were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels, were made prisoners; whilst they afforded freedom to a number of their own people, who were confined in some of the works they had taken. In this heat of success, they brought the cannon out of the armed vessel they had taken, and after repeated summons to Brigadier Powel who commanded, and who gallantly rejected all their proposals, they for four days made reiterated attacks upon the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; until finding that they were repulsed in every assault, and totally unequal to the service, they at length abandoned their design.

In the beginning of October, General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his situation, to lessen the soldiers rations of provision; a measure, which however disagreeable to an army, was now submitted to with a cheerfulness which merited the highest regards, and did the greatest honour to the troops. Things continued in this state until the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the stay of the army in its present camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged adviseable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there were any possible means of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging them for the convenience of retreat,

but also to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly distressed by the present scarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in person, who was seconded by those excellent officers the Majors General Phillips and Reidesel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men was ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult indeed to have matched the men with any equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Speight; that of the redoubts, and the plain near the river, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the lines was so much superior, that it was not thought safe to augment the detachment beyond the number we have stated.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were pushed on through bye-ways to appear as a check on their rear. But the further intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very sudden and most rapid attack of the enemy upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this fierce attack with great resolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it

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it became impracticable to move any part of that body, for the purpose of forming a second line to support the flank, where the great weight of the fire still fell.

The right was still unengaged; but it was soon perceived that the enemy were marching a strong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, which were joined with them at that post, were thrown into a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp.

Whilst this motion was yet in process, the enemy pushed a fresh and strong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by so great a superiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way; upon which, the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged, by a very quick movement, to endeavour to save that wing from being totally ruined. It was in this movement, that the brave Brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded. An officer whose loss would have been severely felt, and his place with difficulty supplied, in a corps of the most accomplished officers.

The situation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical; but the danger to which the lines were exposed was still more alarming and serious. Phillips and Reidesel were ordered to cover the retreat, and those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, returned as fast as they could for their defence. The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard pressed. They were obliged

to abandon six pieces of cannon; the horses not only being destroyed, but most of the brave artillery men, who had, as usual, under the conduct of Major Williams, displayed the utmost skill and ability in their profession, along with the most undaunted resolution, being either killed or dangerously wounded.

The enemy pursued their success with great eagerness. The troops had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans stormed it in different parts with uncommon fierceness; rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape shot and small arms, with the utmost fury. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, against a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry under Lord Balcarres, with a part of the line, had thrown themselves by order. He there met with a brave and obstinate resistance. The action continued very warm for some time, each side seeming to vie with the other in ardour and perseverance. In this critical moment of glory and danger, Arnold was grievously wounded, just as he was forcing his way into, or had already entered the works. This could not fail to damp his party, who after long and repeated efforts were finally repulsed.

Affairs were not so fortunate in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reserve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that corps were carried sword in hand, and they were totally routed with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the

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the recovery of the post, were dispatched by the General; and his relation of the transaction seems to imply some blame to those who failed in the execution. By this means the enemy gained a dangerous opening on our right and rear. The night only put an end to the engagement.

It would seem that nothing could now exceed the distress and calamity of the army. They bore it with that excellency of temper, and that unconquerable firmness and resolution, which are natural to, and were worthy of British soldiers. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present situation, without submitting to a certainty of destruction on the ensuing day. A total change of position was accordingly undertaken, and as it seems to have been conceived with great judgment, was carried into execution during the night, with a degree of coolness, silence, order, and intrepidity, which has seldom been equalled, and will certainly be never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army, of a camp and artillery, from its late ground, to the heights above the hospital; thus, by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the necessity of forming an entire new disposition. All this was accomplished in the darkness, and under the doubt and apprehension of such a night, so fatally ushered in, and accompanied throughout with circumstances of such uncommon peril, as were sufficient to disturb the best formed mind, and to shake the firmest resolution, without loss, and what was still more, without disorder.

Many brave men fell on this unfortunate day. The officers suffered exceedingly. Several who had been grievously wounded in the late action, and who disdained an absence from any danger in which their fellows were involved, were again wounded in this. Among those of greater note, or who were distinguished by higher rank, who fell, besides General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, whom we have mentioned, Sir James Clarke, Aid de Camp to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Major Williams of the artillery, and Major Ackland of the grenadiers, were also taken, the latter being wounded. Upon the whole, the lists of killed and wounded, though avowedly imperfect, and not including the Germans, were long and melancholy.

On the next day, the Oct. 8th. army, being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could extricate them from their present difficulties, continued without effect, during its course, to offer battle repeatedly in their new position, to the enemy. They were preparing with great coolness, the carrying of measures into execution, which were less dangerous, though not less effectual, than the attack of a brave and desperate enemy, in strong and fortified ground. A continued succession of skirmishes were however carried on, and these did not pass without loss on both sides.

In the mean time the British General discovered, that the enemy had pushed a strong body forward to turn his right, which if effected, he would have been completely enclosed on every side.

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Nothing was left to prevent this fatal consequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; and tho' the movement was within musket shot of the enemy, and the army encumbered in the retreat with all its baggage, it was made without loss. A heavy rain which fell that night, and continued on the ensuing day, though it impeded the progress of the army, and increased the difficulties of the march, served at the same time to retard, and in a great measure to prevent the pursuit of the enemy. In this unhappy necessity, the hospital with the sick and wounded was of course, and must have been inevitably, abandoned. In this instance, as well as in every other which occurred in the course of these transactions, General Gates behaved with an attention and humanity to all those whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, which does honour to his character.

On the side of the Americans, the loss in killed and wounded was great; and it is supposed exceeded that of the British. They, however, lost no officer of note; but the Generals Lincoln and Arnold were both dangerously wounded.

From the impediments in the march which we have mentioned, the army did not pass the fords of the Fish Kill Creek, which lies a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the 10th in the morning. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them, who retired at their approach over a ford of the Hud-

son's river, and there joined a greater force, which was stationed to prevent the passage of the army. No hope now remained but that of effecting a retreat, at least as far as Fort George, on the way to Canada. For this purpose, a detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, was sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. But they were not long departed from the camp, when the sudden appearance of the enemy in great force, on the opposite heights, with their apparent preparation to pass the Fish Kill, and bring on an immediate engagement, rendered it necessary to recall the 47th regiment, and Frazer's marksmen, who with Mackoy's provincials, composed the escort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the first bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away, and left them to shift for themselves, only upon a very slight attack of an inconsiderable party of the enemy. All the force of discipline, and all the stubbornness derived from its most confirmed habits, were now necessary to support even the appearance of resolution.

The farther shore of the Hudson's river was now lined with detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux loaded with provisions and necessaries, which had attended the motions of the army up the river, since its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, were exposed, notwithstanding any protection which could possibly be afforded, to the continual fire and attacks of these detachments. Many boats were taken, some retaken, and a number

ber of men lost in the skirmishes, upon these occasions. At length it was found that the provisions could only be preserved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accomplished under a heavy fire with difficulty and loss.

In these deplorable circumstances, councils of war were held, to consider of the possibility of a further retreat. The only measure that carried even the appearance of practicability, hard, difficult, and dangerous as it was, was by a night march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions upon their backs. The impossibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying in their present situation the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a question. It was proposed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

Whilst preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and desperate resolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already with great foresight, provided for every possible measure that could be adopted for an escape; and that this final resort was accordingly cut off. Besides being strongly entrenched opposite to the fords which it was intended to pass, they had a camp in force, and provided with a battery, on the high and strong grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilst their parties were every where spread along the opposite shore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army, and on their own, the enemy's posts were so close, that they could scarcely make the

smallest movement without discovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous, than the state and situation of the army. Worn down by a series of hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned in their utmost necessity and distress by the Indians; weakened by the desertion, or disappointed and discouraged by the timidity and inefficacy of the Canadians and provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy losses, of many of their best men and most distinguished officers, to the number of only 3,500 effective fighting men, of whom not quite 2,000 were British. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, and their provision just exhausted, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts in four of a circle round them; who refused to fight from a knowledge of their condition; and who from the nature of the ground could not be attacked in any part.

In this helpless condition, obliged to lie constantly on their arms, whilst a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of the lines, the British troops retained their constancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful and almost unparalleled manner. As true courage submits with great difficulty to despair, they still fluttered themselves with the hopes of succour from their friends on the New-York side, or, perhaps with not less fervent wishes, of an attack from the enemy; thereby to quit

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quit all scores at once, and either to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themselves with honour. In the mean time the enemy's force was continually increased by the pouring in of the militia from all parts, who were all eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of beholding the degradation of those whom they had so long dreaded, and whom they unhappily considered as their most implacable enemies.

At length, no succour appearing, and no rational ground of hope of any kind remaining, an exact account of the provisions was taken on the evening of the 13th of October, when it was found that the whole stock in hand would afford no more than three days bare subsistence for the army. A council was immediately called; and the General thinking it right and just, in a matter so momentous to individuals, as well as the whole, to obtain the general opinion and suffrage of the army, so far as it could with propriety be collected, invited, besides the Generals and field officers, all the Captains commanding corps or divisions, to assist at the council. The result was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Gates shewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed no signs of being carried away by the present extraordinary torrent of success. The terms were moderate, considering the ruined state and irretrievable circumstances of the army; and that it was already in effect at the enemy's mercy, being equally incapable of subsisting

where it was, and of making its way to a better situation. The principal difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the British Generals and troops were peremptory, and Gates far from being stiff.

The principal articles of the convention, Oct. 17th. exclusive of those which related to the provision and accommodation of the army, in its way to Boston, and during its stay at that place, were, That the army should march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place where they were to deposit their arms: To be allowed a free embarkation and passage to Europe from Boston, upon condition of their not serving again in America, during the present war; the army not to be separated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their side arms; all private property to be sacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage to be searched or molested; all persons of whatever country, appertaining to or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, so far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmost punctuality and honour. His humanity and politeness, in every part of this business, have been much celebrated; without a single detraction, so far as we have heard, from the most favourable accounts that have been given of his

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his conduct. This was the more praise-worthy, as some late, as well as former circumstances, had highly enraged the American militia; the army in its last movements, whether from military necessity, or the vexation and ill-temper incident to their situation, or the joint operation of both, having burnt and destroyed many houses, and some of them buildings of great value. The extraordinary and severe execution which now took place upon the North River, would also have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct. It is even said, and we do not find that it has been contradicted, that this General paid so nice and delicate an attention to the British military honour, and to the character and feelings of those brave troops, who now experienced so deplorable a reverse of fortune, that he kept his army close within their lines, and did not suffer an American soldier to be a witness to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms.

The Americans state the whole number who laid down their arms; including Canadians, provincials, volunteers, regulars, and irregulars of all sorts, at 5752 men. In this number is undoubtedly included, though not specified, all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They also state the number of sick and wounded left in the hospitals at the retreat from the camp near Still Water, to 528 men, and the loss besides in the army, in killed, wounded, taken, or deserted, from the 6th of July downwards, to 2,933; the total amount of these numbers being 9,213 men. By another account, the number is carried above ten thousand.

They also got a fine train of brass artillery, amounting to 35 pieces of different sorts and sizes.

During these unfortunate transactions, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with great success. He had embarked about 3000 men for that service, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of ships of war, armed gallies, and smaller vessels, under the conduct of Commodore Hotham. Their first object was the reduction of the forts Montgomery and Clinton, which though of considerable strength, being at that time in a very unguarded state, it was determined to attempt by a coup de main. They were situated on either side of a creek, which descended from the mountains to the North River, and their communication preserved by a bridge. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two divisions, at such a distance from their object, as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains; which was however calculated and conducted with such precision, that the two detachments arrived on the opposite sides of the creek, and began their separate attack on the forts, Oct. 6th. at nearly the same time. The surprise and terror of the garrisons was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. The assault on both sides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuosity of the troops so great, that notwithstanding a very

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very considerable defence, both the forts were carried by storm. As the soldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the opposition they met, as by the loss of some brave and favourite officers, the slaughter of the enemy was considerable.

Upon the loss of the forts, the rebels set fire to two fine new frigates, and to some other vessels, which with their artillery and stores were all consumed. Another fort called Constitution, was in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined land and naval force, precipitately set on fire and abandoned. General Tryon also, at the head of a detachment, destroyed a new and thriving settlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, with considerable stores. The artillery taken in the three forts amounted to 67 pieces of different sizes. A large quantity of artillery and other stores, with ammunition, and provisions, were also taken. A large boom and chain, the making of which was supposed to have cost 70,000^l, and the construction of which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, industry, and skill, was in part destroyed, and in part carried away. Upon the whole, the American loss in value was probably greater than upon any other occasion since the commencement of the war. Their strength and attention were drawn away to the northward, and other things must have been neglected, whilst they applied both to the principal object.

Our loss in killed and wounded was not great as to number,

but some distinguished and much lamented officers fell. Of these, besides Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, Major Sill was, from the general esteem he had acquired through his many excellent qualities, universally regretted. Major Grant of the New York volunteers, and Count Grabouski, a Polish nobleman, and Aid de Camp to General Clinton, were also slain in the assault on these forts.

The expedition did not end with this success. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, continued, for several days, their excursion up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was receiving the most favourable conditions for himself and a ruined army, the fine village or town of Esopus, at no very great distance, was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The extraordinary devastation which attended every part of this expedition, of the necessity of which we are not judges, was productive of a pathetic but severe letter, from General Gates, then in the height of victory, to General Vaughan.

On the approach of Gates, the troops and vessels retired to New York, having dismantled the forts, and for a time at least, having left the river defenceless. But that enterprise, though conducted with spirit and ability, was of little moment in the general account.

Such was the unfortunate issue of the northern campaign: The event of an expedition which was under-

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undertaken with the most confident hopes, and for some time pursued with very flattering appearances of success. It was supposed the principal means for the immediate reduction of the colonies; but it has only served, in conjunction with other operations, which in the first instance have succeeded better, to demonstrate the difficulties attending the subjugation of a numerous people at a great distance, in an extensive country marked with strong lines, and abounding in strong natural defences, if the resources of war are not exceedingly deficient, and that the spirit of the people is in any degree proportioned to their situation. It may now, whatever it was in the beginning, be a matter of doubt, whether any superiority of power, of wealth, and of discipline, will be found to overbalance such difficulties.

It would not be easy at present, as many things necessary to be known have not yet been fully explained, and improper, as the whole is still a subject of public investigation, to attempt forming any judgment upon the general plan or system of this campaign. The general conduct of the war this year has already undergone much censure; and undoubtedly the sending of the grand army at such a distance to the southward, whilst the inferior was left struggling with insurmountable difficulties in the north, when it would seem that their junction or co-operation would have rendered them greatly superior to any force which could have been possibly brought to oppose their progress, seems, in this view of things, not to be easily accounted for. It is, however, a subject, upon which no conclusive opinion can yet be formed.

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CHAP. X.

Anicable change of disposition in the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, upon the death of the King of Portugal. Some account of that Monarch. Succeeded by his daughter the Princess of Brazil. Marquis of Pombal removed from power. Public joy upon that occasion. Some account of that minister. State prisoners enlarged, and popularity acquired by that age. Orders sent to South America for a cessation of hostilities. Account of the state and progress of the armament which had been sent out from Cadiz in the latter end of the preceding year. Takes the island of St. Catherine's. Reduces the colony of St. Sacrement. Preliminaries of peace, and a treaty of limits concluded between Spain and Portugal. Observations on that event. Armaments still continued in Spain. Differences between Russia and the Porte. Rival Chans. Petty war in the Crimea. Both sides unwilling to proceed to extremities. War between the Turks and Persians. State of Russia. King of Sweden visits that court. Dreadful inundation at Petersburg. Emperor visits France. Treaty between France and Switzerland. Death of the Elector of Bavaria.

EUROPE has had the fortune to preserve her tranquillity during the year of which we are treating. The storm which was gathering so heavily to the southward, if not entirely dispelled, has at least changed its direction. The death of the late king of Portugal has given a new colour to the politics of that quarter. That event of course removed a personal animosity, and a kind of peculiar malignity, which had been long supposed to subsist between that monarch and his potent neighbour. Spain being thus disengaged from what she considered as rather a sort of domestic squabble, is left at large to pursue a more extensive policy, and to direct her ambition to objects which may at present appear of greater importance.

The late king of Portugal, Don Joseph the first, was born at Lisbon on the 6th of June, 1714; where he also died, after a long and grievous illness, on the 24th of February, 1777, in the 63d year

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of his age, and 27th of his reign. He married, in the year 1732, Maria Anna Victoria, Infanta of Spain, who had then just completed her fourteenth year, and who had experienced the unusual fortune of being sent a child to France, received as queen, bred up as the destined bride of the late king of that country, and of being afterwards returned, upon a change in the political system of that court, under the pretence of nonage.

The late king succeeded his father, Don John of Braganza, in the throne, on the 31st of July, 1750. As he had no male issue, in order to preserve the crown in the full blood of the family on both sides, or perhaps to guard against the danger of a disputed succession, his eldest daughter, the princess of Brazil, was in the year 1760 married to her uncle Don Pedro, her father's brother, she being then in her 26th year, and he about forty-three. Their son, the

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prince of Beira, in pursuance of the mode of marriage, which seems in a manner established in that court, and which already approaches closely to that antiently practised in the royal house of the Ptolemies, was married just before the king's death, to his mother's youngest sister, the princess Maria Benedicta, she being then in her 31st year and the prince in his sixteenth.

The late king's reign was neither happy to himself, nor fortunate to his people. It was early marked by one of those awful calamities, those tremendous strokes of providence, or convulsions of nature, which bring man to a sense of his condition, and lay his proudest works in the dust. The fatal earthquake in 1755, overwhelmed his capital, and shook his kingdom to the centre. His succeeding administration was not much distinguished, by the affection it acquired at home, or the reputation which it sustained abroad. It was deeply stained with domestic blood; and rendered odious by an excessive and horrible cruelty. The first families of the kingdom were ruined, tortured, and nearly cut off from the face of the earth, without that clearness of evidence to the establishment of their guilt, or even that attention to the usual forms of justice and modes of enquiry, which so dreadful and exemplary an execution undoubtedly demanded. From that time, suspicion, or the will of a favourite, supplied the place of all evidence, until the numerous dungeons of the kingdom seemed at length scarcely capable of affording room to the wretched bodies of those who had been its principal citizens. The

king himself had nearly perished disgracefully, by the hands of assassins, in some idle nocturnal excursion; and if it had not been for the powerful intervention of a great and faithful ally, he would probably have seen his kingdom overrun, if not finally subverted, by a foreign enemy.

It must, however, in justice to the memory of the late king be acknowledged, that he gave a striking instance both of firmness and virtue, in the constancy with which he supported his engagements and faith with Great Britain, during the trying circumstances, and surrounding dangers of the late war. Without wishing to detract in any degree from the merit of such a conduct, it must also with equal truth be acknowledged, that he could not, consistently with the character of a statesman and politician, have acted otherwise. That he had no other alternative than the part which he took, or to adopt that weak, desperate, and at all times to be considered most fatal measure, of resigning the keys, the strength, and the arms of his kingdom into the hands, and laying even his own person at the mercy of an envious and inveterate enemy, who had an old and never-forgotten claim upon the whole.

The expulsion of the jesuits from Portugal, which first opened the way to the dissolution and ruin of that celebrated and extraordinary order of men in every other part of the world, will for ever render the late reign distinguished. A great deal was also done, to diminish the excessive numbers and overgrown wealth and influence of all orders of the clergy, as well as to abate the rigours of the inquisition. In derogation

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rogation however from the latter merit, that tribunal was still kept up as an engine of state tyranny, when it was enfeebled as an instrument of religious persecution.

Upon the death of the king, the princess of Brazil was immediately acknowledged as sovereign, and entered into the administration of public affairs. It was reported, but we cannot say with what foundation, that a considerable party, who were supposed to be secretly supported by the prime minister, had some intention of placing the crown directly upon the head of the presumptive heir, the prince of Beira. If any such scheme was in agitation, it was not avowed, nor have any of those resentments appeared, which might have been expected from the knowledge of such a design.

One of the first acts of the new government, was the removal from power

March 6th. 1777. of the Marquis de Pombal, who had for many years governed the kingdom with a most unbounded authority, and which his numerous enemies say, was directed to the most cruel and arbitrary purposes. This minister was let down from his high authority with great gentleness, for that country, and that species of government. He was informed by a note from the queen, that, in consideration of the great regard and esteem which the late king her father had for him, as well as of his own age and infirmities, he was permitted, at his own desire, to retire from the royal service to his estate in the country. In the same note, the queen granted him a continuance of the appointments of his office as secretary of state, and bestowed on him

a vacant Commandery of St. James.

No public blessing or advantage; neither the deliverance from a foreign enemy, nor a domestic tyranny, could have excited a greater or more universal joy, than the removal of this nobleman from power, and his subsequent disgrace, which became every day more apparent. Whether it proceeded from the boldness, wisdom, and rectitude of his measures, his opposing national vices, and popular prejudices, the despotism of his administration, or, more probably, from the mixed operation of all these causes, he had the fortune to incur the abhorrence and dread of every order of men in the state and kingdom. The antient nobility, considered him equally the destroyer of their order, and the exterminator of their race; the clergy anathematized him, as the enemy of religion in general, as well as the subvertor of their particular institutions, and the destroyer of their general and personal rights; the common people execrated him, as the scourge and curse of their country. To add to the weight of domestic enmity and clamour, he had continual disputes with the English merchants and factory, (who form a great body in that country) upon matters relative to trade, and to their real or supposed rights and immunities.

In such a state of public dislike and violent prejudice, it would not be an easy matter to obtain the real character of a minister, at a much nearer distance, and in a country where enquiry was much more open, and disquisitions of that nature better understood and more liberally conducted, than in

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Portugal. His friends represent him as a minister of great abilities, and as a bold reformer, who endeavoured by the most vigorous exertions to restore to its ancient power, reputation, and splendour, a country which had been long fallen into the most humiliating state of weakness, and the people sunk in the most degrading barbarism. The country, they say, was little and badly cultivated; the arts were lost; industry extinct; and every sort of business was conducted by strangers. Thus, the people depended entirely on foreigners for corn and cloathing, the crown was without treasure, and the state without finances. The military glory of the kingdom was extinct; and its safety depending upon the precarious caprice or negligence of its neighbours, whilst it maintained a nominal army, without soldiers or arms. Under all these distressing circumstances, the nation was devoured by an idle, vicious, and abandoned nobility, with a most ignorant and luxuriant clergy, both of whom were possessed of exorbitant riches.

It was impossible, say they, to remove evils of such a strength and magnitude, but by the boldest strokes of policy, and a pursuit of the most decisive measures. The Herculean task could only be undertaken, with a full determination to encounter all the power and violence of the nobility and clergy, and to endure all the obloquy of an extremely ignorant, and exceedingly superstitious populace. It was not to be expected that the court of Rome would behold with approbation, a reduction of the exorbitant power and wealth of the clergy, attended with an equal

restraint of their numbers. It was as little to be supposed, that the avarice of foreigners would not be alarmed at the internal improvement of the country, who knew that their former gains arose from its uncultivation and anarchy, as that its dangerous neighbours could behold with satisfaction their ambitious views frustrated, by the growing strength of the kingdom, and the increasing reputation of its government.

This is a very short and slight sketch, but as much as we have room for, of the various ground taken by the numerous foes, and few, indeed, friends, in the condemnation or defence, of this fallen, and once all-powerful minister. It would seem upon the whole, that he possessed no inconsiderable share of ability; that a strong spirit of enterprize, and turn for innovation, were among the leading features of his character; and that his natural boldness of disposition, and an excessive confidence of success in his designs, led him into some extremes, which the prudent attention of a more cautious statesman to times, circumstances, and the character of the people, would have avoided.

Few princes have had an opportunity of acquiring popularity at an easier rate than the queen of Portugal. After the degradation of the favourite, it was only to open the prison doors, and to acquire at once the universal love and applause of her subjects. This measure was said to have been recommended by the late king in his last moments. The appearance of eight hundred wretches, rising from their dungeons where they had been so long buried, and

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in their squalid condition, afforded no faint representation of a resurrection of the dead. Many of these were of family and condition, whose friends having no suspicion of their fate, had long supposed that they had perished by the hands of assassins, or by some untoward accident of which they could frame no idea. Near 4000 more it was said had perished in those prisons during the despotism of the favourite. Of the living, it may well be supposed, that even the most criminal declared and protested their innocence. Each had his tale of woe; and each the particular history, of the cruelties he had experienced, and the sufferings he had undergone, to relate. The emotions of the hearers may possibly be conceived. Their execration and abhorrence of the late minister will be easily supposed.

Among those of high rank, who were now restored to the light of heaven, was, said to be, a son of the Marquis of Tavora, who was committed to prison at five years of age, and having seen no person since that time but a keeper, and that only at the stated and short seasons, allotted for the administration of his scanty provision, exhibited the shocking spectacle of a human being, almost destitute of language and ideas, and without the smallest memory or knowledge of his family or former condition.

The ancient bishop of Coimbra, who had been committed to prison about the time of the suppression of the jesuits, for some enthusiastical writings he had published, in which, along with a direct charge of heresy against the minister, he said it was approach-

ing fast to the throne, and would soon overspread the nation, now presented a piteous spectacle to the people, appearing before them almost naked, as he came out of prison, and relating to them, among his other sufferings, that he had lain upon nothing but bare boards during the whole time of his confinement, whilst his age, venerable appearance, and the sanctity attributed to his character, excited all the mixed emotions of pity and horror in his hearers.

The remains of the unfortunate family of Tavora, consisting of the Marquis de Alorna, and his three brothers, who had been obliged to adopt their mother's name of Lorena, that of Tavora having been for ever abolished, were, in some time after their release, restored to all their ancient honours and rights by a public decree, in which the queen declared, that the important affair in which they were concerned, had been scrupulously enquired into, by the Solicitor General, and ministers of ability appointed for that purpose, who had unanimously declared them entirely innocent. Two of the Marquis's brothers were appointed to honourable commands in the army. M. de Andrada, formerly minister from that court to the United Provinces, who had been thrown into prison immediately after his recal, and who now refused to quit it, until he obtained a promise of a full enquiry into his conduct, received the satisfaction of having his innocence publicly acknowledged by a similar decree, and was appointed High Chancellor of the kingdom. Several who had suffered the loss of their offices, and endured all the miseries

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miseries of a prison, without any charge being laid or pretended against them, were now restored to their places in the court or army, without any formal exculpation.

On the other hand, those who had been particularly attached to the late minister, generally lost their places, or were otherwise disgraced. In some time, his estates were sequestered, under the claim or pretence of his being indebted to the crown, in the course of his administration. Upon the approach of the day of the queen's public acclamation, as it is termed, a ceremonial similar to that of a coronation, and attended with the same renewal of conditions between the sovereign and the people, either to please the populace, or under the apprehension of some outrage on the ensuing festival, the bust of the late minister, which had been fixed on the pedestal of the king's equestrian statue, was ordered for the present to be covered with plaster, and that it should afterwards be replaced by the city arms. Of such little permanency and value, are statues, busts, or the favour of kings, to those who have the misfortune of incurring the odium of their country.

The death of the late king immediately changed the politics of the court of Madrid, with respect to the intended war against Portugal, and put as speedy an end to the preparations, which had been carried on with industry, for the invasion of that kingdom. A perfect good understanding immediately took place between the two courts, and orders were dispatched from each, as soon almost as it could be done, for a cessation of

hostilities in South America. Spain, it is true, has since continued, and still does, her military preparations both by sea and land, and her naval armament in particular, has been attended to with such vigour, and supported with such expense, as have rendered it very formidable, and undoubtedly alarming, to such as may not know its destination, and are liable to its impression. Whatever the design of this extraordinary preparation may be, it has certainly changed its object, if Portugal ever was really such.

The expresses that were dispatched to South America were much too late, to prevent all the effect of the great force which had sailed from Cadiz for that part of the world, about the middle of the preceding month of November. The fleet upon this expedition amounted to no less than 116 sail of all sorts, including six ships of the line, with ten frigates and bombs, being under the conduct of the Marquis of Cafa Tilly. The land forces exceeded 9000, and were under the command of Don Pedro de Cevallos. The whole number of men on board the fleet fell little short of 20,000, and the tonnage run to about the same number.

When the fleet arrived at the Isle of St. Catharine's, on the coast of Brazil, they found that island in a state of preparation and defence, which, if placed, with equal advantages of climate and situation, in other hands, might have foiled a greater force than theirs, formidable as that was. Besides the difficulties of landing incident to those seas and latitudes, they had

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a well fortified castle, supported at a moderate distance by two strong forts, to encounter ; and these, besides being well provided with artillery, and all other provision for war, were defended by about 4000 Portuguese, exclusive of the Indian natives of the island, and a body of Indian auxiliaries from the main. If the fortresses were rendered untenable, the island abounded with fortified works and strong posts, which might have been successively defended, until the reduction of the whole became a work of much labour and difficulty. But the defence was not equal to these advantages.

The Spaniards not only landed without opposition, but the Governor of the island abandoned his cattle, and all it contained, with the greatest precipitation, and without firing a single gun, at their approach. This example was immediately followed, in all its circumstances, by the Governors of the forts, and in three days time the whole island, with all its works and defences, were entirely evacuated. The garrison passed over to the main, where, being at a great distance from their settlements, without any means of subsistence, and perhaps, in their present recreant condition, afraid of becoming a prey to the Indians, they, in these unpleasant circumstances, sent back to the island to propose a capitulation to the Spanish commanders. They could obtain no other condition than that of returning with their arms in their hands, to become prisoners of war. Of this garrison, four battalions, besides 200 of the artillery, were regular troops, the rest

were regimented militia. It has been reported that the Portuguese commander, Don Antonia de Mendoza, has been ordered home to answer for his conduct.

It would not be fitting to omit that a Portuguese squadron of twelve sail, which had been stationed for the protection of the island, immediately fled upon the appearance of a Spanish frigate, which had been sent to reconnoitre, two days before the arrival of the fleet. The Spanish force proceeded to the Rio de la Plata, where it reduced the colony of St. Sacramento and some other places, before the order for a cessation of hostility arrived.

In the mean time, the preliminaries of peace were agreed upon, and a treaty of limits concluded, between the courts of Spain and Portugal. These preliminaries have, since the conclusion of the year, been extended, completed, and finally ratified, into the fullest and most perfect treaty of peace, union, and friendship, between the two crowns and nations. By this treaty, the King of Spain seems to have fully obtained that great object which has been so long and so diligently sought by that crown, and which he himself so explicitly avowed, in the memorial that preceded his declaration of war in the year 1762, viz. That "*considering the interests of the most faithful King as his own, he wishes to unite the one with the other, so that either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal may be considered as belonging to one master.*" The same idea is still preserved and comprehended in the introduction or preamble of the present treaty, which contains

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tains the following words; “ and, by that means, establish the most permanent indissoluble union and friendship between the two crowns, which their natural situation, the vicinity of their territories, the ancient and modern connections, and consanguinity of their respective sovereigns, the identity of origin, and the reciprocal interest of the two nations claims.”

Thus was Portugal thrown into the arms of the house of Bourbon, and once more virtually become a member of the Spanish monarchy. It is said, that she has since acceded to the family compact; but whether any formal act of that nature has taken place, does not seem a matter of consequence, as she in effect acceded to it, the moment she was under a necessity of signing the present treaty. Nations are governed in their conduct by situation and circumstance, not by wax or by signatures. Those who defend the conduct of Portugal in this point, affirm that she cannot be charged with meanness in respect to herself, nor reproached with breach of faith in regard to others, for her conduct in this transaction. As she found herself, they said, abandoned by England, or which was the same thing, as she found that power incapable of affording the protection which she wanted and had a right to expect, and was herself totally incapable of resisting that great force which enclosed her on all sides, and was ready to trample her to destruction, she had no other resource than to submit to whatever terms were prescribed.

Every person who has any concern in, and knowledge of, our

political and commercial interests, must deeply lament the unhappy situation of public affairs, which disabled us from preventing the completion of a scheme, so loaded with the most destructive consequences to both. The actors had seen, for some years, that the time was fast approaching, which would prove favourable to the execution of this long laid and favourite design, and they were during that time assiduously preparing to seize the golden opportunity. All the quarrels about limits, and all the events of the petty war carried on in South America, tended to this single point. It may not perhaps be a very hazardous assertion to advance, that of all the misfortunes that have been or may be the consequence of our unhappy civil war, this event, excepting only the irrecoverable loss of the colonies, would hold the first place as to magnitude and effect.

Whilst peace was thus preserved in one part of Europe, the aspect borne by the great empires of Russia and Turkey, seemed to portend a renewal of all the calamities of war in another. We have ventured in the course of the late war repeatedly to hazard an opinion, that nothing less than the most deplorable state of weakness, and irresistible necessity, could ever induce the Porte to admit Russia to a free passage through the Dardanelles, with an open trade, and the consequent establishment of a marine force on the Black Sea. The events of the war were, however, such, as compelled a submission to this necessity. But when a full compliance with all the terms of this condition came to be demanded,

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minded, and that Russia probably expected and insisted, that they should be understood in the utmost latitude of every sense to which they could be extended in her own favour, all the fatal consequences which must inevitably attend this measure, again appeared to the Porte in their most dreaded forms. They saw that a compliance, in the utmost extent, would be at once to surrender the keys of the Ottoman empire; and, in fact, it would have been no less.

Various delays and difficulties were accordingly thrown in the way, and the vessels which had passed from the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, were stopped at Constantinople, and have never been permitted to proceed farther on their voyage. In the mean time, fresh causes of debate arose, and new troubles sprung up in the Crimea, which in some degree served to lessen the attention to the present business; a circumstance highly pleasing to the Turks, who would by no means acknowledge the smallest disposition to any violation of faith, or breach of treaty.

The entire independence of the Crim Tartars, and particularly their freedom of choice in the election of their Chans, had been laid down as principles not to be departed from by the late peace. As in other cases of election, the great neighbours here endeavoured to influence the electors. Each had great influence as well as power. The Russians had a strong faction among the Tartars, exclusive of their troops; an order of men who are supposed to have no right to meddle in elections, but who not-

withstanding frequently decide them. The Turks had a stronger faction than the Russians, but no soldiers. Each had his favourite candidate. A double return of course ensued, and the names of Dewlet Gueray and Sahib Gueray were echoed by their respective partizans from one end to the other of the Crimea.

Each side now insisted with equal truth, that the Chan supported by the other had not been elected by the free voice of the people. A civil war necessarily ensued. The opposite faction, by the aid of the Russians, drove Dewlet Gueray out of the country. His party notwithstanding revived, with greater strength than before. Besides the assistance they received from the Porte, the Nogais, Budziack, and other nations or tribes of Tartars, who dwell without the peninsula, instead of being influenced by the Russians, displayed their hereditary enmity by a violent opposition to their Chan, who they considered merely as their instrument to take a fast hold of the Crimea. A petty war has accordingly been continued, of little consequence to the rest of mankind, but in which the Russians, as well as their antagonists, have at different times been roughly handled.

It would seem upon the whole, that the two great principals are very unwilling to enter into a new war. If it had been otherwise, other sort of hostilities than those we have mentioned, would ere now have taken place. It has been reported and believed, that a great western power, equally noted for ambition and dexterity in intrigue, was the real fomenter of these

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these differences, in order that Russia might be so fully engaged at home, as not to have leisure to attend to, much less to interfere in, the dangerous designs which that power was preparing to carry into execution in another quarter of the world; more especially as these measures were deeply to affect a state, with which the court of Petersburg is in the closest union of alliance and friendship. Though this report is highly probable, we cannot, however, from the reasons which we have already stated, help believing, that the Porte would have acted nearly the same part, without any interference whatever.

The war between Persia and the Porte languishes on both sides, although it was declared with all the usual solemnities at Constantinople. The Persians have not been able to pursue their success in the taking of Bassora with any effect. Their ill government and intestine divisions probably disable them from any vigorous, or, at least, lasting exertion. They have been repeatedly defeated on the side of Bagdat, only by the troops of that government; and in one action, it is said, that 2000 of their troops were driven into the Euphrates. On the other hand, it is reported, (and we have nothing but very uncertain reports from those quarters) that a Turkish Basha, in the outset of some enterprize against the Persians, having entered Georgia without leave, and contrary to treaty, he was entirely defeated, and a great part of his army cut to pieces, by Prince Heraclius. It seems as if it were become necessary, that some great

revolution should, ere long, take place in Asia. Nor does it seem very improbable, that one or two great and vigorous empires might suddenly rise out of the ruins of the present miserable, decayed, and rotten fabrics.

Russia is making a rapid progress to the highest state of greatness. Her commerce, population, and opulence, are daily increasing. Her exports have been nearly doubled within the last twenty years. The increase of people in the central and cultivated provinces, has held a reasonable proportion to that of their commerce and wealth. Her annual revenue exceeds her annual expence by near three millions of roubles, being a balance of about 700,000 l. a-year in her favour. A continuance of settled government, and the blessing of a wise administration, will in a few years place her power and greatness beyond all competition. The unhappy falling off of the British colonies has exceedingly increased the commerce of Russia, as well as of the other northern countries. Russian Tobacco has arisen within twelve months to considerably more than double its usual price.

The King of Sweden paid a visit this summer, in the character of Count of Gothland, to Petersburg, where he was received with all the splendour and magnificence peculiar to that court. The presents were in the same grand style with the entertainment, and the jewels of the eastern world, lost no part of their lustre in the frozen regions of the north.

The autumn was attended with a most dreadful calamity to the city and neighbourhood of Petersburg.

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It is a fault in the situation of that city, that it is liable to inundations; but that which now happened was by far more extensive and destructive, than any thing of the sort which had ever been

known before. A violent Sept. 21. hurricane at the south-west, which began at two o'clock in the morning, raised the waters, in the short time of four hours, to the height of fourteen feet above the ordinary level of the river Neva. The city, and the adjoining flat country, were of course rapidly overflowed, and the water continued at its extreme height for about half an hour.

The distress, terror, and calamity of the inhabitants, may be easily supposed to exceed all description. Many hundreds were drowned; thousands were ruined. The loss to the state, and to individuals, was immense. The houses in the lower parts of the town were entirely covered; and many houses were unroofed in the best parts. The quantities of goods and commodities of all sorts that were destroyed or carried away, in cellars, warehouses, or from the keys, were beyond all estimation. The finest trees in the palace gardens were broken or torn up by the roots. The great bridge of boats over the Neva was carried away, and the greater part of the numerous lesser bridges destroyed. Ships were thrown into gardens, fields, and woods. Country houses and villages were swept away or destroyed. In a word, the morning presented the most dreary and lamentable scene, that any conception can be formed of. A happy change of the wind between six

and seven o'clock, released the people from their terror on account of their lives, and left them time to contemplate on calamities, which had till then been partly covered by their danger.

It is characteristic of the present time, for sovereigns, not only to pay mutual visits, but laying by their state, to take journeys into other countries, under the same curiosity and desire of information, which impel private travellers to a like pursuit. The visits and travels of great monarchs are, however, supposed to be generally tinged a little with policy and matters of state. It seems as if their frequency might in time wear away all jealousy upon these accounts.

The active spirit, and strong disposition to judicious enquiry, with an eager desire of obtaining every species of useful information, which so much mark the present Emperor of Germany's character, would have probably led him in a season of tranquillity to see the kingdom of France, independent of political motives, and of the desire of visiting his royal sister. He accordingly paid a visit to that country, and arrived at Paris a little after the middle of April. He lived and travelled, (under the appellation of Count Falkenstein) like a very private gentleman, who was led more to travel by business than amusement. His affability, or rather a noble openness and freedom of manners, caught the hearts of all orders of mankind wherever he passed. His manner of life in Paris, resembled nothing less than that of a monarch. He lived but little at court, and spent

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no time in forms ; it was laid out, with the attention of a philosopher, and the inquisitiveness of a statesman, in examining the different establishments of that country, whether civil, military, mercantile, or appertaining to any great order of manufacture. After six weeks spent in this manner in the capital, he made the tour of the kingdom, to the Pyrenees, in the same spirit.

Europe has presented little interesting matter this year, besides what we have taken notice of. A

new treaty of alliance which has taken place between France and Switzerland, would have been once a matter of consideration ; but in the late very extraordinary change which the general system of policy in Europe has undergone, is not of weight enough to deserve much reflection. The death of the Elector of Bavaria, which happened on the last day but one of the year, will unhappily render Germany again the theatre of war, and afford too much subject for future history.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. THE rector and churchwardens of two adjoining parishes near Portdown-Hill, Hants, were cited before the bishop, to shew cause why they did not attend their duty on the general fast-day.

3d. The half-yearly dividend of 3d. the East-India company was this day declared to be three and a half per cent.

4th. Some villains broke into the house of Mr. Beale, of Marlborough, steward to Lord Bruce, and stole an iron chest, containing seven hundred guineas, and Bank notes to the value of seven hundred pounds. This robbery alarmed the whole country, and was evidently perpetrated by some persons who knew that the money received at the late audits of Lord Bruce's tenants, was deposited at Mr. Beale's.

8th. The River Thames was frozen over at Kingston, and many persons crossed over on the ice. The frost, however, has not this year been very intense.

An allegation, pleaded by Miss Butterfield, against the validity of the will of the late Mr. Scawen, was debated before Sir George Hay, in Doctors Common. After a variety of argu-

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ments, the doctor allowed the plea; the lady, therefore, will be admitted to prove the truth of it in a future proceeding. The plea urged on the part of Miss Butterfield is, that "the last will was found-ed in error."

A rencontre happened at the Adelphi tavern in the 13th. Strand, between Capt. Stoney, and Mr. Bates, editor of the Morning Post. The cause of quarrel arose from some offensive paragraphs that had appeared in the Morning Post, highly reflecting on the character of a lady of rank. After having discharged their pistols at each other without effect, they drew swords, and Mr. Stoney received a wound in the breast and arm, and Mr. Bates one in the thigh. Mr. Bates's sword bent, and slanted against the Captain's breast-bone, which Mr. Bates apprizing him of, Capt. Stoney called to him to straighten it, and in the interim, while the sword was under his foot for that purpose, the door was broken open, or the death of one of the parties would most certainly have been the issue.—On the Saturday following Capt. Stoney was married to the lady in whose behalf he had thus hazarded his life.

This day came on the trial of the Rev. Dr. Storer, 15th. [L] for

for shooting Capt. Keith. By the evidence it appeared, that on the 28th of December, between twelve and one in the night, the deceased forced himself into the house of Mr. White, master of the Swan tavern, near Westminster bridge; that as soon as he found entrance, he made a lounge at Mr. White, which Mr. White parried with an oaken stick; that the noise waked Mr. Storer, who lay in the house, and he, imagining that some robbers had broken in, armed himself with a pistol, and came down stairs; that on his demanding of the deceased, who he was, and what he wanted, he made a lounge at the doctor, which the doctor avoided by retreating back; that the deceased kept advancing on him as he retreated, and that when Dr. Storer could retreat no farther, after bidding the deceased desist, and the sword being close to his breast, the doctor fired, and shot the Captain in the belly, who instantly dropt the sword, and soon after died. The judge, after summing up the evidence, acquainted the jury, that the prisoner was guilty of *justifiable homicide* only, and that they must acquit him, which they instantly did.

Frankfort, Dec. 14. Our letters from Italy mention, that the commissaries appointed by the court of Vienna, and the republic of Venice, to terminate the differences which subsisted about the limit of Morlachia, have concluded a convention, of which the following are the heads:

First, That this agreement shall not be called a treaty, but a convention; secondly, that the cultivated land, of which the Venetians are in possession, shall be declared

the lawful property of the republic: thirdly, that the land between Mount Stolla, and Mount Postock, shall be divided into two equal portions, and a line drawn between them to Mount Bilibich, which line shall be the frontiers between the Venetian states, and the territories of the court of Vienna. Fourthly, that pillars shall be erected along the said line to mark the confines, which are mutually agreed upon. Fifthly, that measures shall be taken amicably to determine all contests and disputes which may arise between the neighbouring countries, with regard to the jurisdiction of the confines, without their being obliged to have recourse to their respective sovereigns.

Cherbourg, Dec. 19. The basin of our port, which we have been many years cleansing, is at last effected, and on Dec. 14, the first ship entered it, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Mr. Foote and Mr. Colman met, agreeable to their 15th. appointment, and executed the articles which confirm the latter's purchase of the former's patent, together with all his property in the Hay-market theatre. By the terms of the demise, Mr. Colman obliges himself to pay Mr. Foote a clear annuity of 1600*l.* per ann. by four quarterly payments; he also stipulates to pay Mr. Foote a handsome sum for the right of acting all his unpublished pieces. Mr. Foote, on the other hand, agrees to put Mr. Colman in immediate possession of the premises, and engages not only to give him the refusal of all such dramatic writings as he may hereafter produce, but also to perform on no other stage in

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London than that of the Hay-market theatre.

Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth,
Jan. 16.

"This morning, as the workmen were removing a quantity of hemp out of his majesty's warehouse in the dock-yard, they found a machine amongst the hemp, consisting of a large piece of wood, hollowed out and filled with combustibles; it was covered over with tin, full of holes to admit the air, and a tube and match at each end, which appeared to have been set on fire; but providentially went out of itself before it had done any other damage."

17th. His majesty in council of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 29th inst. viz. Richard Wright, alias Brent, and Benjamin Eyres, for breaking into the house of Frederick Commerell, Esq; at Hemwell, and stealing several silver spoons, and other things; John Kelly and Thomas Latham, for stealing goods to a considerable amount, the property of Thomas Colcomb, in his house in Cecil-court; Thomas Burrows, for committing an unnatural crime at a house in a court in Drury-lane, on a person who, with about 14 others, had assembled for the like abominable purposes; and Thomas Moreton, for robbing Benjamin Goode, in the Willow-walk, Shoreditch.

The following were respited during his Majesty's pleasure; William Cathérall, for robbing Thomas Hammond in Ranelagh Walk, Chelsea, of a metal watch: John Calcott, alias Cockett, and Tho-

mas Hughes, for robbing Sarah Jennings in a field at Islington of a cloke and hat; W. Davis, for robbing James Gray, a servant of John Sawbridge, Esq; at Turnham-green, of two guineas and a half; he was also convicted on another indictment, of robbing John Sawbridge at the above place of a gold watch and some money.

On Saturday, during the 20th drawing room at St. James's, a sharper found means to cut off from Sir George Warren's ribbon the ensigns of the order of the Bath, ornamented with diamonds.

This day Lord North presented to the House of Commons a bill to enable the Lords of the Admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ships of war to cruise against the Americans.

Extract of a Letter from Bristol,
Jan. 22.

"Thursday morning last, a providential discovery was made of a most diabolical plot, which might have terminated in the general conflagration of this city. Early that morning a fire was perceived on the deck of the Savannah la Mar, a vessel belonging to Mess. Meyler and Maxse, lying at the quay, and bound for Jamaica, which, before it could be extinguished, communicated itself to the mizen-mast, and did other damage. It evidently appeared to have been designedly done. This opinion was soon after confirmed by the discovery of some combustible materials placed on board the Fame, lying at a distance from the Savannah la Mar, and destined for the same voyage, which fortunately did not take the like effect. A third attempt was made on the Hibernia, Capt. Knethell, a Cork trader,

trader, situated at another part of the quay; on board this vessel was found a bottle of turpentine, besides other inflammable matters. The intended wickedness of those villains did not stop here, for they broke open a warehouse of Mess. Morgan and sons, druggists, in Cypber-lane, Corn-street, and then-in set fire to a box, in which they had also put some combustibles, which happily went out. Several pieces of touch-paper were found just by it.

"On the 19th we were again alarmed by a fire in Key-lane, which was all in a blaze, but happily it did not burn above six warehouses; and the Bell in Broad-street, where Mr. Ferguson used to read his lectures, was five times on fire, but did little damage. As the people were about the fire, they found some of the combustibles, which I saw; they seemed to be a compound of rosin, pitch, gunpowder, oil, and other inflammable matter. Several people are taken up on suspicion.

"On Monday night the city was again thrown into the utmost confusion, by a fire breaking out at three different places at the same time; happily it was discovered before it got to a head; we found a train of combustible matter laid in such a manner, that if it had entched fire, the flames must have spread over great part of the city."

His majesty's pardon, and a reward of one thousand pounds were offered by government for the discovery of the persons concerned in the said fire, and also an additional reward of five hundred pounds by the city of Bristol.

This morning, at half past nine, came on, in the 24th. consistory court of the diocese of London, before Dr. Bettesworth, the very interesting cause depending between Elisabeth late Duchess of Kingston, and the Right Hon. Augustus John Earl of Bristol, respecting a sentence of the said court, pronounced in the year 1768, in a suit of jactitation.

The counsel for the duchess, were Dr. Calvert and Dr. Wynne; and for the Earl of Bristol, Dr. Marriot and Dr. Harris. The pleadings ended at half past one, when Dr. Bettesworth, in a clear, candid manner, took a review of the arguments on both sides—He observed in the first place, that he looked upon the suit of jactitation to be still substantially before the court. The cause he said was shortly this; Mr. Hervey, in the year 1768, was supposed to brag or declare, that Elizabeth Chudleigh was his wife. This offended the lady: she brought him to the proof. He would not, nor could not prove it. The court declared, as far as appeared to them, the allegation to be false; on which Mr. Hervey, one of the present parties, was enjoined silence, and there the matter rested. Since then, the first judicature in the kingdom had decided that the marriage was legal. In consequence of that decision, Lord Bristol was bound in several respects. It did not appear whether it was in his lordship's power to give the information at the time of the passing of the sentence, that has since come out; whether or no in his opinion it was proper that the whole proceedings should be enquired into, and the matter

matter fully received. And on the whole he took it to be a clear incontrovertible principle in the canon law, that marriages, however decided, are always open to reversion and future enquiry. To strengthen what he offered on this point, he alluded to a passage in Burnet's history of the reformation, where the Pope, after declaring the marriage of Henry VIII. with the Queen Catherine of Arragon, to be valid, adds, as a general proposition, that matters of that kind are always open to future examination and enquiry, and accordingly discharged the rule; by which decision the lady will be obliged to shew cause why the sentence should not be revoked, and Lord Bristol let in to prove the marriage.

Benjamin Bates, John Green, and James Grant, convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, for a burglary in the house of Mr. Penleaze, were on Saturday discharged, his majesty having been pleased to grant them his free pardon.

29th. This morning at half past eight o'clock, the following convicts were executed at Tyburn, viz. Thomas Burrows, Benjamin Eyes, and Richard Wright, alias Brent, John Kelly, Thomas Latham, and Thomas Moreton.— Just before they were turned off, Burrows threw a paper among the crowd, to the same purport with the following words, which he spoke with an audible voice: “I am as innocent as the child unborn of the crime which I am about to suffer for: however, I hope to receive mercy from my gracious God. I forgive my prosecutors, and pray God to do the same.”

*Extract of a Letter from Dublin,
Jan. 25.*

“The Earl of Buckingham, who embarked at Holyhead last night, arrived safe in this port this morning. His lordship was received at landing by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commons of the city of Dublin. The foot forces in garrison lined the street, through which his lordship, attended by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded to the castle; and the council having been summoned to meet at three o'clock, his lordship was introduced in form to Lord Harcourt, who received him, sitting, under the canopy of state, in the presence chamber; from whence a procession was made to the council chamber, where his lordship's commission was read, and the oaths administered to him; after which, his lordship having received the sword from lord Harcourt, the great guns in his majesty's park, the Phoenix were fired, and answered by the regiments on duty, which were drawn up in College Green. His excellency then received the compliments of the nobility, and other persons of distinction.”

Leeds, Jan. 28. The following affair happened on Monday the 13th inst. at Lincoln: a match having been made to fight for five guineas a side, between James Cheaven, the noted brawler, of Lincoln, and Benjamin Wike, of Barnsley, in Yorkshire; in the first engagement Wike had the misfortune to break his arm; after which they fought for upwards of forty minutes, with various successes, the odds being sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other: at last victory decided in [L] 3 favour

favour of the Yorkshire man : his second asking him why he did not use his other arm, he immediately shewed it to the company. The gentlemen of Lincoln were so pleased with this man's courage, that they made him a very handsome subscription, and got him a skilful surgeon to set his arm, and we hear he is likely to do well.

DIED the 10th instant, Spranger Barry, Esq; of Covent-garden theatre. He was born in S. Warburgh's parish, Dublin, Nov. 20, 1719. He made his first appearance on the stage in 1744, in the character of Othello, and was received with astonishing applause. In 1746, he came over to England, and was at first engaged at Drury-lane, which he afterwards quitted for Covent-garden. In his person he was by much the finest figure, in our time at least, upon the British stage : to this, he possessed a superiority of voice, an engaging manly address, with powerful and communicating feelings. Thus eminently gifted by nature, he turned his attention very properly to the pathetic character of tragedy, and the fine gentleman of comedy ; in both of which lines we will venture to say he had not his equal, if we except Mr. Garrick, with whom, during a long contest, he in a great measure divided the applause of the town.

Capt. Symons, of Stepney, who, having no relations, left 5000l. for the benefit of seamen in the merchant's service.

Dr. Robert Brown, at Utrecht, agent from the King of Great-Britain, and pastor of the English church in that city.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell, aged 92, of Hampton Court Park, thought

to be the only descendant left of the Protector Cromwell.

John Ross, L. L. D. Professor of languages in the King's university of Aberdeen. His death was occasioned by swallowing a spider, in a glass of claret. Upon dissecting, his stomach was found to be ulcerated, and extended beyond the ordinary size.

Rev. Mr. Metcalf, aged near 100, Rector of Toft, and Hardwicke, both in Cambridgeshire.

F E B R U A R Y.

A man who calls himself James Hill, otherwise John 4th. the Painter, was brought to the Public Office in Bow-street, from Odiam gaol, in Hampshire, by two of the King's messengers, being suspected of setting fire to the dock-yard at Portsmouth. He was examined before Sir John Fielding and several of the Lords of the Admiralty, who desired him to disclose all he knew of the affair, and discover his accomplices, so as they might be brought to justice, and several questions were asked him, but he refused to give any answer. He was apprehended at Hook, in Hampshire, and committed to Odiam gaol, on Sunday evening, for breaking into a linendraper's shop at Calne, in Wiltshire, and stealing several things of value.—A vessel, containing some spirits of turpentine, a paper with gunpowder, a tinder-box, matches, &c. were found on him when taken, which were produced, as were several pamphlets written by two gentlemen, which he said he should abide by.

8th. This

8th. This evening's Gazette contains an address of congratulation to his majesty, from the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and principal inhabitants of the town of Stockton upon Tees, in the county of Durham, upon the rapid progress of his Majesty's arms in America.

A few days ago, some navy lieutenants were again under the custody of a peace officer, for assaulting Stephen Richardson, in Leadenhall-street.—Mr. Gates, the city marshal, being present, executed his orders, and brought them before the lord-mayor, when Captain Kirke, the regulating officer, attended. After Richardson had made his complaint, the defendants produced a warrant from the admiralty, backed by Mr. Alderman Harley, by way of justification. The lord-mayor, however, would not receive it as a sufficient answer to the charge; he said that in the opinion of the court of aldermen, that was no authority to commit, within the jurisdiction of the city, any violence upon the person of a British subject; that he considered the lieutenants to have acted as though they had never been in possession of such a warrant; and therefore, if Richardson should insist upon a prosecution, he would call upon the defendants for bail. Richardson declined any further proceedings, so the matter, of course, fell to the ground.

Richardson was going out of the room, when lieutenant Hills expressed his determination to take him on board the tender, insisting that he was impressed under a lawful authority: this revived the suspicion afresh. The lord-mayor

declared his resolution to keep the man out of their hands, and, to effect it, directed him to stay in the room. Captain Kirke begged for a copy of the resolution of the court of aldermen: this the lord-mayor objected to, till he had advised with the recorder; his lordship offered to have it read from the journals; but this the captain thought would be giving unnecessary trouble, as his memory would hardly be able to retain the precise words. Thus the matter ended.

His Majesty has been pleased to grant to Andrew 10th. Robinson Stoney, Esq.; and Mary Eleanor Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, his royal licence to use the said surname of Bowes, pursuant to the will of the countess's father.

The Barons of the Exchequer gave their opinion on 11th. a motion made last term, for a new trial in the great cause between Sir James Lowther, Bart. and his grace the Duke of Portland. That long contest was then finally determined in favour of the Duke of Portland.

This being the last day 12th. of Hilary term, the three publishers were brought from the King's-Bench prison to the court of King's Bench, Westminster, to receive judgment for printing the advertisement of the constitutional society, when they were fined 100l. each, and ordered to be discharged.

Bank of England, Feb. 18.

Hyman Isaacs, otherwise Hyam Baron, some time since apprehended at Calcar, in his Prussian Majesty's dominions, was executed at Ostend for uttering notes forged in imitation of the notes of the governor

vernor and company of the bank of England. Every court in Europe shewed their zeal for bringing this villain to condign punishment.

Mr. Ebenezer Platt, who was committed to Newgate, on Thursday last, by Justice Addington, for high treason, was formerly a planter in the province of Georgia in America. He is the first American that government has meddled with,

At a common council 14th. held at Guildhall, a motion was made to petition the House of Commons against a bill depending in the Houle, intituled, A bill to empower his majesty to secure persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason, &c. which motion was unanimously resolved in the affirmative.

Saturday morning Dr. 22d. Dodd was brought to the bar at the Old-Bailey, to be tried for forging a bond for 4200l. in the name of the Earl of Chesterfield; when the arguments of the counsel commenced on the propriety of admitting Mr. Robinson, the broker, an evidence, which at last was agreed to, and the trial of the doctor went on, and lasted about seven hours, when the jury brought in their verdict guilty, death.

Was executed at Tyburn 22d. Peter Tolosa, a Spaniard, for the wilful murder of Mary Catherine Sophie Durazey, a young French woman, with whom he had lived some time; and on some difference had accused her before a magistrate of taking his money; and on her way to prison he followed, and stabbed her with a long bladed knife a little above the collar bone, of which wound she im-

stantly died. He was attended to the place of execution by the under sheriff. About twelve o'clock his body was brought back to Surgeons-hall for dissection.

The session ended at the 26th. Old-Bailey, when the following convicts received sentence of death, viz. William Lavy, sen, and Sarah Parker, who were convicted in October sessions, for counterfeiting the silver coin; Lavy is to be hanged, and Parker burnt; John Hunt, for shooting at and wounding Thomas Armond; Joseph Wilson, for robbing Sir William Fleming on the highway of a guinea; Daniel Denny, for altering the number in a lottery ticket, and John Hurst, for counterfeiting the stamp of a lion, used by the worshipful company of Goldsmiths to mark gold and silver plate; 24 prisoners were ordered to be sent to hard labour, in raising sand, &c. from the Thames; 13 to be branded and kept to hard labour in the house of correction; and three to hard labour in the same place for three years; and three to be branded and imprisoned in Newgate; five to be branded and discharged; seven privately whipt; and 20 discharged by proclamation.

Same day John Life, Edward Golwell, and Valentine Fuller, George Charles Parsons and Charles Davis, were executed at Tyburn.

Bonx, Jan. 16. Yesterday morning, about three o'clock, fire broke out in the palace, and burned with such rapidity, that the two towers, though one hundred yards distant from each other, were consumed in less than half an hour. The principal apartments and the chapel are entirely burnt; only

only the two wings are saved, which contain the elector's apartment, the gallery, and the cabinet of natural curiosities, on one side, and the fine apartment for strangers on the other; the loss is estimated at above 200,000l. sterling. About twelve persons are lost in the flames, or killed by the falling-in of the floors, while they were endeavouring to save the archives.

The Aurora, John Hutchinson master, late the Oxford, of Glasgow, taken by the rebels, with a party of the 71st regiment on board, and carried into Virginia, is brought into Liverpool, laden with 312 hogsheads of tobacco, on account of the Congress, and bound to Nantz or Bordeaux. She was navigated by 15 men, and had a Mr. Hall on board, in the capacity of a supercargo; eight of the crew were Englishmen, and had all been prisoners in America. About the longitude of 16 W. and in lat. 47, William Turner, boatswain of a ship, and who had previously sounded the inclinations of the English sailors, and found them willing to assist in seizing the vessel and carrying her to England, secured the captain and supercargo in the cabin, while his companions secured the American sailors upon deck; they were all soon over-powered, and Turner, who took the command, shaped his course for Liverpool, where he arrived the 29th instant.

Constantinople, Jan. 8. The Porte after having made every concession that could reasonably be expected, rather than break with the Persians, has been constrained at length to declare war against them the 3d. instant. What gives cause to hope for success is, that many chans un-

der the Persian government, jealous of the increase of the regent's power, have shewed a disposition to join the Porte against him, and that Prince Heraclius, who has had a conference with the grand vizir, will join them against Persia.

Vienna, Jan. 12. By the latest advices, the Persians have taken Bagdat, and put a strong garrison into that place; and the same accounts add, that they are besieging Aleppo.

Venice, Jan. 18. On the 13th instant the Council of Ten published the sentence passed against the Sieur Spiridioni Balsamo, of the island of Zante, heretofore Calculator-General of the Levant, and Andrew Tifano, late Greffier at Corfu, for being guilty of a breach of trust in the execution of their offices, and defrauding the public revenue; particularly the former, who is banished from all the dominions of this republic, on pain of being hanged if taken, and a reward of 4000 ducats is offered to whoever shall take or kill him, together with the privilege of delivering a criminal who is banished or committed to prison, unless it be for a crime against the state, or robbery; and if the person should happen to lose his life in the attempt, his heirs shall be entitled to the same reward. In the mean time the said Spiridioni Balsamo is to have his name erased out of the noble council of the city of Zante, and his house at Corfu to be entirely pulled down, and no other house or manufactory to be erected on the spot, but instead thereof a column is to be erected upon the most conspicuous part, on which are to be inscribed his crime and

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and condemnation; and, in order to render his punishment the more exemplary, a stone with the same inscription is to be placed in the Chamber of Accompts. All his effects are declared to be confiscated, and all contracts which he has entered into since the 8th of March, 1770, are hereby rendered invalid.

Paris, Feb. 3. It appears, that in order to avoid all remonstrances from the parliament, the government intends to make use of the credit of particular states, by a new loan of twenty-six millions. The states of Languedoc, are to raise twelve, those of Burgundy eight, and the order of the Holy Ghost six, which are to be applied to pay off some debts, the interest of which is too burthensome.

Hamburg, Feb. 7. Our letters from Petersburgh give an account of the revenues and expences of the Russian empire; the former of which amount to the annual sum of 17,130,618 roubles, and the latter, including pensions, presents, &c. amount to 14,208,557 roubles. In the account of the revenues the specie current in the empire is not reckoned, on account of the great variation in it, and that part of it particularly regards the mines.

*Extract of a Letter from Lisbon,
Feb. 21.*

"The marriage of his royal highness the Prince of Beira, with her royal highness the Infanta Maria Francisca Benedicta his aunt, was solemnized this afternoon at four-o'clock. After the ceremony, all the royal family were admitted into the king's apartment to kiss his majesty's hand; from whose pre-

fence they retired very much affected,

His most faithful majesty has, for some weeks past, suffered extremely under his disorder; which terminating in a dropsey, increased within these few days so rapidly, that on Sunday last his Majesty's life was despaired of; and on Monday the 24th instant, between twelve and one o'clock, his Majesty expired, to the great grief of all the royal family.

The Princess of Brazil being immediately informed of this melancholy event, prepared to receive the ministers of state, who kissed her hand as sovereign."

DIED, Mrs. Vane, widow, of Errington in Leicestershire, aged 108.

Samuel Turner, Esq. late alderman of Tower-ward, and lord-mayor in the year 1769.

Mr. John Bullen, yeoman, of Deal in Kent, a descendant from the ancient family which gave a queen to Henry VIII.

William Williams, of Cwmyoy, in Monmouthshire, labourer, whose appearance of extreme poverty had induced an humane landlady, the preceding night, to lodge him in her house, as a deed of charity. In the morning he was found dead in bed, and the extraordinary weight of some part of his clothing, on moving it, occasioned an examination of the whole, when the following pieces and sums of money were cut out of his patched and ragged apparel, no part of which was unprovided, viz. 37 guineas, 28 half guineas, 6 quarter guineas, one 36s. piece, one 27s. piece, and one 18s. piece, 18l. 8s. in silver, and 5s. 9½d. in copper.

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Hugh Kelly, Esq. a native of Ireland. His original occupation was that of a stay-maker, which he quitted early in life, and by the force of his own genius, attained a considerable reputation as a literary character; at the time of his death he was also become a respectable practitioner at the bar. His dramatic performances were received with great applause, and his services, as a political writer, had procured him a handsome stipend from government.

M A R C H.

3d. This day the following bills received the royal assent by commission, viz.

The bill to enable his majesty to detain and secure persons charged with high treason in America, or on the seas for piracy.

The bill to enable the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ships of war, or merchants ships, to make reprisals on all ships belonging to the American colonies, that are now in actual rebellion against Great Britain.

The bill for regulating the affairs of the East-India Company, as well in Europe as in India, so far as relates to altering the time for the choice of directors.

The bill to enlarge Mr. Hartley's patent, for his invention of iron plates to prevent the fatal consequences of fires.

And also to several road, inclosure, naturalization, and private bills.

Extract of a Letter from Barcelona,
Feb. 19.

"Our custom-house is burnt

down, with goods therein belonging to the merchants, of upwards of half a million of piastras value; all goods, except corn and fish, imported into Spain, are deposited in the custom-house till the duty is paid, as is all raw silk till delivered to the manufacturer; the alarm of the fire was given on Monday morning at one o'clock; it was till eight o'clock the next day, before any kind of steps were taken to extinguish it, and then only one poor engine was brought out, which was of no manner of use. The Spaniards, not accustomed to see fires of this kind, stood aghast, looking on, and saw every thing consumed. No doubt, many effects might have been saved, had a little activity been used at first. Numbers of merchants and traders will be ruined by this accident; the fire continues burning, but, the custom-house being a detached building, it cannot spread farther."

They write from Paris, that Mr. Silas Deane, the Plenipotentiary from the American congress, left that capital the 21st ult. and was gone to Leghorn, from which place he was to visit Venice, and other of the Italian states.

The family of the late Count Lally are endeavoring to obtain a revision of the process which terminated in his execution. M. Voltaire interests himself much in the affair.

Was heard before the lords a Scotch appeal, wherein Elizabeth Ross, widow, was appellant, and David Ross, Esq. comedian, her brother was respondent. David Ross had been cut off by his father with a shilling, on account of his taking to the stage, and his sister

fitter was left sole heiress; but he sued and obtained a verdict in Scotland for all the out-standing bond-debt, which were considerable.—The lords confirmed the decree.

12th. At Bow-street, before Sir John Fielding, and the magistrates, — Dignam, Esq. was charged by Mr. Clarke, with defrauding him of various sums of money, under the pretence of procuring him a place under government. Mr. Clarke deposed, That he became acquainted with him accidentally in June 1776, and that from his discourse he understood he was a gentleman in some capital employ under the crown, who had it in his power to dispose of places; and concluded the prisoner might serve him, as he wanted a place in one of the offices. That the prisoner proposed to him a lucrative place in the Irish customs, which he said had been possessed by a Mr. Clutterbuck, who was dead; and that he had given him at different times in money and notes (and especially on Sept. 5, 14l. 1s. for leave of absence from the said place) to the amount of 1200l. 1s. on account of the said place, which the prisoner called clerk of his Majetty's customs at Dublin. A paper was read, produced by Mr. Clarke, purporting to be a certificate and warrant of the said clerkship, numbered 24,897 Irish, *Harcourt, Lieutenant*, directed to *John Clarke, Esq.* entitling him to all profits, &c. belonging to that place; subscribed *Weymouth, Cleveland-Row*, and witnessed *E. Dawe*; all which former money, Mr. Clarke gave the prisoner, in consequence of his receipt of that warrant,

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which, when he shewed to Sir Stanier Porten, proved to be a forgery.

Jesiah Browne, Esq. charged the prisoner with another fraud of the like kind. Mr. Browne deposed, that the prisoner was recommended to him by Mr. Clarke, and that the prisoner told him he had the disposal of the place of Gazette-writer to the ministry, which he would procure for him for 1000l. which disposal, the prisoner said, was conferred on him for some meritorious service he had then lately done the government; and that Mr. Frazer, the present Gazette-writer, was to resign. This place Mr. Clarke was commissioned by Mr. Browne to treat for; who agreed for a 1000l. with the prisoner; which agreement Mr. B. ratified by giving drafts for the money, inclusive of which was 137l. as a discharge of office-fees. Another warrant similar to the former was read, dated 17 George III. *durante bene placito*, signed also *Weymouth*. Mr. Daw, clerk in Lord Weymouth's office, deposed in both the cases, that it was no official instrument, nor his lordship's writing: an impression, imitating a stamp, was also on the warrant, which proved to be the reverse of a guinea. The prisoner had also tendered an oath to Mr. Browne to resign all papers in case of dismissal, and purging himself of all felonies, &c. by way of qualification.

It is said, that this impostor was once on the pension-list of Lord Weymouth, and received, for the benefit of his secret services, 300l. per annum, clear of all deductions. That he might appear deserving of the encouragement he met with,

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he is reported to have laid an information against the celebrated Mr. Beaumarchais, charging that gentleman, during his residence in England, with being a spy from the court of France. He was afterwards convicted for these frauds, and sentenced to five years labour on the Thames.

13th. Mr. Burke moved the House, that a bill might be brought in for the more effectually securing his Majesty's dock-yards, &c. when a bill was ordered to be prepared agreeable to the said motion.

14th. About one o'clock, the poll for Newcastle was finally closed, when the numbers were,

For Sir John Trevylian, 1163
Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq. 1068

Majority for Sir John Trevylian, — 95
Whereupon he was declared duly elected.

22d. A handsome monument was this day opened in the north aisle of Westminster-abbey, on the base of which are the following lines :

Erected by
The East-India company,
To the memory of
Major-General Stringer Laurence,
In testimony of their gratitude
For his eminent services,
In the command of their forces
On the coast of Coromandel,
From the year 1746, to the year 1766.

The design seems partly explained by this epitaph : it is a figure with proper attributes, representing the East-India company pointing to a busto of the General, and directing Fame to record those actions, which have induced her to honour

his memory in this public manner : Fame receiving her commands, has engraved the following words on a shield :

Discipline established,
Fortresses protected,
Settlements extended,
French and Indian armies
Defeated,
And peace concluded
In the Carnatic.

In the centre is a view of Tritchynopoly, in Basso Relievo, the principal seat of war at that period ; and at the feet of the company, trophies and standards of the French, Maratoes, and Mysoreans. The epitaph is wrote by Mr. Orme, and the sculpture executed by Mr. Tyler.

The Chevalier Pinto, 26th. Envoy extraordinary from the court of Portugal, notified to the king the death of the late King of Portugal, and presented credentials from his new sovereign, Mary, the present queen.

The royal assent was given, by commission, to 27th.

The bill for improving the navigation of the Thames from London-bridge to Staines.

For licencing a playhouse at Chester.

For building a bridge over Severn, near Gloucester.

For preventing frauds in combing wool.

For continuing the duty on beer in the town of Burnt Island, in Scotland.

For preventing frauds in the measurement of coals.

For recovering small debts in Halifax, Bradford, Kighley, Bingley, &c.

For enclosing Enfield Chase.

For exempting from toll cattle going

going to water or pasture; with some private bills.

One John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London, being impressed, Alderman Bull wrote to the admiralty board, requesting his discharge; to which Philip Stephens, Esq; secretary to the admiralty, by command, returned for answer, *that their lordships did not apprehend his being a freeman and liveryman of London exempted him from being impressed into his majesty's service, if otherwise liable.*

In consequence of this, at the court of common council held last Tuesday at Guildhall, the following motion was made:

"That the committee appointed in November last, for getting John Tubbs, one of the city watermen, discharged, do withdraw immediately, and prepare a letter to the lords of the admiralty for the discharge of John Millachip;" which was carried in the affirmative.

The committee then withdrew, and prepared a letter accordingly, which was read in court, and is as follows:

"My lords, by order of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, I am directed to represent to your lordships, that John Millachip, a freeman and liveryman of London, hath been impressed into his majesty's sea service: that without taking into the idea the general question of the legality or illegality of press warrants, they conceive, that every citizen of London, by charter, Edward III. confirmed by statute of 2d William and Mary, is exempted from serving, in any capacity, against his inclination,

out of the city of London; and that consequently the detention of this man is not warranted by law. I am, therefore, ordered by the court, to request your lordships, that the said John Millachip may be immediately discharged."

Resolved, "That the said letter be transcribed, and signed by the town clerk, and by him presented to the lords of the admiralty."

A motion was made, "That if John Millachip is not discharged in consequence of the above letter, the committee be empowered to pursue such measures as they shall think proper for procuring his immediate discharge and liberation; and that the city solicitor do follow their directions therein;" which was agreed to.

On the 26th, Philip Stephens, Esq; secretary to the admiralty, sent an answer to the town clerk's letter, respecting the detention of John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London; the purport of which was, that their lordships at the admiralty board think it necessary to advise with the crown lawyers before they comply with the demand, to know whether the charter set up is in law a plea of exemption.

A very extraordinary complaint was made to Sir John Fielding, relating to an Italian impostor, who has lately had the address to take in a lady of fortune for upwards of 500l. under pretence of transmuting copper into gold. This pretender to alchemy constructed an laboratory in the lady's house, into which he brought his family, who have lived upon her for a considerable time past. The matter not being found cognizable by the bench, from some

some peculiar circumstances, which shewed the complainant had been most egregiously duped, she was advised to bring her action at common law.

Yesterday, at the Public Office in Bow-street, one Homar was placed at the bar, when James Hounds, button-maker, deposed, that the prisoner applied to him, about three weeks ago, to know if he was willing to go to France, in order to carry on his business there; and that he gave him 11 guineas to pay his expences upon the passage, and to discharge some small debts which he owed to different people. Mr. Clark deposed, That hearing of the affair, he went to the Swan with Two Necks, in Lad-lane, on Tuesday, where he saw the prisoner, with Hounds, in the Dover coach; upon which he apprehended the former, and found a number of letters in his pocket-book, which were produced, and one of which was a letter of advice to a Frenchman at Paris, acquainting him, that he had put on board the ship Minerva a quantity of articles for the making of buttons; Mr. Clark also found in his lodgings, upwards of three hundred pounds worth of the same materials. A messenger was immediately dispatched to prevent the sailing of the Minerva, and Homar committed to take his trial by the 23d George II. chap. 13; where it is enacted, ‘ That, if any person shall contract with or seduce any manufacturer of Great Britain or Ireland, to go out of either kingdom into any foreign country, not within the dominions of Great Britain, every such person shall, on conviction, within 12 months, forfeit 500l. and be com-

mitted for a year, without bail or mainprize, for the first offence; and for every second or subsequent offence, to forfeit 1000l. and be committed for two years without bail or mainprize.’

DIED, Mrs. Latter, bookseller, at Reading: she published a volume of poems, which were well received; likewise a tragedy, entitled, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, and various other pieces.

At Bishopstrow, her native place, near Warminster, in Wilts, the celebrated Julianæ Papjoy, in the 67th year of her age. In her youth she had been the mistress of the famous Nash of Bath, and after her separation from him, she took to a very uncommon way of life. Her principal residence she took up in a large hollow tree, now standing within a mile of Warminster, on a lock of straw, resolving never more to lie in a bed; and she was as good as her word; for she made that tree her habitation for between thirty and forty years, unless when she made her short peregrinations to Bath, Bristol, and the gentlemen’s houses adjacent; and then lay in some barn or out-house.

Peter Fierville, comedian, aged 307. He died at Munich, in Germany. He remembered Moliere, was cotemporary with Baron, played before Charles II. of England and Christina Queen of Sweden, and continued to play at Paris till 1741.

Samuel Mitchel, Esq. at Hanger, Cornwall. He has bequeathed 20l. a year to 10 old maids, a like sum to ten poor housekeepers, and a considerable sum to the parish; 1000l. to each of his servants out of livery, 300 to each of his livery-servants, two livings in his gift

gift to two neighbouring clergymen, after the death of the present incumbents, and his estate to a very distant relation, his heir at law; also, a very considerable legacy to the wife of an officer now on duty in America.

A P R I L.

2d. The report was made to his majesty in council of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 16th instant, viz. Joseph Wilson, William Lavy, sen. and Elizabeth Parker (convicted in October session). The last was afterwards reprieved.

John Hunt, respited during his majesty's pleasure. Daniel Denny was respited till the 2d of May.

3d. A few days since an application was made by the city solicitor to Mr. Justice Aston, in the absence of Lord Mansfield, for two separate writs of Habeas Corpus at common law; the one for the liberation of John Millachip, a freeman and liveryman, the other on behalf of John Maund, one of the sworn constables of this city, both of whom have been lately impressed into his Majesty's sea-service. His lordship refused to grant the writs as prayed at common law, or any otherwise, than according to the statute of the 31st of Charles II. They were accordingly so issued; but became immediately and totally useless, as no judge or court whatsoever could, when the parties were brought before them, take cognizance of the matter upon writs so granted. In consequence of this, the solicitor ap-

plied to Lord Mansfield himself, at Caen-Wood, for the same purpose, when his lordship was pleased to grant the writs as prayed, namely, at common law, and not according to the statute. The writs being thus obtained, as desired, were immediately sent down to the Nore, to be executed.

Paris, March 28. Orders are given for constructing two citadels at Cherbourg, which, when built, will make this port one of the best in France.

Vienna, April 2. His imperial majesty set out yesterday morning for France, under the title of Count Falkenstein, attended by the Counts Cobenzl and Joseph Colleredo.

Paris, April 4. One of the richest of our young nobility, the Marquis de la Fayette, a relation to the Duke de Noailles, and between 19 and 20 years of age, has, at his own expence, hired a frigate, and provided every thing necessary for a voyage to America, with two officers of his acquaintance. He set out last week, having told his lady and family that he was going to Italy, where the Countess de Tessy, his aunt live.

Last night a dreadful fire broke out at Flaxley Abbey, 9th, in the county of Gloucester, the seat of Thomas Crawley Boevey, Esq. which destroyed the greater part of the building, together with part of the furniture, linen, and wearing apparel of the family; but, providentially, no lives were lost. It was first discovered by a carpenter who slept in the house, and happened to awake in time to give the alarm. Mr. and Mrs. Crawley were that evening in Gloucester.—The plate was saved.—*St*

is not known by what accident the fire was occasioned. The loss is estimated at 7000*l.* Flaxley Abbey was founded by Roger, the second Earl of Hereford, in the reign of Henry the First.

Mr. Gates, the city marshal, arrived from Portsmouth, with John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London, who was lately impressed. The admiral behaved with the greatest politeness; and on the marshal's shewing the writ of *Habeas Corpus* granted by Lord Mansfield, immediately ordered Millachip (who was on board the Monarch) to be delivered up to him.

The celebrated David Brown Dignam during his confinement in Tothillfields Bridewell, attempted several times to make away with himself. Since his conviction, the following particulars relating to him have transpired:—Some little time before Dignam's detection, he requested an interview with a noble Lord in high office, who admitted him to a private audience, when he said, that he had unhappily engaged in a conspiracy with some gentlemen of rank and fortune, to shoot —; he named two noblemen, several members of the house of commons, two aldermen, and some private gentlemen of affluent condition, as the conspirators, and pretended that the stings of conscience had occasioned a remorse in his mind, and that he had made so ample a confession, as the only atonement in his power, for having engaged in so villainous a conspiracy. Upon being pressed to make oath of the particulars, he declined the proposal by saying, "that the scheme was not yet ripe for execution; no in-

convenience could therefore ensue from the delay. The conspirators, he said, were to meet that evening, and the next morning he would wait on his lordship to give him information of every particular which passed. As he had mentioned the place of meeting, spies were properly placed, but none of the parties came, and himself was traced to a brothel. On his next day's attendance he was pressed home to make an affidavit of the matter, but put it off till next day, and was again traced to the brothel; and when he waited last on his lordship, he was charged with these circumstances, and confessed that the whole was a plot of his own invention.

Eleven judges met at 18th: their chambers in Serjeants Inn (Lord Chief Justice De Grey being absent) respecting the legality of Robinson's evidence against Dr. Dodd. The judges were of opinion, that Robinson's evidence was competent.

On Saturday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following prisoners received sentence of death; viz. Job Filkin, for stealing a silver watch value 30*s.* and a metal watch in a shagreen case value 30*s.* the property of William Harrop, in his dwelling-house, in Virginia-street; Benjamin Carraul, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. John Walker, in Oxford street; Pierce Donovan, for privately stealing bank notes, money, two gold watches, and several diamond rings, in the dwelling-house of Mrs. Olivia Harrington, near Charing Cross; David Sheffield, William Sheffield, and Thomas Baldwin, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. [M] Thomas

Thomas George Moorink, at Tottenham, and stealing several silver spoons and other things; James Field, for breaking open the dwelling-house of Mr. M'Gee, in Lothbury, by false keys, and stealing thereout a parcel of needles, and divers other goods of value; and Mary Thomas, for uttering and publishing a promissory note, purporting to be the note of Francis Tutte, for 50l. knowing it to be forged, with intent to defraud Thomas Blades. Twenty prisoners who had been capitally convicted and respite, received the royal mercy, on condition of being kept to hard labour on the river Thames, and two women to hard labour in Clerkenwell Bridewell.

Twelve convicted this sessions, were ordered to the like punishment on the river Thames; fourteen to hard labour in Bridewell; eleven branded and imprisoned in Newgate; eight branded and imprisoned in Bridewell; six ordered to be whipt, and thirty-one delivered on proclamation.

One day last week, the 23d. ballast lighter, working on the Essex coast, was drove over the river to Woolwich by the high wind; when fourteen of the convicts rose upon their keepers, cut one of them terribly on the shoulder, and made their escape. A naval officer meeting them at Greenwich, persuaded eight to return to their duty; but the other six have not been since heard of.

On Thursday Mr. John 26th. Millachip, a freeman and liveryman of this city, lately impressed into his majesty's service, and fetched from on board by virtue of a Habeas Corpus, going down the river about two o'clock

in the afternoon with his lighter, was boarded by a press-gang, who took him away and carried him down the river to put him on board a man of war; the committee sat yesterday in the afternoon, and came to a resolution to apply for another Habeas Corpus, and to bring actions against the lieutenant and regulating captain for detaining him.

*Extract of a Letter from Dublin,
April 26.*

"The great question concerning literary property received yesterday a final decision in the Court of Chancery. The matter in debate was about a favourite opera, called the *Duenna*, which the managers of Covent-garden alledged they had purchased from Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq; the author, for a certain stipulated sum. Under this assignment the English managers, alledging a sole and exclusive property in the piece entitled the *Duenna*, complained against John Byron Vandermere and his partners, adventurers in a new theatre in Fishamble-street, for having exhibited on their stage the said piece, called the *Duenna*, and prayed that they might be restrained, and enjoined from printing, publishing, or acting the said piece. After hearing the debates on this question, by the advocates on both sides, the lord chancellor gave his sentiments on the whole, viz. that the injunction sought by the plaintiffs, to restrain the acting or exhibiting the piece, ought not to be granted. He confined himself merely to the matter of acting, as he imagined that to be the only object relied on in the case."

The question respecting the legality of the assignments

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ments made by officers of their pay, in order to raise money, was argued and declared valid.

The royal assent by comm^{30th.} mission was given to the bill for enabling the city of London to purchase the tolls of the river Thames westward of London Bridge, and within the liberties, and to lay on small tolls in lieu thereof; and to several private bills.

Paris, April 21. The Emperor of Germany arrived here on Friday the 18th inst. and immediately went to the hotel of Mons. the Count de Mercy his ambassador. The next day he went to Versailles, and saw the queen, who conducted him to the king. He afterwards visited the rest of the royal family and the ministers. On Monday he was presented at court under the character of Count Falkenstein.

Extract of a Letter from Lisbon.

"The Marquis of Pombal is divested of all power; and, though this has the specious appearance of a voluntary resignation, he is certainly in disgrace. All his creatures are degraded, and most of them confined. This, particularly, is the case with the Dominican friar, to whose counsels the oppressions exercised at Oporto, by the Portuguese wine company, over the English, as well as the natives, are chiefly attributed. The young prince was, immediately after the death of the king, taken from under the tuition of the Bishop of Beja.

"It is hardly possible to conceive the joy that ran through the whole kingdom from this change in the administration; for more than twenty years have the people

of this country been grievously oppressed and afflicted, without their complaints ever reaching the ears of their sovereign; for more than twenty years, has a wicked minister ruled them with a rod of iron. What numbers of all ranks has he shut up in dungeons, without their having been guilty of any other crime than standing in his way!—Figure to yourself these feeding on scanty portions of rotten sardines (a fish resembling our sprat) and broa (an inferior kind of bread) without ever being indulged with physicians or confessors; without any social intercourse, without even seeing the cheerful face of man.

"Among these we are presented with a striking spectacle, in the person of the Marquis of Tavora. He was taken into custody, with the rest of the family, when he was only about four or five years of age; and, having been in a state of confinement ever since, without seeing a human creature besides his keeper, he absolutely knows no language; has almost no ideas, and is, in every respect, in a pure state of nature—He remembers nothing of his parents or of his former situation."

DIED lately, Grisel Strath, at Fyvie, in Scotland, aged 102.

Peter Derry, in Dublin, aged 119.

On the 17th, at two o'clock at noon, at his house in Granby-row, after a lingering illness, which deprived him for some months past of the practice of his profession, and the town of the pleasure of seeing his performance, Mr. Henry Woodward, of Covent-garden theatre; who, as a comedian, long stood unrivalled in his cast of parts; and, as a man, filled [M] z every

every line of duty with honour and respectability. By his death he has closed the list of the old first-rate set of performers, and has left little better than a barren wish to see them ever equalled. Mr. Woodward, though only in his 67th year, was one of the oldest comedians living; he played with Giffard and Macklin, before Garrick came upon the stage.

M A Y.

1st. At a court of common council, resolved, That the thanks of the court be given to the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, Knt. speaker of the house of commons, for promoting and forwarding the act for the more effectually improving the navigation of the river Thames.

Advice was received, that the Lion armed ship, Lieutenant Walter Young commander, was sailed from Stromness, in the North of Scotland, in order, if possible, to discover a north-west passage to the Southern Ocean. Mr. Lane, an eminent mathematician, is retained in this voyage, from whose judicious observations on longitude and the magnetical powers, much information is expected.

On Thursday last, in the 5th. court of King's-bench, upon a rule to shew cause against a new trial, a question of a very interesting and singular nature was fully argued; the nature of which was as follows:—A gentleman and his wife lived together several years, and had several children; upon the death of the former, his eldest son took the hereditary estate, and enjoyed the possession, until the se-

cond disturbed him by a writ of Ejectment, alledging that he was not born in wedlock. The cause was tried before Mr. Baron Eyre, and the plaintiff declared, that the defendant was born one month and one day before the ceremony was performed; which declaration he attempted to support by the testimony of the mother, who was cited to attend the trial. The defendant pleaded generally; and, his counsel objecting to the admissibility of the mother's evidence (with which the judge concurred) a verdict was obtained for the defendant. In support of the motion it was argued, that all the cases cited, and arguments advanced against the admissibility of a mother's evidence to prove the bastardy of her own child, were applicable to children born in wedlock, and not BEFORE. Lord Mansfield entered very largely into the question. He allowed, that, by the civil, the canon, and the common law of the land, the parol evidence of a parent was inadmissible to affect a child born in wedlock; he observed upon the several reasons which made such evidence dangerous, particularly partiality, caprice, or fixed aversion; which might induce bad women to bring a charge impossible to be refuted; by which a rightful heir might be deprived of his inheritance. His lordship also mentioned the indecency and illegality of permitting a woman to prove herself an adulteress, and thereby subject herself to penalties. His lordship concluded with denying the doctrine of Mr. Baron Eyre, allowing the admissibility of the mother's evidence, and ordering the rule to be made absolute.

7th. The

7th. The prince of Orange packet, Capt. Story, from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, was taken by the Surprize privateer, Capt. Cunningham, of four guns and ten swivels, within three leagues of the coast of Holland. It was at night; and the privateer coming close along-side the packet, thought she made bad steerage, and asked her if she was coming on board her, for that they should soon be foul of each other. The privateer immediately laid her along side, and took her.

8th. This day his majesty came to the House of Lords, and gave the royal assent to the bill for granting to his majesty 100,000l. per annum, over and above the sum of 800,000l. granted by an act of the 1st of his Majesty's reign for the support of his majesty's household, and his civil government, and fourteen other public and private bills.

12th. William Sheffield and Joseph Sheffield, under sentence of death in Newgate, found means to break out of that prison, though the walls are six feet thick. They were brothers; and one of them being ill, he was, out of humanity, removed from his cell to an upper room, where the other was suffered to attend him. They were bricklayers, and in one night worked their way through the brick-wall, and escaped. They have, however, been retaken and executed, but not before they had committed several other burglaries for their subsistence.

15th. A court of common council was held yesterday at Guildhall, at which were present the lord-mayor, Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Lewes, Plomer, Newn-

ham, Lee, and Wooldridge; when the court came to the following resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That the speech made by the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the House of Commons, to his majesty on the 7th instant, be entered in the journals of this court.

That the freedom of this city be presented to the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the Hon. House of Commons, for having declared, in manly terms, the real state of the nation to his majesty on the throne, when he presented to him, for his royal assent, the bill intituled, 'An act for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain.'

That a copy of the freedom of this city, with the resolution of the court inserted therein, be delivered to the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, in a gold box, of the value of 50 guineas, and the lord-mayor was desired to provide the same.

The following bills received the royal assent by commission :

Bills to prevent frauds by the venders of tea, detrimental to the revenues of excise,

Bill for allowing a drawback on tea exported to Ireland.

Bill for registering the grants of life-annuities, and for the better protection of infants against such grants.

Bill to dissolve the marriage of Earl Tyrconnel from his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.

Bill to enable the lords of the treasury to compound for a debt due to the crown.

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Bill to prohibit, for a further limited time, the importation of foreign-wrought silks and velvets.

Bill to secure to engravers their property in the engraving branch.

Bill to extend the provisions of an act for negotiating promissory notes, and inland bills of exchange, to a certain sum.

Bill for allowing certain quantities of wheat to be exported to the West Indies.

And to several inclosure and private bills.

This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when James Lucas and Joseph Harris, for feloniously assaulting Robert Hughes in the Islington stage-coach, on the highway, near the Shepherd and Shepherdess; and robbing him of two half guineas and 7s. received sentence of death. Four were ordered to hard labour on board the ballast-lighters, in cleansing the navigation of the Thames for three years; five were branded in the hand, one of whom was convicted of man-slaughter; two to be imprisoned in Newgate, and two in Clerkenwell Bridewell; four were sentenced to hard labour three years in Bridewell; one to be publicly whipped; nine privately whipped, and twenty discharged by proclamation.

The lord-mayor held a 29th. wardmote at Tallow-chandlers hall, for the election of an alderman of Dowgate-ward, in the room of Sir Walter Rawlinson, who has resigned; when John Hart, Esq; dry-salter, in Thames-street, was duly elected without opposition.

This night's Gazette 31st. contains an address of the

general assembly of the church of Scotland to his majesty.

Peterburg, May 1. There has lately been published here a state of the produce of the customs of this and other trading cities in this empire, for a term of thirty years, which shews the prodigious increase in our commerce and finances. In 1724 the customs of this capital produced only 10,335 roubles, the year following they were doubled; in two years after they amounted to 84,695 roubles, and in 1726 they exceeded 100,000: From particular events they fell in 1741 to 11,000, but in 1752 they produced 203,734, and two years after they amounted to 768,058 roubles; at length, in 1757, the customs brought in 1,000,713 roubles, and we make no doubt, as our commerce has doubly increased since, the sum produced is in a like proportion. The above is only an account of the custom-house duties for this city. From the detail in the above account it appears that our exports greatly exceed our imports, consequently the balance of trade is greatly in our favour; and particularly since 1757 our exports have in a greater degree exceeded our imports than before that period, which has brought into our country great riches, and we have carried on many branches of business heretofore unknown in this country.

The pope has signed an edict, dated the 9th of last month, which will render his reign ever memorable, as it tends to remove the shackles with which commerce was burthened by the vast duties the lords of the ecclesiastical state raised upon merchandise passing through their

their territories, which often made common necessaries very dear. But this edict will be much murmured at, as many great families lose by it.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Northampton, William Snow, convicted of murder at the last summer assizes for this county (but, in the opinion of the twelve judges, his crime amounting to manslaughter only) was branded in the hand, and is to be confined till the 16th of July next.

At Reading, 1 condemned but reprieved.

At Bedford, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Huntingdon, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Worcester, 3 condemned, two of who were reprieved.

At Cambridge, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Chelmsford, 11 were condemned, and left for execution.

At Shaftesbury, 5 were condemned, and 4 reprieved.

At the above assize a cause was tried between two persons of Hornisham, in Wilts. The action was brought for the recovery of a sum of money which the defendant had received, at various times, in the course of 12 years, from the plaintiff's wife. During a dangerous illness, when her life was despaired of, the wife of the plaintiff told her husband that she could not die in peace without divulging to him a secret which had long made her very uneasy, viz., that she had had a connection with the defendant, and had given him, at different opportunities, the sum

of 410l. 5s. for the purpose of making a provision for her son Isaac. After a full hearing, the jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, and ordered the defendant to pay back the whole money, with costs of suit.

At Gloucester assizes, Joseph Armstrong was tried for petty treason, in poisoning his master's lady, Mrs. A'Court. The prisoner was hired into the family by Captain A'Court, and shortly after attended his master and mistress to Cheltenham. The lady had expressed her dislike at the prisoner's conduct, and had intimated a wish that he might be discharged from their service. This being known to Armstrong, he determined on revenge, and by infusing small quantities of arsenic into his lady's tea, she contracted a disorder which carried her off in ten days. The jury found him guilty.

At the above assizes, 5 other prisoners (among whom were two remarkable female horse-stealers) were condemned, one of whom only was reprieved. On the morning on which the other was to be executed, she hung herself with a leather girth in her apartment. She requested to be left a few minutes by herself, and on the return of her friends she was dead.

At Aylesbury, James Pace, a boy about thirteen years old, was capitally convicted for horse-stealing; but has since received his majesty's pardon, on condition of serving on board a man of war.

At Norwich, John Rye received sentence of death for the wilful murder of Joseph Snelling; two other prisoners were capitally con-

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victed; one of whom was ordered for execution, the other was reprieved.

At Kingston upon Thames, 6 were capitally convicted, and all reprieved.

At Lincoln, James Lee was convicted of burglary on two separate indictments, and left for execution.

At Chester, one Sam. Thorley, a butcher's follower, for the wilful murder of Ann Smith, a ballad singer, about 22 years of age. He decoyed her, lay with her, murdered her, cut her to pieces, and eat part of her. The circumstances are too shocking to relate. He was convicted, and has since been hung in chains.

At Hertford, 10 were capitally convicted, six of whom were reprieved.

At Winchester, 4 condemned, and two executed.

At Maidstone, 3 were capitally convicted, 2 of whom were reprieved.

At the same assize came on the trial of Joseph Stackpoole, Esq. who was indicted upon the Black Act, for shooting at a Mr. Parker, in March 1776, at the Bull Inn, Dartford; when after a long trial he was acquitted.

At Pool, a woman was condemned for stealing a mare.

At Leicester, William Mee, late of Loughborough, victualler, was tried and found guilty of murdering his wife, and afterwards executed.

At Ipswich, Edmund Eastoe was capitally convicted of aiding and assisting in the murder of Joseph Harpur. He immediately received sentence of death, and was ordered to be executed.

William Maddox, alias Boniton, who was capitally convicted at Lent assizes, 1773, for a burglary, and escaped from Ipswich gaol while under sentence of death, was remanded back to suffer according to his former sentence.

At Exeter, 12 received sentence of death.

At East Grinstead, 3 were condemned, but reprieved.

At Oxford assizes, John Peter Le Matre, alias Matra, was tried for robbing the Ashmolean Museum of divers gold medals, a Queen Anne's five-guinea piece, and two gold chains. It appeared in evidence, that the prisoner was first apprehended in Ireland; that two of the medals were found at his lodgings, in the drawers of a bureau of which he had the use: that a third was found fastened to the side of his waistcoat, like the ensign of an honorary order, which he wore as a badge, to give him consequence. He was convicted on the clearest evidence; but it seems the crime did not amount to a capital felony: and he was sentenced to work on the Thames for five years.

J U N E.

This day, by virtue of a commission from his majesty, the following bills received the royal assent, viz.

The bill for raising a sum by loans on exchequer-bills.

The bill to prevent the clandestine practice of unshipping goods from on board East-India ships.

The bill for securing the duties on soap and rum imported from the colonies.

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The bill for allowing the exportation of tobacco-pipe clay to the West-India islands.

The bill for settling the hours of labour, and the prices of taking apprentices, in the hat-manufactory.

The bill to allow the calico-printers and dyers to employ journeymen who have not served a regular apprenticeship to the said trade.

The bill for the better preservation of the game in Scotland.

The bill for the better supply of mariners and seamen for manning the royal navy.

The bill to enlarge the powers of an act, for making a navigable cut or canal, from the river Dee near Chester, to Nantwich and Middlewich, in Cheshire.

The bill for regulating the duties on damaged currants and prunes imported.

And to several other public and private bills.

A new pleasure-boat, constructed of sheet-iron, was lately launched into the river Foss, in Yorkshire. She is twelve feet long, sailed with 15 persons, and is so light that two men may carry her.

The grand canal from 4th. Leeds to Liverpool was opened into the river Aire at the former place, amidst such a concourse of people as was never seen in that town before; some computed them at 20,000, and others at 30,000.

6th. This day his majesty went in state to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills:

The bill for granting a certain sum out of the sinking fund, for the service of the present year.

For raising a certain sum by an-

nuities, and for establishing a lottery.

For granting a duty on all male servants.

For granting certain duties on auctioneers, &c.

For building a new shire-hall and gaol in Westmoreland.

For promoting the residence of parochial clergy.

For allowing costs to constables, &c. attending quarter-sessions.

For building a bridge over the river Severn, near Gloucester, &c.

For continuing the encouragement of making indigo in the plantations, &c.

For enlarging the time appointed for the first meeting of the commissioners for putting in execution certain acts of this session.

For enabling the lords commissioners of the treasury to compound a debt due to the crown.

And to several private bills; after which his majesty made a most gracious speech, and prorogued the parliament to the 21st of July next.

This day a cause of great consequence to the inhabitants of Old-street, and parts adjacent, was determined in the court of King's Bench. The question was, whether the messenger, carrying letters from the penny-post-office in London, had a right to demand of the said inhabitants a penny for the delivery of each letter, over and above the penny paid at the post-office. The cause turned upon the description of the suburbs of London, and whether Old-street was within that description. The court was of opinion, that all the streets and houses adjoining and contiguous to the city of London, and joining together

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by one contiguous range of houses, must be deemed suburbs, and consequently exempt from the penny contended for.

The same day another question of great importance to the commercial part of this kingdom was decided. An action was brought against certain owners of a ship, for debts contracted by the master, during his voyage. The owners refused paying the demands, on the grounds of such debts being unnecessarily contracted; but it appeared to the court, that they were not only necessary, but absolutely impossible to be avoided; and therefore the owners bound to pay. Lord Mansfield's doctrine gave greater latitude to the demands of creditors on owners of ships, for debts contracted by the Captains. All expences incurred by the Captains on account of the ship, crew, or cargo, his lordship considered the owners as the only persons to whom the creditors could fly for relief.

Capt. Kirke was served with an action, by the city solicitor, for illegally impressing the city waterman; by this mode of trying the grand question of the right of raising an armament by forcing the subject into a disagreeable service, a jury, and not the judge, will have the power of decision.

12th. The long depending cause respecting the property of music, was finally determined in the court of King's Bench, in consequence of an issue directed out of chancery: The question was, whether music came under the statute of queen Anne, regulating literary property? After hearing a short argument against music's being within the law,

Lord Mansfield expressed his surprise how a gentleman could think of making a distinction. So that musical and literary property now stand upon the same ground.

The sheriffs, attended by 13th. the city remembrancer, presented to his majesty the petition from the city of London in favour of Dr. Dodd, another petition from the Magdalen charity was presented to the queen; as was one from Mrs. Dodd, delivered by herself. Another petition was afterwards presented by Lord Percy, signed by upwards of twenty thousand of the inhabitants of Westminster.

The attorney-general, solicitor-general, and Mr. 17th. Cuff, came into the court of King's Bench, to support the admiralty in detaining Millachip, who was impressed. The return of the habeas corpus being read, Mr. Dunning got up and informed the court, that he was not prepared at that time to debate the question; and that Serjeant Glynn was absent upon business in the city. Lord Mansfield entered very fully into the present mode of making returns to the writs of habeas corpus, which, he said, being general, prevented the court from a legal discussion of the reasons upon which the writ was granted, and suggested a mode by which the subject could more effectually get relief by inserting in the return a negative to the point contended for; this, he said, would bring the question fully before the court, which was not to be done by a general return. He recommended this to the consideration of the gentlemen within the bar. Mr. Dunning declared his intention of going upon two grounds; first, the general,

general question of impressing ; secondly, the particular exemption of Mr. Millachip, as being of the Livery. The motion stands over to a further day.

18th. Early yesterday morning the King of Sweden, under the title of Count of Gothland, arrived in a galley at Cronstadt, attended by the counts Scheffer and Poffe, General Trolle who commanded the galley, two chamberlains and a secretary ; and landing at Oranienbaum, proceeded with Baron Nolken to Petersburgh, where he did Count Panin the honour of a visit, and afterwards dined at Baron Nolken's with Count Panin, who set out immediately after dinner for Zarco Zelo, to announce the arrival of the Count of Gothland, whom Baron Nolken attended thither. The empress received her illustrious visitor with every mark of friendship ; and presented the Great Duke and Duchess to him. After going to the play, and supping with her imperial majesty, the count returned to town, and lodged at Baron Nolken's.

His excellency the Neapolitan ambassador was attacked in his carriage, in Grosvenor-square, by four footpads, one of whom presented a pistol to his coachman, two more, one to each of the footmen, while the fourth robbed his excellency of a gold watch and money. They attempted to take his ring ; but as it could not easily be got off his finger, they offered no violence, but made their escape without it.

24th. This day a common-hall was held at Guildhall for the election of Sheriffs, Chamberlain, and other officers, for the year ensuing ; when Mr. Wagner,

hatter in Pall-mall, and Mr. Franks, merchant in this city, were elected Sheriffs without opposition.

Next came on the election for Chamberlain ; the candidates were Mr. Alderman Wilkes and Benjamin Hopkins, Esq ; the late Chamberlain, when the Sheriffs declared the majority of hands to be in favour of Mr. Hopkins ; but a poll was demanded by the friends of Mr. Wilkes, which began at three o'clock, and closed at five that evening.

An alarm was given to the king, in going to the theatre in the Hay-market, by a mad-woman, who broke the glass of his majesty's chair, and threatened other violences ; but was instantly seized and confined.

The new alliance between France and the Swiss Cantons was this day ratified.

A remonstrance has been sent, within these few days, to the court of France and to the Hague, respecting the assistance afforded the Americans, by their subjects trading with them, and giving them to understand that the ships of any power so trading will be made prizes of.

This day the Rev. Dr. Dodd was carried, in a mourning-coach, attended by the Rev. Mr. Villette, the Ordinary of Newgate, and the Rev. Mr. Dobey, from Newgate to the place of execution.

Upon the arrival of the coach at the place of execution, the Rev. Mr. Villette, the Ordinary, and the Rev. Mr. Dobey, got out of the carriage, and went with Dr. Dodd into the cart, where they prayed by him, and after some further

ther time spent in prayer, by himself, he took an affectionate leave of the above clergymen: he then put on a cap, and pulled it over his eyes, and with the other convict was turned off. The time the doctor was in the cart was about half an hour. He behaved through the whole with great fortitude.

Some account of the Charge exhibited against Mr. Platt, now in Newgate, for Treason, &c.

He was one of eight or ten men who sailed in a schooner from Georgia, by order of the Provincial Congress, to stop Capt. Maitland's ship, bound for St. Augustine, in Florida, and to take out of her some powder and arms; which they did, to the amount of 250 barrels, and several chests of arms, &c.—This powder and arms they landed at some port in Georgia, then in opposition to government.—Mr. Platt was afterwards, by authority of the Congress, engaged in carrying on a contraband trade with some of the French or Dutch islands; in the prosecution of which he was taken by one of Admiral Gayton's squadron, and carried into Jamáica, where his ship and cargo were condemned, and himself sent to prison, to answer a charge laid against him, for carrying on a correspondence with his majesty's enemies, several letters having been found in his possession, directed to the Congress at Georgia and Charles-Town.—On a hearing before a proper court and judges, assembled for this business, nothing material was found against him; but as the carrying on such business with Congresses was a new offence, it was judged proper to send him home to England, with all the letters and papers in ques-

tion—When he came to England, he was committed to Portsmouth prison, until the matter was properly enquired into; and nothing still appearing that would affect either his life or liberty, he was discharged, with an offer of his passage back to America. This he refused; and demanded a copy of the warrant of commitment, in order to proceed against those who had a hand in confining him. Upon his application for this, it was judged proper to commit him to prison, on the evidence of two of Capt. Maitland's men, to answer to the charge of treason, and piracy committed on board his ship off Georgia bar, in North-America, as the words of his mittimus set forth.

Paris, May 6. Letters patent have been transmitted to parliament respecting a loan of ten millions, borrowed at Genoa, at a low interest, but which that Republic requires shall be registered by the parliament.

Berlin, May 19. The king, willing to eternize the memory of such of his generals as signalized themselves, and lost their lives in defence of their country, has resolved to erect their statues in marble in this capital, in a place fixed on by his majesty. That of General Swerin is already erected; General Winderfeldt's will be placed opposite; and the Generals Kleist and Keith will soon be placed near them.

Dian, Capt. James Gilchrist, of the navy. He was eminently distinguished for his valour in the last war with France and Spain, when he commanded his majesty's ship the Southampton.

Mrs. Jane Davis, a maiden lady, aged

aged 113 years, at Hackney. She was born in the reign of King Charles the second, and enjoyed some post under Queen Anne. She retained all her senses perfect to the last.

Mrs. Margaret Baise, a widow lady, at Stockwell, in Surry, aged 107.

J U L Y.

This day came on to be tried, before the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, a cause, the most extraordinary that, perhaps, ever happened in this or any other country, respecting the sex of the Chevalier D'Eon, formerly ambassador from France to the court of England, &c.

The action was brought by Mr. Hayes, surgeon, in Leicester-fields, against one Jacques, a broker and under-writer, for the recovery of seven hundred pounds, the said Mr. Jacques having, about six years ago, received premiums of fifteen guineas per cent, for every one of which he stood engaged to return one hundred guineas, whenever it should be proved that the Chevalier D'Eon was actually a woman.

Mr. Buller opened the cause as counsel for Mr. Hayes. He stated the fairness of the transaction, and the justifiable nature of the demand, as Mr. Hayes, the plaintiff, thought himself now to be in possession of that proof which would determine the sex of the Chevalier D'Eon, and for ever render the case indisputable.

In proof of the fact, Mr. Le Goux, a surgeon, was the first witness called. He gave his testimony to the following effect:

" That he had been acquainted with the Chevalier D'Eon, from the time when the Duke de Nivernois resided in England in quality of ambassador from the court of France — That, to his certain knowledge, the person called the Chevalier D'Eon was a woman."

Being closely interrogated by the counsel for the defendant, as to the mode of his acquiring such a degree of certainty relative to the sex of the party, Mr. Le Goux gave this satisfactory account of the matter:

" That about five years ago, he was called in by the Chevalier D'Eon, to lend his professional aid for her assistance—That the Chevalier D'Eon, unfortunately for herself as well as her sex, laboured, at that time, under a disorder which rendered an examination of the afflicted part absolutely necessary—That this examination led of course to that discovery of the sex of which Mr. Le Goux was now enabled to give such satisfactory testimony."

The second witness called on the part of the plaintiff was Mr. De Morande. He swore " that so long ago as the 3d of July, 1774, the Chevalier D'Eon made a free disclosure of her sex to the witness — That she had even proceeded so far as to display her bosom on the occasion — That, in consequence of this disclosure of sex, she, the Chevalier D'Eon, had exhibited the contents of her female wardrobe, which consisted of sacques, petticoats, and other habiliments calculated for feminine use — That, on the said 3d day of July, 1774, the witness paid a morning-visit to the Chevalier D'Eon, and, finding her in bed, accosted her in a

file of gallantry respecting her sex—That so far from being offended with this freedom, the said Chevalier desired the witness to approach nearer to her bed, and then permitted him to have manual proof of her being in truth a very woman."

Mr. Mansfield, on the part of the defendant, pleaded, that this was one of those gambling, indecent, and unnecessary cases, that ought never to be permitted to come into a court of justice; that, besides the inutility and indecency of the case, the plaintiff had taken advantage of his client, being in possession of intelligence that enabled him to lay with greater certainty, although with such great odds on his side; that the plaintiff, at the time of laying the wager, knew that the court of France treated with the chevalier as a woman, to grant her a pension; and that the French court must have some strong circumstances to imbibe that idea, therefore he hoped the jury would reprobate such wagers. The defendant's counsel did not attempt to contradict the plaintiff's evidence, by proving the masculine gender.

Lord Mansfield expressed his abhorrence of the whole transaction, and the more so, their bringing it into a court of justice, when it might have been settled elsewhere, wishing it had been in his power, in concurrence with the jury, to have made both parties lose; but as the law had not expressly prohibited it, and the wager was laid, the question before them was, who had won? His lordship observed, that the indecency of the proceeding arose more from the unnecessary questions asked, than from the

case itself; that the witnesses had declared they perfectly knew the Chevalier D'Eon to be a woman; if she is not a woman, they are certainly perjured; there was, therefore, no need of enquiring how and by what methods they knew it, which was all the indecency.

As to the fraud suggested, of the plaintiff's knowing more than the defendant, he seemed to think there was no foundation for it. His lordship then recited a wager entered into by two gentlemen in his own presence, about the dimensions of the Venus de Medicis, for 100l. One of the gentlemen said, "I will not deceive you; I tell you fairly I have been there, and measured it myself." "Well (says the other) and do you think I would be such a fool as to lay if I had not measured it?—I will lay for all that."

His lordship then went on to state to the jury, that this chevalier had publicly appeared as a man, had been employed by the court of France as a man, as a military man, in a civil office, and as a minister of state here and in Russia; that there was all the presumption against the plaintiff, and the *onus probandi* lay upon him, which might never have been come at; for it appeared, the only proposition of a discovery of sex that had been made to the chevalier, by some gentlemen upon an excursion, had been resented by D'Eon, who had instantly quitted their company on that account: it might therefore have never been in his power to have proved his wager, but for some accidental quarrels between D'Eon and some of her countrymen. His lordship was therefore of opinion, that the jury would

would find a verdict for the plaintiff.

The jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, 700*l.* and 40*s.*

The same day a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when Sir Charles Asgill resigned his gown as alderman of Candlewick ward. Sir Charles Asgill was chosen alderman in the year 1749.

Mr. Wagner, citizen and haberdasher, lately elected sheriff, paid his fine to be excused from serving the said office; and Mr. Hodgson attended on behalf of Mr. Franks, and produced a commission from Lord Percy, appointing him Deputy Lieutenant of Middlesex, in order to his being excused from the office of sheriff, which plea the court would not allow, and ordered Mr. Franks to attend the next court, to give bond to take on him the said office.

Was tried before Lord Mansfield, and a special jury, at Guildhall, a cause wherein John Robinson, Esq; secretary to Lord North, was plaintiff, and Henry Sampson Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiser, was defendant. The subject of the declaration was a letter signed, *One out of the Secret*, printed in the Public Advertiser of Thursday, May 29, in which several liberties were taken with the plaintiff's character; the writer not only pretty roundly asserting that Mr. Robinson had a *fellow-feeling* with Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, in their contracts with government; but insinuating, in strong terms, that Lord North was not altogether free from imputation; and that as in criminal causes, the act of the servant was considered in the courts of law as

the act of the master; so, on the ground of corruption, if it was evident that the secretary to the treasury was liable to a challenge, it was fair to infer, that the first lord of that board was a proper object of suspicion. The jury, after considering a short time, found the defendant guilty in forty shillings damages, and costs of suit.

At twelve o'clock, the lord-mayor, aldermen, &c. went upon the hustings, at Guildhall, when the numbers on the poll of each candidage for the office of chamberlain were declared, which were, for Mr. Hopkins 2132, for Mr. Wilkes 1228, upon which Mr. Hopkins was declared duly elected; afterwards the lord-mayor proceeded to St. Michael's church, Crooked-lane, to hold a wardmote for the election of an alderman of Candlewick-ward, in the room of Sir Charles Asgill, who has resigned his gown, when Mr. Wright, in partnership with Mr. Gill, stationer, in Abchurch-lane, was elected without opposition.

This day at two o'clock, an express came to — Adair, Esq; in Argyle-street, from Rome, with an account of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester lying at the point of death. Mr. Adair immediately waited on his majesty with the melancholy account. His majesty expressed his desire for Mr. Adair and Dr. Jebb's setting out immediately for Rome, to render his royal brother all the assistance in their power; in consequence of which they both set out for Rome that evening.

A woman was convicted at the Guildhall, Westminster, 5th. for going in man's cloaths, and being married to three different women

women by a fictitious name, and for defrauding them of their money and cloaths: She was sentenced to stand in the pillory at Charing-cross, and to be imprisoned six months.

This day the trials ended 7th. at the Old Bailey, when Mr. Recorder passed sentence of death upon 13 capital convicts.

Sarah Thomas, for manslaughter, was branded, and ordered to be imprisoned three months in Newgate.

One was sentenced to hard labour on the Thames for six years, four for four years, and ten for three years.

Four were sentenced to hard labour in the house of correction for three years.

Twelve were branded in the hand; four of whom are to be imprisoned six months in Newgate (in which number is Mrs. West) and one for one month; one for a year in the house of correction, five for six months, and one for three months, in the same prison; five ordered to be whipped, and 27 were discharged by proclamation.

Lately came on to be heard before the chancellor, a cause in which Sir John St. Aubyn was complainant, and several citizens defendants. The intent of plaintiff's bill was to destroy several annuity-bonds entered into for the benefit of the defendants, when the plaintiff was but 17 years of age, a scholar at Westminster school, and incapable of judging of the nature of the securities he was induced to grant. In order the more readily to obtain the money he wanted to supply his extravagancies, he procured a school-

fellow just come of age to join with him in the bonds, to whom he pledged his honour for the repayment of every sum so borrowed, so soon as he should come of age. The chancellor directed the master to take an account of all monies really advanced; and that, on the re-payment of such sums, with interest for the same after the rate of 4 per cent. the bonds, securities, &c. should all be delivered up.

Versailles, July 9. Last Sunday the Duke of Aubigny, peer of France, Duke of Richmond in England, and of Lenox in Scotland, had the honour to return thanks to his majesty for his peerage, registered in parliament the 1st of this month.

This day the livery assembled in common hall at 10th. Guildhall, in order to choose two gentlemen to serve as sheriffs for the year ensuing, Messrs. Wagner and Franks, who were chosen on Midsummer day last, having paid their fines of 600l. each to be excused serving that office, when Messrs. Wrench and Trotter, were declared elected.

About this time the city of Dublin was thrown into the utmost consternation by the appearance of the American privateers on this coast. A stop was put to all trade. Not one of the linen ships, that were loaded for Chester fair, were suffered to depart, upon which account the fair was postponed for some time. The lord-lieutenant thought it expedient, lest the Americans should make any attempt upon the shipping in the harbour, to order cannon from the arsenal, to form two batteries to defend the entrance of it.

15th.

15th. A common-hall was held at Guildhall for the election of sheriffs for this city and county of Middlesex, in the room of Messrs. Wrench and Trotter, the first being dead, and the other having paid his fine; when all the aldermen who had not served the office, and the following gentlemen who had been drank to, viz. Richard Budworth, Esq; coach-maker and coach harness-maker; Charles Vere, Esq; goldsmith; William Nash, Esq; tin-plate worker; Robert Mackreth, Esq; vintner; John Curson, Esq; vintner; James Savage, Esq; cooper; and Philip Rowden, Esq; vintner, were put up; the shew of hands appearing for Richard Budworth, Esq; and Charles Vere, Esq; they were declared duly elected.

18th. His Majesty in council was this day pleased to order, that the parliament, which stands prorogued to Monday the 21st of this inst. July, should be further prorogued to Thursday the 18th of September next.

Extract of a Letter from Rome,
June 25.

An excavation has been made in the celebrated house of Dioclesian, for the benefit of the proprietors, in order to search for antiquities; and in a vault was found a painting of Venus, holding in her hand a tree, from the branches of which several Cupids are dropping. This piece is allowed to be of great beauty and inestimable worth. In making a like search at Fallerone, for the benefit of the Apostolic chamber, an antique chandelier of metal has been found, about a yard high, the middle of rock crystal, and of a most rare and curious structure.

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A common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the choice 24th. of two gentlemen to serve the office of sheriff for the year ensuing, in the room of Richard Budworth and Charles Vere, Esqrs; the former of which is excused for insufficiency, and the latter has paid his fine. When the several gentlemen who had been drank to had been put up, a majority appeared for William Nash, Esq; tin-plate worker; but the sheriffs being doubtful concerning Robert Mackreth and John Curson, Esqrs; these two were put up again, and Mr. Curson appeared to have the majority. He was accordingly declared, with Mr. Nash, sheriff elect for the ensuing year.

Mr. Mackreth was before Mr. Curson on the list, but being in parliament, the livery thought he would plead privilege, and therefore chose Mr. Curson.

The report was made to his majesty of the convicts 25th. under sentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 6th of August next:—John Whitaker, Edward Lynch, for burglariously breaking open the dwelling-house of Mr. Sims, in Widegate-alley, Bishopsgate-street, and stealing a metal watch and other things, the property of the said Mr. Sims; and about 4000 yards of lace, some aprons, &c. the property of Mrs. Anderson. Thomas Brady, alias Breary, and John Cox, for breaking, in the day-time (no person being therein) into the dwelling-house of Mrs. Wadham, in Berners-street, Oxford-road, and stealing a great quantity of wearing apparel and linen, gold watches, diamond rings, and various

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rious other articles, to the amount of near 1000l. Thomas Nath and William Harsnett, for burglariously breaking open the dwelling-house of Thomas Senbrook, the Two Swans, Bishopsgate-street, and stealing a quantity of linen cloth, muslin, cambric, &c. the property of Robert Corbat. James Stride, Samuel Rudd, William Miles, for assaulting Jean Joseph Warin in St. James's Park, and robbing him of thirteen guineas.

The following were respited, during his majesty's pleasure:— David Guess, for burglariously breaking open the dwelling-house of Elizabeth Pollard at Hoxton, and stealing three guineas, a silver watch, four tea-spoons, &c. Thomas Hamilton, for burglariously breaking open the house of Thomas Perry, at Enfield, and stealing three pair of sheets, two coats, a hat, &c. William Buxton, for assaulting the lady of Solomon Snell, on the highway, between Hanwell and Southall, and robbing her of some money. Sarah Chaulk, for stealing, in the dwelling-house of Mr. Norton, a large quantity of wearing-apparel, linen, laces, and other articles to a large amount, the property of Mary Pereira.

The lord-mayor held a 31st. general court at Bridewell Hospital, when Brackley Kennet, Esq. alderman, was unanimously elected president of that and Bethlehem Hospitals, in the room of Sir Walter Rawlinson, who has resigned his gown.

DIED, Mr. Robert Hills-taylor, at Buckingham. He had been confined to his bed about a year and a half, during which time he employed such of his hours, as he was enabled to fit up, in his favour-

rite study of the Old Testament in the Hebrew tongue, which, as he often expressed himself, now more than paid him for the extraordinary trouble it had cost him to acquire it in the earlier part of his life. More remarkable incidents in the life of this man are given by the late Mr. Spence, in a Tract intituled “A Comparison between Maglibechio of Florence, and a man scarce heard of in England.”

A U G U S T.

This day Mr. Akerman ^{mt.} waited on the Newgate committee, and acquainted the gentlemen with the present state of the jail, and the daring and ungovernable behaviour of the Moor-fields rioters, sentenced to long imprisonment some time since by the court at Hicks's-Hall. Mr. Akerman accounted for this improper conduct, and imputed its having got to such a head, to his not having any places to lock up those who behaved ill; the cells built for refractory prisoners being now, of necessity, occupied by the convicts, and must continue so to be occupied till the jail is intirely finished. The committee entered upon the immediate consideration of the case, and have given orders that there may be forthwith erected, in a convenient part of the quadrangle, some separate rooms for the purpose mentioned; and that the side of the prison, the weakness of which was known to, and turned to advantage by the two Sheffields, to be faced with large stone, and rendered as secure as possible. They also resolved to give Mr. Akerman every countenance

nance and assistance necessary to preserve the full authority and power in the prison, which his situation as a keeper obviously requires.

6th. James Strode and William Wales, two soldiers, for a robbery in St. James's Park; Thomas Nash and William Harsnett, for house-breaking; John Cox and Thomas Brady, for robbing the house of Mrs. Wadham in Berners-street, to the amount of 1000l. and Edward Lynch for house-breaking; were executed at Tyburn, according to their sentence. One John Whitaker was almost miraculously saved by the solemn declaration of his innocence by Lynch, just as Whitaker was going to be turned off, and by the humanity of the sheriff and the vigilance of the ordinary, who procured his respite.

7th. The Dutchess of Kingston embarked at Calais for Petersburgh.

Part of the crew of an American privateer landed at Penzance, and plundered the farmers of some live stock.

Lisbon, Aug. 6. The effects belonging to the Marquis de Pombal, of which an inventory hath been taken by order of the Queen of Portugal, exceed the value of 600,000. sterling.

Peterbourg, July 18. The King of Sweden left Peterhoff on Wednesday last in the evening, and embarked at Oranienbaum, about eight o'clock, on his return to Stockholm. Her Imperial majesty being apprised of his departure, (for his Swedish majesty did not take a formal leave of the empress) wrote a letter of compliment, and sent it after the King

of Sweden, together with a pelisse of black fox-skin, of the value of 30,000 roubles, by M. Soritz, one of her Imperial majesty's adjutants, whom his Swedish majesty invested on the spot with the order of the sword.

A dreadful inundation happened at Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, occasioned by the bursting of a cloud on the adjacent hills. A little rivulet rose several yards in height in less than ten minutes. The damage is estimated at 10,000l. besides the loss of lives.

The Chevalier D'Eon left England, declaring, in the most solemn manner, that she had no interest whatever in the policies opened upon her sex.

Thursday the powder-mill on Epsom Downs accidentally blew up. Luckily there was but a small quantity of powder, and only one man in the place: the man was very much hurt, but is expected to recover. Part of the roof was found at near a mile's distance.

Sir George Collier, in his majesty's ship Rainbow, having fallen in with the rebel squadron, consisting of the Hancock, Commodore Manley, with the Boston, M'Neil, and the Fox frigate, has had the good fortune, after a chace of 39 hours, to take the Hancock, a fine new frigate of 32 guns, mostly 12-pounders, and a prime sailer. Manley mistook the Rainbow, of 40 guns, for the Raisonable of 64, and expressed great chagrin, after he had struck, upon the discovery. Captain Fotheringham, of the Fox, was on board the Hancock; and Manley says that he engaged the Fox for two hours, within pistol shot.

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At Monmouth, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Norwich, 1 condemned, and left for execution.

At Leicester, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Exeter, 4 condemned.

At the assizes for the county of Devon, 7 condemned.

At Hereford, 2 condemned—1 reprieved.

At Durham, 3 condemned—1 reprieved.

At Croydon assizes, 3 condemned.

At the same assizes, G. Phillips was indicted, for that, having married Eleanor Sawyer, in 1768, he had likewise married Sarah Warren in March last, his former wife being then alive.

The first witness produced an extract of the parish register of Shenley, certifying the marriage. To this evidence the counsel for the prisoner objected, alledging the register itself was alone competent evidence. The learned serjeant who sat as judge, did not wholly accede to this doctrine, observing, that though the book itself is the best evidence, yet the law has no where negatived an authentic, proved extract. The prosecutors, however, put an end to all debate, by producing a living witness who saw them married, and acted as father by giving away the bride. The first marriage being thus established, they produced the same evidence of the last marriage.

The counsel for the prisoner did not attempt a denial of the facts, but set up a defence, that previous to his marriage with either of these wives, he had actually married a third wife, Anne Lediard, in 1757; in proof whereof he likewise pro-

duced the same kind of evidence, and also the brother of the said Anne, who proved the marriage, and that Anne lived till the year 1775, when she died at the house of one Mr. Pullen, of Field-lane, near Holborn. This testimony was corroborated by Mr. Pullen, who produced the undertaker's bill, which he had paid for her funeral.

A bricklayer, who formerly worked as a journeyman with the prisoner at St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, swore, That he remembered seeing the said Anne come to the prisoner's house, claiming to be his wife, and that the prisoner acknowledged her to be his wife.

The counsel for the prisoner having established this first marriage, the second of course became null and void; no criminal verdict therefore could be founded upon it. The judge lamented that such a defence should be supported, but as the law stands, it could not be controverted. The jury pronounced, Not Guilty.

At Newcastle, the assizes proved maiden.

At Coventry, 3 prisoners were tried, none of whom were capitally convicted.

At Warwick, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Stafford, 5 condemned, one of whom, for murder, was executed.

At Salop, 2 condemned.

At Lewes, 3 condemned.

At Wells, 2 condemned, but reprieved.

At Carlisle, 2 condemned, but reprieved.

At Lancaster, John Rockley received sentence of death, being charged on oath with having ravished

vished his grand-daughter, an infant under ten years of age, at Liverpool, on the 16th of May last.

DIED, Anthony Purver, a Quaker, at Andover, in Hampshire; he was many years a school-master at Frenchay, in Gloucestershire. In his younger days he had been a shoe-maker, yet, without tutor or patron, by dint of hard labour and unwearyed study, he purchased and perused most of the authors in the oriental languages; and his knowledge therein was very extensive, as appears by his translation of the Old and New Testament, which he published some years ago, in two volumes folio.

S E P T E M B E R.

1st. Some few days ago two fishermen of Grimsby, being out at sea, discovered, a little below the Spurn light-houses, a dead fish, floating on the surface of the water, of a most enormous size; which, when they had got to the shore, appeared to be a male of that species of whales, called the fin-fish. It was seen some few days since on the Yorkshire coast, from whence it was struck at by some harpooners. In length it measures seventeen yards and an half, and is of a proportionable bulk, and it was supposed would yield two tons of oil.

3d. This day the Right Hon. the Lord-mayor proceeded to Smithfield, and proclaimed Bartholomew-fair; and, in his way thither, with the sheriff, partook of a cool tankard at Newgate with Mr. Akerman.

Extract of a Letter from Italy, Aug. 1.

"The brother of the Abp. of Spalatro was assassinated in the streets of Venice. Letters were found in his pockets apprising him of the danger, but he neglected to take any precaution."

Miss Mary Max, an heiress of a large fortune, was carried off the beginning of last month from Cashel county, in Ireland, brought over to England, and afterwards carried to France, by a young gentleman of the county of Kilkenny. She is only 13 years of age, and a ward. Her guardians have offered a reward of 100*l.* for apprehending the father and son, who were the principals in carrying her off. They were near being taken by Sir John Fielding's men at Brightelmstone, from whence they failed in the packet.

On the 23d of last month a fire broke out in a cottage at Auburn, Wilts, which in a few hours consumed more than two thirds of the town. The damage is computed at more than 10,000 pounds, over and above all insurances; and the distress to the poor, who have lost their all, is truly deplorable.

A superb white marble statue, in honour of Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, was erected in the chancel of the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, by Dr. Thomas Wilson, rector of the parish.

A court of aldermen was held, at which were present the lord mayor, aldermen Bull, Esdaile, Oliver, Plomer, Peckham, Hayley, Newnham, Smith, Hart, Wright, the recorder, and Plumbe and Thomas, sheriffs. Mr. Curzon and Mr. Nash (the sheriffs elect) attended the courts, and the former having his six compurgators ready,

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ready, swore himself not to be worth 15,000l. but the latter acquainting the court that he was not ready, he was allowed further time.

12th. His majesty in council was this day pleased to order, that the parliament, which stands prorogued to Thursday the 18th day of this instant September, should be further prorogued to Thursday the 30th day of October next.

16th. Newnham, in Oxfordshire, the body of Earl Harcourt was found dead, in a narrow well, in his park, with the head downwards, and nothing appearing above water but the feet and legs.

It is imagined this melancholy accident was occasioned by his over reaching himself in endeavouring to save the life of a favourite dog, who was found in the well with him, standing on his lordship's feet. His hat and right-hand glove lay by the side of the well. Every possible method for the recovery of drowned persons was made use of for three several times, but unfortunately without effect.

17th. This evening about nine o'clock, as the Hon. Mr. Hawke, son of Lord Hawke, was coming to town, between Kensington and Knightsbridge, his horse ran against a post-chaise and fell, and one of the shafts of the chaise penetrating Mr. Hawke's body, killed him on the spot.

Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received sentence of death; viz. James Harrison, for stealing, in the house of Richard Burn, Esq; two suits of cloaths,

and several pair of silk stockings; Thomas Jones, for breaking open the house of Mrs. Jemina Sainthill, in Duke-street, Manchester-square, and stealing a quantity of linen; Richard Turwood, for stealing in the house of Mr. Wildman, goldsmith, in Cheapside, where he was a servant, 11 guineas, and a gilt shilling; and John Greaves, for breaking into the coach-house and stabling belonging to the house of Henry Morris, Esq; at Hammersmith, and stealing thereout a pair of coach-harness, three coach-glasses, and other things. Thirteen were ordered to hard labour on the Thames, one to hard labour in Clerkenwell Bridewell for three years, twenty-six were branded, and ordered to be imprisoned for different terms, four to be privately whipped, and one publickly; sixty-one were discharged by proclamation.

At the above sessions, Mr. Harrison was arraigned on twenty-four different counts, for a forgery, said to have been committed by him, with intent to defraud the London Assurance company, &c. He had been many years clerk-accomptant in that office, and was charged with having prefixed a figure of 3 to the sum of 260l. paid into the Bank of England, by which it appeared as if 3260l. had been paid in, instead of 260l. which fraud was detected by the clerk who carried the money. He was found guilty; but a point of law arising, his sentence was referred to the opinion of the judges.

Mr. Cutler was also put to the bar for a rape on the body of Mrs. Bradley. Mrs. Bradley and a Mr. Hamlin were the only witnesses examined for the prosecution: the former

former gave an account of the whole transaction; the latter only repeated what she had given in evidence, which he said she had also told him the morning the fact was committed; there was however a palpable contradiction in some parts of their relations. The witnesses for the prisoner proved many contrarieties in the deposition of the evidence, on which the judge told the jury that he supposed he need not read his notes to them, as he imagined they must be fully satisfied; the jury saying they were, without hesitation pronounced the prisoner—*Not guilty*.

Also William Gibson was tried for the murder of John Collier; and Downs, the principal witness, not appearing, he was acquitted.

This evening Mr. Layton, and another of his majesty's officers of the excise, attacked a party of smugglers, thirteen in number, on the road near Kingston, Surry; when Mr. Layton was so cruelly cut and mangled, that he died in the Westminster Infirmary.

Paris, Sept. 12. A survey of the French American colonies has lately been made by order of the king, and laid before the supreme council at Paris, which is established for the improvement of the French West India settlements; by which it appears their islands are in a most flourishing state. The number of their slaves amounts to 386,500, reckoning 240,000 at St. Domingo, 75,000 at Martinico, 64,000 at Guadaloupe, 4000 at St. Lucia, and 3500 at Cayenne; to supply the annual deficiency in which number, an annual importation of 20,000 Blacks is necessary. His majesty has amply rewarded M. Petit, who made this calcula-

tion, and has directed the supreme council to draw up a number of regulations for preserving peace and harmony between the natives of the above islands and the European planters.

A common hall was held at Guildhall for the election 25th. of sheriffs for the year ensuing, in the room of William Nash, Esq; who did not appear to give bond to serve the said office, and John Curson, Esq; who was discharged from the said office for insufficiency of wealth; when all the aldermen who had not served the office were put in nomination; after which James Savage, Esq; cooper, and Philip Rowden, Esq; vintner, were put up, when they having a majority of hands, were declared duly elected.

A wardmote was held at 26th. Baker's Hall, in Thames-street, before the lord-mayor, for the election of an alderman of Tower Ward, in the room of Alderman Smith, resigned, when Evan Pugh, Esq; a soap-boiler, in Bishopsgate-street, and one of the common-council of that ward, was chosen without opposition.

The same day, at a court of enquiry, by the governors of Bethlehem and Bridewell Hospitals, a charge was made against one of the governors for having appropriated a considerable portion of the bread, beer, milk, butter, beef, &c. &c. to the use of himself and family. He did not deny the charge, but urged that he intended to pay for what he had so applied.

A common-hall was held 29th. at Guildhall for the election of a lord-mayor of this city for the ensuing year. The court being opened, Mr. Nugent, the common



common serjeant, read aloud the names of the following aldermen, as persons that had served the office of sheriff, viz. Esdaile, Kennett, Oliver, Lewes, Hayley, Newnham, Lee, and Hart: their names were severally put up, and the show of hands was greatly in favour of Esdaile and Kennett. The sheriffs declared the election had fallen on Messrs. Esdaile and Kennett, upon which the lord-mayor and aldermen returned to the council-chamber, and in a short time came on the hustings, and declared the election had fallen on Sir James Esdaile.

The lord-mayor, according to annual custom, went to Westminster-Hall and made a return of the two old sheriffs (Aldermen Plumbe and Thomas), who were sworn in before the barons in the Court of Exchequer to serve that office, till two persons are elected for the year ensuing.

James Savage and Philip Rowden, Esquires, both paid the fine to be excused serving.

On the 14th of this month an inundation happened at Peterburgh, more extensive and destructive than has ever been remembered in those parts. A violent hurricane at W. S. W. which began about two in the morning, raised the waters in four hours to the height of fourteen feet above the ordinary level of the Neva, by which the whole town, and a great extent of the flat country in the neighbourhood, was rapidly overflowed. The water remained about half an hour at its extreme height; but the wind getting a little to the northward, it returned in a very short time to its usual bounds. It is impossible to estimate the

loss which the state and individuals have suffered. The number of persons drowned must be considerable. In the best parts of the town many houses are unroofed, and the loss of goods destroyed is not to be estimated. In the gardens of the summer palace great numbers of the finest trees are broken or torn up by the roots. The lower skirts of the town, inhabited by the poorer sort of people, presented a scene of desolation which can be more easily imagined than described. Many persons were drowned in their beds, and others, who sought for safety from the roofs of their houses, were carried from thence by the violence of the wind, and those who escaped with life were left destitute of habitations and effects. Great damage is done at the quay of the exchange, and to the lower magazines and warehouses. Numbers of barks, laden with iron, hemp, grain, wood, &c. were staved, sunk, or driven into the streets or fields. Several large vessels, lying between this place and Cronstadt, were driven ashore into woods and gardens. Many of the country houses in the neighbourhood are destroyed. The village of Catherinehoff, and some others on the same coast, were entirely swept away, with all the cattle; and many lives were lost there, as well as on the side of the Galley Haven, where the ground is very low. The great bridge of boats over the Neva was carried away, and most of the bridges in the town, except those on the new stone quay (no part of which has suffered any material damage), were torn up. We have the satisfaction to hear, however, that little or no damage

damage has been done to the works or shipping at Cronstadt.

According to accurate observations it appears, that the waters rose a foot and a half higher than in the great inundation which happened there in the year 1752.

DIED, the Rev. Mr. Edmond Granger, prebend and morning lecturer of Exeter cathedral, rector of Sowden, and vicar of Honiton Clift, in Somersetshire. He was the author of a biographical history upon a new plan, and several other curious historical pieces.

The Rev. Fr. Fawkes, rector of Hayes, Kent, author of several ingenious poems and translations.

Lately, Mr. Abraham Franco, a Jew merchant, aged 96, said to have died worth 900,000l.

Mrs. Williamson, relict of the Rev. Joseph Williamson, many years rector of Leachley, in Yorkshire: she had 11 children, 54 grand-children, 53 great-grand-children, and 6 great-great-grand-children: she is survived by seven children, 37 grand-children, 42 great-grand-children, and five great-great-grand-children.

O C T O B E R.

1st. A general court of the governors of Bethlehem and Bridewell hospitals was held, when the report of the committee of enquiry, who sat to investigate the charge urged against one of the governors, accused of appropriating part of the hospital victuals, beer, &c. to his own use, was made; and it appearing that the charge was fully supported, the court passed a vote of censure upon the delin-

quent, which (unfortunately) is the only punishment in their power to inflict.

A common hall was held 2d. at Guildhall, for the choice of two persons to serve the office of sheriff. After the lord-mayor had quitted the hustings, and previous to the election, Mr. Common Serjeant came forward, and addressed the livery: he told them that the choice of persons to that office who were ineligible, or would not serve, would be a great hindrance to business; he hoped, therefore, it would fall on such as would serve, and were proper persons. All the aldermen who had not served the office were then put in nomination, but the shew of hands appeared for Robert Peckham, Esq; alderman of Coleman-street ward; and Richard Clarke, Esq; alderman of Broad-street ward; whereupon they were declared duly elected.

A commission passed the 4th. great seal for proroguing the parliament to the 20th of November, the day fixed for opening the session.

Orders are given to the 6th. captains of the East-India-men that are to go out the ensuing season to take on board their full complement of men, with the liberty of receiving an additional number at any of the out-ports; they are to mount 26 guns each, with all ordnance stores, for their better defence in case of being attacked by any of the American privateers.

Letters from Brest mention, that a ship arrived 9th. there brings an account of an earthquake having lately happened at Goree, the principal French settlement on the coast of Africa, which

which had done considerable damage to the place, and choaked up the harbour so much as to render it dangerous for shipping to enter therein.

13th. This day began the sessions of the peace for the county of Middlesex at Guildhall, Westminster, when a man was indicted for a nuisance by the inhabitants of Hockley-in-the-hole, for killing and boiling horses, which occasioned such a putrefaction in the air, that the neighbours declared they were not able at times to move from their houses; he was convicted, and sentenced to be imprisoned in Newgate for the term of two years, to pay the penalty of 100l. and find security for his future good behaviour for three years more.

16th. A most horrid murder was discovered to have been perpetrated on the body of Mons. Valence Moudroit, a French gentleman, a jeweller, at his lodgings in Princes-street, Cavendish-square, by a Swede, who was his interpreter, in the following manner: the maid-servant of the house, not having seen the deceased since the time he went to bed on Saturday night, was very uneasy, and made frequent inquiries concerning him to the interpreter, but was always answered, ‘he was out of town.’ The maid’s suspicions increasing, she was determined to see into the deceased’s apartments, and accordingly reared a ladder to the back window, which she opened, and, to her surprize, perceived the floor in a sea of blood. She went directly to Justice Gretton’s, in Margaret-street, and made him acquainted therewith, and of her strong suspicions of the interpreter

having murdered the deceased. The justice immediately repaired to the house, had the door broke open, and, upon search, found the deceased most inhumanly mangled and bruised, and his body thrust into a trunk in the dressing-room, with his head bent down on his left breast, his knees forced up to his chin, and almost putrified. The murderer was apprehended the same evening, by Justice Gretton in person, just as he arrived at his lady’s lodgings, in Castle-street, in a postchaise, from a country jaunt. On his examination, he confessed being guilty of the murder, but as nothing appeared against the woman, she was discharged, and the prisoner committed to Newgate, on the coroner’s inquest, for Wilful Murder.

Lewis Mercier, alias Bouvet, alias Bettie, who committed the above murder, was originally bred a hair-dresser; but attending the public anatomical lectures at Paris, assumed the character of a surgeon. Some time after he came to England, and went from Liverpool doctor of a Guinea ship; but was dismissed for his barbarous treatment of the negroes, during the voyage. On his return he became connected with a gang of horse-stealers, and made a considerable sum of money, by selling the cattle which were stolen, at Dunkirk, and other parts of France. In the year 1772, he was committed to Newgate, and capitally convicted for horse-stealing at the Old-Bailey.

By the interest of a French nobleman, he received the royal mercy, and was ordered to be transported for fourteen years; but returned about six weeks ago, and some

some of Sir John Fielding's people were actually in pursuit of him the day before he committed the horrid murder upon Mr. Moudroit.

The sessions, which began at the Old-Bailey on Wednesday, ended, when thirteen convicts received sentence of death; namely, Wm. Loveridge, Robert Collins, James Anderson, and Nicholas Rider, for house-breaking; Michael Cashmin, for horse-stealing; four chimney-sweeper's boys for shop-lifting; John Morris, Benjamin and Charles Lees, for breaking open a bureau in a public-house, and stealing from thence 19 guineas and a crown-piece; Hen. Parkinson, for robbing a little boy in the street; Ann Ellison, for privately stealing upwards of 13 guinens in the dwelling-house of John Doer, her master, the Crown alehouse, in Newport-market; Thomas Antibus, for stealing three heifers out of a field near Hendon; George Johnson, for horse-stealing; and the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Russen, for injuring a girl under ten years old. He was master of the subscription charity-school at Bethnal-green, and was tried on four indictments for similar offences, but found guilty only on the first. In his defence he denied the fact, and pleaded the malice of his enemies, who, he said, had charged him with those offences to deprive him of his place.

A very extraordinary circumstance happened at the Old-Bailey the last sessions, which shews how cautious and well informed it is necessary a jury should be in the discharge of their duty. A young fellow was tried for a capital felony, and, through the inexperience of the foreman, a verdict was found

to the extreme of the charge. When the convicts were brought down to receive sentence, the court was thrown into an alarm by the Middlesex jury, who declared that they had resolved to find the prisoner guilty of the bare felony in stealing the goods, and to acquit him of having privately stolen them; an offence for which the punishment would not take away his life: whereas they were now astonished to see him among those condemned to suffer death; that, when they were deliberating upon the evidence, so far were they from any intention of finding the prisoner guilty of the specific charge in the indictment, that they observed among themselves he was a very proper object for the ball-altighters. The recorder endeavoured, with all that humanity which distinguishes his character, to soften the rigour of the verdict, and to that purpose made a strict inquiry of the cause of this egregious error, but it turned out to be not in his province to comply with the compassionate wishes of the jury. The verdict was recorded, and the only method to save the poor fellow from the disgrace and horror of a violent death, was a petition from the jury to the king, which the recorder promised to deliver, and aid their attempt to amend the mistake. The prisoner seemed to be shocked exceedingly. Being called upon to shew cause why sentence should not be pronounced against him, he said, 'I thought I was not found guilty of a capital offence, till I was fetched down from the cells.' The audience were affected, and at the same time happy to see so much penitence in his behaviour.

23d. A common council was this day held at Guildhall, at which were present the lord-mayor, lord-mayor elect, aldermen Alsop, Bull, Kennett, Hayley, Oliver, Wright, Pugh, Peckham and Clarke, the sheriffs, and recorder.

A petition from the creditors of Alderman Wilkes, late lord-mayor, was delivered into the court, and, upon a motion being made for the reading the said petition, great debates ensued; and on the question being put, it was carried and read. A motion was then made that the petition do lie on the table, and, on a division being demanded and granted, there appeared seven aldermen and 73 common-councilmen for the question; and one alderman and 72 common-councilmen against it; whereupon the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

This day about three 24th. o'clock in the afternoon, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, his duchess, family, and retinue, arrived at Gloucester house from Italy; his royal highness is in a much better state of health than was expected.

The following is the estimate of the charge of pulling down and rebuilding the gaol of Newgate:

Leasehold interests to be purchased in the Old-Bailey, from the Mason's Yard to Newgate, and some houses opposite thereto, 6000l. The old materials were to pay for taking down, and clearing away the rubbish to the surface of the streets. The New Prison to answer the late Sessions House, and to contain distinct wards for the men and women debtors, and men and women felons, transports, and

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convicts; a ch'pel, a keeper's house, taphouse, sutlery, yards, area, ponds of water, &c. which required 160 squares of new building, which, on account of the requisite strength, would cost 250l. per square, 40,000l. Salaries and gratuities to the surveyor, the committee clerk, the chamberlain's clerks, &c. 2750l. Incidental expences, 1250l. Total 50,000l.

At the sessions for the county of Norfolk, a tradesman of Norwich, for cheating at cards, was fined 20l. and sentenced to suffer six months imprisonment in the castle; without bail or main-prize; and, in case the said fine was not paid at the expiration of the term, then to stand on the pillory one hour, with his ears nailed to the same.

The following is a true state of the different methods of getting money by lottery-office-keepers, and other ingenious persons, who have struck out different plans of getting money by the state lottery of 1777.

First, His majesty's royal letters patent for securing the property of purchasers.

2dly, A few office-keepers who advertise, "By authority of parliament," to secure your property in shares and chances.

3dly. Several schemes for shares and chances, only entitling the purchasers to all prizes above twenty pounds.

4thly, A bait for those who can only afford to venture *one shilling*.

Then come the ingenious set of lottery merchants, viz. Lottery magazine proprietors—Lottery-tailors—Lottery stay-makers—Lottery glovers—Lottery hat-makers—Lottery tea-merchants—Lottery snuff

snuff and tobacco merchants—Lottery handkerchiefs—Lottery bakers—Lottery barbers (where a man, for being shaved, and paying three-pence, may stand a chance of getting ten pounds)—Lottery shoe-blacks—Lottery eating-houses; one in Wych-street, Temple-bar, where, if you call for six-penny-worth of roast or boiled beef, you receive a note of hand, with a number, which, should it turn out fortunate, may entitle the eater of the beef to sixty guineas.—Lottery oyster-stalls, by which the fortunate may get five guineas for three-penny-worth of oysters. And to complete this curious catalogue, an old woman, who keeps a sausage-stall in one of the little alleys leading to Smithfield, wrote up in chalk, Lottery sausages, or five shillings to be gained for a farthing relish.

A young woman at Paris, enraged at being abandoned by her lover; after many useless reproaches, at length waited on him a few days ago, and told him, that being unable to survive his perfidy, she was determined to fight him, and that she had brought two pistols with her for that purpose. The gentleman took one, and, making light of the matter, fired it into the air; but she, not imitating his example, and become perfectly mad through despair, fired her's at him, and wounded him dreadfully in the face. The gentleman's name is handed about; he is said to be a man of quality, and an officer in the navy.

DIED, at Dover, on his way to Paris, on the 21st of this month, Samuel Foote, Esq. He left London, as we are told, on Sunday, and when he arrived here was taken

ill; soon after which he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and never recovered. He was attended on his journey only by a menial servant. Immediately on his expiring, an express was despatched to acquaint his friends with his death.

Mr. Foote has left the bulk of his fortune to his natural son, a child about seven years of age; but in case he should die before he arrives at the age of twenty-one, then his property is to go to Mr. Jewel, late treasurer of the Hay-market theatre, who is left executor.

Francis Wilkes, day-labourer, on the heath near Stourbridge, aged 109. His poor neighbours were persuaded that he had purchased immortality from a witch.

Thomas Carter, the dwarf, who was about 25 years of age, and only three feet four inches high.

N O V E M B E R .

Mr. Ruffen, who was lately convicted at the Old-Bailey, 1st. was bred a chair-maker, which profession he followed till the age of 25, or 26. Having a turn for religious disputation, and the study of the scriptures, he became a member of some private societies, which met to discuss points of theological controversy. Some time after he commenced Dissenting Teacher; but being desirous of entering into the Church of England, he was (by the interest of a certain noble earl, whose notice he had attracted) recommended to the late Bishop of London, who, after much difficulty, gave him orders, (as is expressly mentioned)

tioned) because of his knowledge in the scriptures; he then intended, or, at least, the bishop was made to believe he intended, to remove to Florida, under the protection of the society for the propagation of the gospel; but soon after entering into orders, he thought proper to abandon that design, and settled in London.

When the lord mayor elect, with his attendants, were seated at the lord chancellor's, his lordship, addressing himself to the lord mayor elect, acquainted him, "That his majesty highly approved of the choice made by the city of London;" telling him, at the same time, what pleasure they must feel on a return of that dignity, peace, and tranquillity, which had been lost and disturbed for many years past; and hoped that matters would return to the old channel.

This evening, about nine 3d. o'clock, the queen was happily delivered of a princess. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, several lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber, were present.

At a court of common 4th. council held this day, Mr. S. Thorp got up and observed, that at the last court, a petition from the creditors of Mr. Alderman Wilkes had been introduced, which was carried by a very small majority to lie upon the table; and that the principal arguments urged against the petition were, that it would be indecorous to interfere in a private dispute between a gentleman and his creditors; the court seemed in general to agree, that Mr. Wilkes's public service and sufferings deserved some recom-

pence, but did not approve of that mode; he therefore begged leave to acquaint the court, that at the next meeting of common council a motion would be made to the following purport:

"That the chamberlain of this city be directed to pay to John Wilkes, Esq; the sum of five hundred pounds per annum, during the pleasure of this court, as an acknowledgment of his public services to Englishmen in general, and to the citizens of London in particular.

An apple tree in the orchard of Mr. Hackman of Linfield in Sussex, produced this year 74 bushels. The fruit was weighed, and the average weight of each bushel was 56 lb. by which it appears, that the above remarkable tree bore one ton, three hundred, and fifty-six pounds weight.

Florence, Oct. 14. An account has been received from Radicofani, (an ancient town near the confines of the Roman State) that on the 5th of this inst. a severe shock of an earthquake had been felt there, and in the adjacent mountains, which had done great damage: Some houses were thrown down, and the mountains were split, and separated so as to render the high road in some places impassable; trees were torn up by the roots, and a wall, which surrounded a convent of Franciscan friars, sunk perpendicularly into the ground. For some days before a subterraneous noise had been heard, which alarmed the inhabitants, many of whom abandoned the town, and lived in tents. The same noise continued after the shock, which, according to the common opinion, indicates an eruption in some part of the mountain,

tain, where formerly there was a volcano.

toth. A duel was lately fought at New-York, between Captain Pennington, of the Cold-stream Regiment of Foot Guards, and Capt. Tollemache, husband of Lady Bridget Tollemache; when the latter was unfortunately killed on the spot.—The quarrel originated from a sonnet being written by Capt. Pennington, which Capt. Tollemache took up as reflecting upon the supposed wit of his lady. After firing a brace of pistols each without effect, the gentlemen drew their swords, when Captain Tollemache was run through the heart, and Capt. Pennington received seven wounds, of which he lay so dangerously ill when the accounts came away, that his life was despaired of.

19th. This day a court of common-council was held at Guildhall, at which were present the lord-mayor, Aldermen Alsop, Bridgen, Harley, Bull, Sawbridge, the Recorder, Plumbe, Oliver, Kennett, Thomas, Plomer, Hayley, Hart, Wright, Pugh, and the two sheriffs.

A motion was made, that Mr. Chamberlain do pay to John Wilkes, Esq; alderman, 500l. per annum, during the pleasure of this court, for his past services; the same was declared to be carried in the negative, and, a division being demanded and granted, there appeared against the question 12 aldermen and 96 commoners, and for the question four aldermen and 69 commoners; upon which his lordship declared the same to be carried in the negative.

A motion was then made and seconded, that it is the opinion of

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this court, that the granting any annuity to John Wilkes, Esq; alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, or the paying any of that gentleman's debts out of the city cash, whether contracted in his mayoralty or not, would be an improper application thereof, and a most dangerous precedent: And the previous question being put, whether that question be now put, the same was resolved in the affirmative; and the question being put, the lord-mayor declared the same was carried in the affirmative; and, a division being demanded and granted, there appeared 12 aldermen and 93 commoners for the affirmative, and four aldermen and 70 commoners for the negative, whereupon the same was declared to be resolved in the affirmative.

The following motion of thanks to the late lord-mayor was agreed to:—

It is unanimously resolved and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Halifax, Knt. late lord-mayor of this city, for his constant application to, and faithful performance of, the duties of that high and important office; for supporting the honour and dignity thereof with splendor and hospitality; for his diligent and unwearied attendance in the administration of justice, which he discharged in every instance with the utmost candour and impartiality; for his cheerful and ready compliance with the rest of his fellow-citizens, whenever they desired to be assembled; for the easy access he constantly gave to every member of the corporation; for his vigilant and steady attachment to, [O] and

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and very able vindication of the constitutional rights of the subject, by refusing to back press-warrants; for his great humanity in relieving the distresses of the poor, thereby enabling them to enjoy the blessings of a plentiful harvest; and his firmness in promoting, on all occasions, the true interests of this great metropolis.

20th. This day his majesty opened the present session of parliament, being the fourth of the fourteenth parliament of Great Britain, with a most gracious speech from the throne.

This day in the court of King's-Bench, a question, which has been suspended on the opposite opinions, and by opposite adjudications of different judges, for upwards of two hundred years, was solemnly determined in this court by Lord Mansfield, with the unanimous concurrence of all the judges. The case was between Pugh and the Duke of Leeds, and the question respecting the construction in leases of the terms "of and from the date," and "from the day of the date?"—Whether one did not imply a lease in possession, and the other a lease in reversion? His lordship was of opinion, that either form was to be construed according to the sense of the words, as they frequently occur, and are used in the language, and according to the obvious intent and meaning of the parties; and he observed, that although the most learned in the profession had cavilled upon them for so many years, with a contention shameful even to schoolmen, they ought to be considered as of equal meaning: That in law there was no fraction of a day; and that *of and from the*

day of the date, and of and from the date, strictly implied the very same meaning.

In the court of common-pleas was finally determined, 25th. June, the question reserved for the opinion of the Bench, in the case of Sayre and Rochford. The question was upon the admissibility of certain evidence offered by the plaintiff on the trial, and if admitted its subsequent consequences upon the merits. The question was frequently very ably argued by counsel on both sides. Mr. Serjeant Glynn yesterday argued his point with great ingenuity; contended, that the offer of bail made by Mr. Reynolds, and rejected by the secretary of state in his capacity as magistrate, made him a trespasser *ab initio*, as his client was committed for a bailable offence. Serjeant Davy, on the other side, overturned the reasoning of his learned brother, and defended the commitment. As soon as the arguments were finished by the bar, Chief Justice de Grey delivered his opinion in the clearest, and most forcible manner. He began by observing the question was within a very narrow compass, and depended upon the pleadings, which he stated. He said, that a question of fact and law arose; but until the first was established, the other could not be entered upon; he then defined the nature of special pleading; what could or could not be brought in issue: he took notice of what came from the bar respecting magistrates: he was clearly of opinion, that a magistrate acting by virtue of his authority but mistaking their extent, was not to be considered as a trespasser *ab initio*, but only from his departure from

from legal authority. He then returned to the first question, and took a view of the replication, and declared it as his opinion, that no new matter could be introduced or given in evidence by the plaintiff Sayre, without a flagrant violation of the rules of law that govern special pleading. The other justices agreed in opinion with Sir William DeGrey, and cited several adjudged cases that made directly against what was contended for by the plaintiff.

Yesterday morning Mr. Horne appeared at the bar of the court of King's Bench, Westminster, to receive sentence for publishing an advertisement from the Constitutional Society, accusing his majesty's troops at Lexington in America, of murder. The four judges of that court were present. Lord Mansfield opened the business with great candour and ability, and in a clear and masterly manner, and was followed by the attorney general. Mr. Horne replied, and spoke for about three quarters of an hour respecting two circumstances by him averred to be omitted in the information against him, viz. that the Americans were in rebellion, and that the king had sent troops to America to suppress it, and to exculpate himself from the charge; after which the court passed the following sentence on him, viz. That he should be imprisoned for one year, pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and find security for his good behaviour for three years, himself in 400l. and two securities in 200l. each. The court was very full, and the above business took up about an hour and a half.

Florence, Nov. 4.

On the 15th of last month a violent storm, which extended itself thro' various parts of Tuscany, occasioned very great damage, particularly in the province called Mugello. The rivers overflowed their banks, the water in some places rising to the height of fifteen feet, and made a general devastation in all the adjacent parts; many buildings were thrown down, and a great number of cattle destroyed: great part of the state of Pisa was likewise laid under water, and still remains in so bad a condition as to prevent its being cultivated; the great reservoir on the mountain, which supplies the town of Pisa with water, was much damaged. The state of Lucca has also suffered greatly by the overflowing of the river Serchio. This storm of rain was accompanied by a violent wind, with thunder, lightning, and hail of an extraordinary size, which did great damage to the buildings and fruit-trees; and several shocks of an earthquake were felt in many parts during the storm, which lasted ten hours. Accounts are daily coming in of the devastation it has caused in different places.

Mr. Gretton, a Middlesex justice, appeared in the court of King's Bench, to justify bail upon an action of trover for the sum of 10,000l. It appeared, that Mr. Gretton had been applied to in the case of Moudroit, who was inhumanly murdered (see p. 204); that he had secured such part of Moudroit's effects as could be recovered, for the benefit of his right heirs; but that a woman, of infamous character, had been procured, who

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had sworn herself the mother of Moudroit, and the next of kin; whereas there were now alive a wife and child, to whom he was ready to deliver said effects, whenever he could do it with safety. Lord Mansfield ordered the woman to be prosecuted for perjury, and the justice to be discharged on common bail.

DIED, at Askew, near Bedale in Yorkshire, Ann Johnson, in her 75th year. She was mother to six children, grandmother to thirty six, and great-grandmother to six.

In his 78th year, Mr. William Bowyer, an eminent printer, and who united to that profession a distinguished degree of classical and critical erudition.

John Houseman, a labouring man, at Sessay, near Thirsk in Yorkshire, aged 111.

The celebrated Dr. Rock, aged 87 years.

D E C E M B E R.

1st. This evening the young princess was baptized in the council chamber at St. James's, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the name of Sophia. There was a great number of the nobility present.

ad. The report was made to his majesty in council of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, when the three following were ordered for execution on Friday, the 12th inst. viz. Morris Geary, Sarah Ellison, and Benjamin Russen.

The following were respite during his Majesty's pleasure, viz. James Anderson, Nicholas Rider, William Leveridge, Robert Col-

lins, Michael Cashmin, Henry Parkinson, Thomas Antibus, Thomas Tilling, George Johnson, and John Smith, alias Smithwaite, for privately stealing.

His majesty was also pleased, a few days afterwards, to respite the execution of Sarah Ellison, during his pleasure.

Was tried before Lord Mansfield in the court of 3d. King's Bench, a remarkable cause, the first of its kind, Cabrier against Anderson, for putting his (Cabrier's) name to five watches made by the defendant, and thereby hurting the reputation of the plaintiff. A verdict was given for 100l. being 20l. for each watch, agreeable to an act of parliament of William III.

This night's Gazette contains a list of vessels seized as prizes, and of recaptures made by the American squadron, between the 27th of May and 24th of October, 1777, according to the returns received by Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe. The total number of prizes 118, recaptures 13. Signed by Lord Howe.

The flogging ended at the Old Bailey, when the following prisoners were sentenced to death: viz. John North, for stealing a gelding; John Gahagan, for breaking into a house at Mary-bone, stealing a 20l. bank-note, three guines, eight half-guineas, &c. William Borden, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. Colley, at Shoreditch, and stealing lace and millinery goods to the value of 300l. T. Field, for a burglary in the house of Mr. Whitehead, grocer, in St. John's-street, and stealing some notes and 50l. in cash; Morgan Morris and Benja-
min

min Johnson, for breaking open some stables in Chiswell-street, and stealing several bridles, four saddles, and a horse-cloth; Wm. Pollard, for breaking and entering the house and apartment of Richard Longworth, in the Old Bailey, and stealing a black silk mode cloak, and other apparel; and Francis Mercier, otherwise Louis de Butte, for the wilful murder of Mons. Moudroit.

When Mercier was brought into court, on being asked, whether he was guilty or not guilty? he appeared so stupefied, as not to be able to make any answer. The question was repeated several times, but without effect: Judge Afton then ordered the act to be read, which enables the court to pass sentence when prisoners refuse to plead; a jury was therefore impanelled to try whether the prisoner was obstinately mute, or mute by the visitation of God. One witness proved that on Thursday night he was with the prisoner some time; that he understood English pretty well; that he then conversed with cheerfulness, and did not seem unable to take his trial. The next witness was Justice Gretton, who proved that the prisoner both spoke and wrote English; the third witness was one of the gaoler's servants, who proved, that as they were bringing him from Newgate, he heard him speak, and say he would not sit. A surgeon also examined the prisoner, who said there did not appear to him any cause why he could not speak. Judge Afton then summed up this evidence to the jury, when they gave their verdict, that the prisoner was obstinately mute, and not by the visitation of God; then

the judge proceeded to pass sentence, that he should be hanged next Monday, and his body to be anatomized; he was then taken out of court, and after the next trial was over, Mr. Akerman acquainted the court that Mercier was come to his senses, and desired to speak to the court; he was therefore brought in again, and then appeared sensible, though weak: his request was, that his sentence might be respite for some time till he could repent of his crime, and prepare for death; this could not be complied with, and he was remanded accordingly.

Abraham Adams and John Foote were convicted of killing and slaying Elizabeth Jefferies, at Bethnal-green, on the 5th of November last, by firing a pistol (at a bonfire), the wadding of which wounded the child in the side, and occasioned its death. William Wynn, a postman belonging to the General Post-office, was tried for feloniously stealing, on the 7th of October last, from out of a letter directed to the Hon. Lady Mary Forbes, at Margate, ten bank post bills, payable to the Hon. John Forbes, value received of John Lamb, of Golden-square, Esq; lettered, marked, and numbered, as stated in the indictment. The indictment was not laid capital, but he was found guilty. Fourteen were sentenced to hard labour on the Thames for three years; ten to hard labour in the house of correction, three of whom are for five years, and seven for three years; 31 branded, and committed to the house of correction for different terms; 5 branded, and imprisoned in Newgate; 5 to be whipped; and 42 were discharged by proclamation.

J. Holmes, the grave-digger of St. George's, Bloomsbury, Robert Williams, his assistant, and Esther Donaldson, were indicted at the Guildhall, Westminster, for a misdemeanor, for stealing the dead body of Mrs. Jane Sainsbury, who died on the 9th of last October, and was buried in the burial place of St. George's, Bloomsbury, on the Monday following. On this occasion Mr. Sainsbury was under the painful necessity of appearing to identify the remains of his wife, Holmes and Williams were found guilty on the clearest evidence; but nothing being proved against Donaldson, she was acquitted. The sentence of Holmes and Williams was six months imprisonment each, and each to be publicly and severely whipped twice, in the first and last week of their imprisonment, from Kingsgate-street, Holborn, to Dyot-street, St. Giles's, which is full half a mile. The latter part of the sentence has been since remitted by his majesty, as it was apprehended that the mob were so irritated against them, that their lives might be endangered by its execution.

A very extraordinary affair 7th. became the subject of investigation upon the trial of an appeal at Guildhall, Westminster. A man lived with his wife 23 years, in the course of which he had eight children by her. On a sudden he was struck with the personal qualifications of another female, whom he courted; and in order to gain full possession of his charmer, this dotard instituted a suit of *jactitation* in the Commons, under a colour that his marriage, being in the Fleet, was unlawful, consequently null and void, though it took place

before the act to prohibit their taking effect in point of law; the consequence was, what the man foresaw and relied upon: The woman, unable to support the very heavy charges of a defence, was forced to give a tacit acknowledgment of her husband's allegations, and of course the ecclesiastical court pronounced the man free to marry again. He then had obtained his wishes, and takes by the hand his beloved object, and abandons his first wife, who, with four fine children, in course fell upon the parish. A very interesting argument ensued between the counsel, how far the sentence in the Commons should operate against the testimony of the first wife. On one side it was insisted, that the judgment was much more than sufficient to overturn her evidence, for there were not only the allegations, but other proof to combat the testimony now given. On the contrary, a comparison was made of this case with that of a certain noble lady, where the sentence was procured by collusion, and therefore not binding, or operative in any other court whatsoever. Sir J. Hawkins and the whole bench concurred in the latter opinion, and expressed themselves warmly against the husband, who, to the astonishment of all present, appeared at the side of the council that argued in defence of the civil decree. Sir John wished, he said, that the court had been empowered to throw the whole expence upon the husband, who had acted the character of a villain with so much *composure*. He strongly recommended an indictment against him for bigamy, which the attorney for the parish undertook to prosecute.

9th. The

9th. The towns of Manchester and Liverpool have entered into a subscription to raise a regiment each, to be employed against the rebels in America.

10th. His majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills: The land-tax bill; the malt-bill; the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act; the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland's bill, and such other bills as were ready.

11th. By the advice of Lord Mansfield, the judges have declined giving an opinion upon the reserved objections, as stated by Mr. Morgan, in the case of Harrison; convicted for forgery. Judge Blackstone, who tried him, declares that there is no law existing under which he can suffer, and that therefore he ought to have the benefit of the law, and receive an immediate discharge. The other judges advise, that he should waive his demand of being heard by counsel, and plead the king's pardon, issued under the great seal; and say, that, in case of refusal, they will consider the case with the utmost caution; so that the friends of the convict, to avoid danger, advised him to accept of the medium.

This day the Rev. Mr. Russen, for a rape, and Morris Geary, for coining, were executed at Tyburn. Russen, just before he left the prison, seeing a company about him, made use of this emphatical expression, *Stand clear, look to yourselves, I am the first hypocrite in Sion.* He behaved with decency, and the parting between him and his son was very affecting. He denied to the last his having carnal knowledge of the girl who swore

against him, but confessed that he had done what he ought not to have done.

One Harris stood on the pillory near Westminster-hall gate, for wilful and corrupt perjury. He swore to serving a notice of a justification of bail, in an action of 150l. whereby the debtor put in sham-bail, was released from prison, and the creditor irrecoverably lost his debt.

The monument of Mrs. Macauley, which was erected by Dr. Wilson, in the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, is by order of the vestry to be taken down, leave not having been obtained for putting it up.

A patent passed the great seal of a grant to the Right Hon. Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, of a pension, of 2400l. per ann. payable at the exchequer, to commence from the date of his resignation.

Lately came on before the justices, at the Guildhall, Westminister, a trial with which the public should be made acquainted. One Holdernes, a waterman, plied some gentlemen, and when in his boat, asked where they were going, up or down? They answered down; on which he swore he would not carry them. The company insisting that he should, he swagged the boat, and in a few minutes filled it, and sunk it in fourteen feet water, and it was almost a miracle that no lives were lost. The gentlemen complained to the watermen's company, but they dismissed the complaint, on the ground that no sculler was obliged by law, to go farther down than Cuckold's Point, nor farther up than Vauxhall, as below or above those

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those places there were no settled fares. The court, however, were of opinion, that a waterman plying for passengers, had no right to demand where they would be landed, much less had he a right to endanger their lives by sinking his boat. Being tried for an assault, he was found guilty, and the court were proceeding to pronounce sentence of imprisonment in Newgate for one whole year, when the prosecutor interposed, in compassion to his family, and requested that it might be mitigated to three months.

24th. A cause came on at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, in which Messrs. Lewelly and Co. merchants of Bristol, were plaintiffs; and Messrs. Cam and Co. clothiers, of Bradford, Wilts, defendants. The matter in dispute was, whose property a certain quantity of Spanish wool was, that was unfortunately destroyed by the memorable fire in Bell-lane, Bristol, occasioned by the villainous designs of John the Painter, some of which wool had been previously purchased by the defendants, but at that time remained in the warehouses of the plaintiffs. Evidence being produced to prove the weighing of the wool, and the delivery of the bill of parcels for the same to the defendants, it was deemed a complete sale, and the jury immediately gave a verdict for the plaintiffs,

Also this day a meeting was held at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, to consider of the most effectual mode of relieving the distresses of the American prisoners in the different gaols of Great Britain and Ireland. About one o'clock Robert Mackey, Esq; was

voted into the chair, when several resolutions were voted and carried without a division. When this business was ended, a committee was chosen, and a subscription opened, at which upwards of 800l. were subscribed in less than an hour. The four members for the city, with several other gentlemen, were chosen on the committee.

Thomas Sherwood was examined before Sir John Fielding, when it appeared, that by means of a forged letter of attorney in the joint names of Messrs. Myonet and French, two country clergymen, he had sold out stock in the 3 per cent. Bank consol. to the amount of 700l. and in the South-Sea house 800l. under the same forged power, to which he had drawn in his brother and his apprentice to be subscribing witnesses, whom Sherwood persuaded to call themselves salesmen of Houndsditch, though only servants to himself. It appears, likewise, that, notwithstanding this fraud, Sherwood became a bankrupt, and that he was detected by this forged power being found among his papers.

DIED, John Dyer, at Burton, in Lancashire, aged 112. He had been a soldier in the service of King William, and afterwards in that of Queen Ann, under the Duke of Marlborough.

*General Bill of all the Christenings
and Burials, from December 10,
1776, to December 16; 1777.*

| Christened. | Buried. |
|--------------|---------------|
| Males 9338 | Males 11768 |
| Females 8962 | Females 11566 |
| In all 18300 | In all 23334 |
| | Whereof |

C H R O N I C L E.

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| | | |
|---|-------------|-------|
| Whereof have died, | | |
| Under two years of age | - | 8889 |
| Between 2 and 5 | 26c9 | |
| 5 and 10 | 982 | |
| 10 and 20 | 823 | |
| 20 and 30 | 1540 | |
| 30 and 40 | 1894 | |
| 40 and 50 | 1993 | |
| 50 and 60 | 1710 | |
| 60 and 70 | 1360 | |
| 70 and 80 | 1096 | |
| 80 and 90 | 377 | |
| 90 and 100 | 48 | |
| 100 and 1 | 1 | |
| 100 and 4 | 2 | |
| 100 and 5 | 1 | |
| Increased in the Burials this year | | |
| | | 4286. |
| Bill of Mortality for Norwich, Christened. Buried. | | |
| Males 794 | Males 502 | |
| Females 585 | Females 494 | |

In all 1289 In all 996
Increased in Christenings 77.

Decreased in Burials 362.

At Whitehaven, Baptisms 273.
Marriages 92. Burials 297. Increased in baptisms 15. Increased in marriages 3. Decreased in burials 254.

At Whitby, Baptisms 278. Marriages 100. Burials 219. Increased in baptisms 27. Increased in marriages 24. Decreased in burials 59.—The Dissenters are not included in these numbers.

At Manchester, there were 1513 christenings, 577 marriages, and 864 burials. Increased in christenings 272; increased in marriages 83; decreased in burials 356.

At Liverpool there were 1224 christenings, 455 marriages, and 3760 burials. Decreased in christenings 12; decreased in marriages 93; increased in burials 89.

BIRTHS for the year 1777.

- Jan. 15. Her Grace the Duchess of Buccleugh, of a son.
- 20. The lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a son, in Pall Mall.
- Feb. 14. The lady of Sir Justinian Isham, Bart. of a son.
- The lady of the Hon. Mr. Baron Hotcham, of a son, in Norfolk-Street, Strand.
- March 10. The Hon. Lady Bagot, in Upper Brook-street, of a son.
- The lady of Lord Stormalt, at his lordship's hotel, in Paris, of a son and heir, Lady of the Hon. Charles Hope Weir, of a daughter.
- April 3. Rt. Hon. Lady Tyrconnel, of a son.
- Lady Bayntun, of a son.
- 16. Lady of Hon. Mart. Bladen Hawke, of a son.
- Lady of the Hon. Col. Conway, of a son.
- The lady of Sir Martin Folkes, bart. of a daughter, at Hillington-Hall, in Norfolk.
- 21. Mademoiselle de Vallabriga, spouse to the Infant Don Louis of Spain, of a prince, at Cadahalio.
- 24. The Grand Duchess of Tuscany, of a princess, at a palace near Florence.
- The lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. of a daughter.
- May 7. Her grace the Duchess of Leinster, of a daughter, at Leinster-house, in Ireland.

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The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Kensington, of a son. His lordship and his lady have been married twenty-two years, and never had a child before.

The lady of Lord Wimborne de Brooke, of a son.

June 1. Right Hon. Lady North, of a son.

Right Hon. Countess of Rothes, lady of Dr. Pepys, of a daughter.

July 1. Right Hon. Lady Harborough, of a son.

Her grace the Duchess of Grafton, of a daughter.

28. Her royal and serene highness the Princess of Hesse Cassel, of a prince.

Aug. 4. The Right Hon. Lady Townshend, of a son.

Hon. Mrs. Hobart, of a son.

The Duchess of Chartres, of two princesses.

19. Her majesty the Queen of the Two Sicilies, of a prince, since named Francis, Janvier, Joseph, Jean, Baptiste, Charles, Anthony, Paschal Gaetan, Gaspar, Melchior, Balthezar, Louis.

Sep. 5. The Right Hon. Lady Dartrey, of a daughter, in Stanhope-street, Mayfair.

The lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Stamford, of a daughter, at Dunham, in Cheshire.

6. The Infant Archduchess, of a daughter, at Parma, who has received the names

of Charlotte - Maria - Theresa-Louisa.

11. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Autrias, of a princess, at St. Ildefonso.

Oct. 10. The Countess of Aboyn, of a son.

14. The lady of Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. of a daughter, at Bottley, in Surry.

16. The Marchioness of Carmarthen, of a son, in Grosvenor-square.

Right Hon. Lady Mary Ruthven, of a son.

22. Lady of Sir T. Egerton, Bart. of a son.

28. The lady of the Right Hon. Charles Dillon Lee, of a son and heir, at Brussels.

30. The Duchess of Manchester, of a daughter, at his grace's house in Portman-square.

Nov. 1. Countess of Thanet, of a son.

Lady of Sir Charles Douglas, Bart. of a daughter.

30. The Countess of Strathmore, of a daughter.

Dec. 23. The lady of the Earl of Lincoln, of a son, at his lordship's house, in Arlington-street.

24. The Lady of Lord Boston, of a son and heir, in Grosvenor-square.

Her grace the Duchess of Argyll, of a son, at Argyle-house.

MARRIAGES, 1777.

Jan. 3. Gilbert Elliot, Esq. (now Sir Gilbert) of Lincoln's-

- coln's-in Fields, to Miss Amyand, sister of Sir George Cornwall, Bart.
7. Ralph Milbanke, Esq; to the Hon. Miss Noel.
16. The Right Hon. the Countess of Strathmore, to Andrew Robinson Stony, Esq; of Coldpighill, in the county of Durham,
30. Thomas Gilbert, of Cotton, in Staffordshire, Esq; member for Litchfield, to Miss Cranford, only daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel George Cranford.
37. The Rev. Dr. Marriot, Prebendary of Westminster, to Miss Anne Cave, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. of Stanfords-Hall, in the county of Leicester.
Lately, Thomas Pennant, Esq; of Downing, to Miss Mostyn, sister to Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart. member for Flint.
- Earl of Radnor, to the Hon. Miss Ann Duncombe, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of the late Lord Feverham: — *The reader is desired to correct the mistake in our list of marriages for the year 1776.*
31. —— Nelbit, Esq; to Miss Manners, daughter of Lord Robert Manners.
- Feb. 2. Mr. E. H. Sandys, of Canterbury, to Miss Sally Fagg, youngest daughter of Sir William Fagg, Bart.
- In France, on the 3d inst.
- Count de Rohan Chabot Jarnac, nephew to the Duke de Rohan, at the castle of Jarnac, to Miss Smith, sister to Sir Skiffington Smith, Bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.
7. Capt. William Arabine, of the king's life guards, to Miss Molyneux, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.
15. John Burridge Cholwiche, Esq; of Farringdon, in the county of Devon, to Miss Dunke, eldest daughter of Sir John Dunke, Bart.
19. James Trecottick, Esq; of Addington place, in Surrey, to Miss Edmonstone, eldest daughter of Sir Arch. Edmonstone, Bart.
24. Right Rev. Dr. Charles Jackson, Bishop of Kildare, to Mrs. Cope, relict of the late Rev. Anthony Cope, Dean of Armagh.
29. Arthur Shakespear, Esq; to Miss Ridley, daughter of Matthew Ridley, Esq; and sister to Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart.
- His Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with his cousin the Princess Louisa Carolina Henrietta, daughter of his Serene Highness Prince George William of Hesse Darmstadt, at Darmstadt.
- March 18. Lord Deerhurst, son to the Earl of Coventry, to the Right Hon. Lady Catherine Hesley, sister

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- to the Earl of Northing-ton.
- Edward Sacheverel Sitwell, Esq; of Morley, in Derbyshire, to Miss Wheeler, daughter of Sir William Wheeler, of Lemington Hastings, in Warwickshire, Bart.
- April 2.** William Hale, Esq; of Walden, Hertfordshire, to Miss Grimston, sister to Lord Grimston.
28. Asheton Curzon, Esq; to Mrs. Trecobtick, sister to Sir William Meredith.
27. Lord Bulkely to Miss Warren, only daughter of Sir G. Warren,
- May 2.** Sir Edward Williams, Bart. to Miss Rily, of St. James's place, eldest daughter and one of the coheiresses of the late John Rily, Esq; of Bread-street.
22. Sir John Hales, of Lincolnshire, Bart. to Miss Ann Scott, only daughter of John Scott, Esq; of Fulham.
28. William Adam, Esq; member of parliament for Gatton, to the Hon. Miss Eleanora Elphinstone, second daughter of Lord Elphinstone.
25. Charles Hamilton, Esq; youngest son of the late Lord Hamilton, to Miss Lucretia Prosser, of Hampshire.
- June 1.** Hon. Capt. Charles Napier, of the navy, to Miss Hamilton, of Westburn.
- Sir Thomas Carew, Bart. to Miss Smallwood, of Kirkewald.
- The Hon. Lord St. Law-rence, eldest son of the Earl of Howth, to the Hon. Lady — Birmingham, the only daughter and heiress to the Earl of Lowth.
20. John O'Carroll, Esq; son of Sir John O'Carroll, Bart. of Bath, to Miss Elizabeth O'Carroll, daughter of the late Sir Daniel O'Carroll, Bart.
19. Nathaniel Hodges, Esq; to Miss Hodges, youngest daughter of the late Sir James Hodges.
- James Bland Burges, Esq; of Lincoln's-inn, to the Hon. Miss Noel, sister to Lord Wentworth.
21. His Grace the Duke of Chandos, to Mrs. Ellettson, relict of the late Governor Ellettson.
24. Wm. Weller Pepys, Esq; master in chancery, to Miss Dowdeswell, eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. William Dowdeswell, Esq; formerly chancellor of the exchequer.
25. Andrew Baynton, Esq; to the Right Hon. Lady Maria Coventry, of St. James's, Westminster.
28. John Williams, Esq; of Bagshot-place, near Farnham, in Surrey, to Miss Thomas, daughter of Sir William Thomas, Bart. of Yapton-place, Sussex.
- July 5.** John Forster, Esq; eldest son of Sir Nicholas Forster, Bart. to Miss Wynch, daughter of Alexander Wynch, Esq; late Governor of Madras;
7. Hon. Mr. Browne, son of Lord

- Lord Kinmire, to Miss Dillon, daughter of Lord Dillon.
12. Sir Matthew Ridley, Bart. to Miss Colborne, of Pall-Mall.
15. Lord Monson, to the Hon. Miss Capel, daughter of the Earl of Essex.
22. Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, to Miss Ransom, only daughter of Griffin Ransom, Esq; of New Palace-yard.
- William Young, Esq; eldest son of Sir William Young, Bart. to Miss Lawrence, of Red-Lion-square.
28. James Harris, Esq; ambassador to the court of Russia, to Miss Amyand, sister to Sir George Cornwall, Bart.
- Aug. 4. Capt. Hussey, of the foot-guards, to the Hon. Miss Walpole, second daughter to Lord Walpole.
7. George Stubbs, Esq; of Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, to Miss Edsdaile, daughter of Sir James Edsdaile.
- Lord Cadogan, to Miss Churchill, of Grosvenor-street.
- Right Hon. Mr. Bouverie, brother to the Earl of Radnor, to the Right Hon. Lady Lucy Graham, only daughter of his Grace the Duke of Montrose.
16. Henry Pierse, Esq; of博dale, Yorkshire, to the Hon. Miss Charlotte Grace Monson, sister to Lord Monson.
18. Hon. Mr. Curzon, eldest son of Lord Scarsdale, to the Hon. Miss Noel, sister to Lord Viscount Wentworth.
20. Earl of Chesterfield, to Miss Anne Thistlethwaite, of Titherly, in the county of Southampton.
- Right Hon. C. Townshend, to Miss Annabella Powell Smyth.
- The Earl of Suffolk, secretary of state for the northern department, to Lady Charlotte Finch, sister to the present Earl of Aylesford.
- Col. Sandford, to Lady Rachel Macdonnel, sister to the Earl of Antrim.
- Sept. 1. William Bertram, Esq; of the queen's dragoons, to Miss Jean Lockhart, eldest daughter of the late Sir William Lockhart, Bart. of Carstairs, in Scotland.
- Col. Calander, to Lady Elizabeth M'Donnel, second sister to the Earl of Antrim.
25. Jacob Reynardson, Esq; of Holywell, Lincolnshire, to Miss Cust, daughter of the late speaker.
27. Sir Joshua Vánneck, Bart. to Miss Thompson, daughter of Andrew Thompson, Esq; merchant.
- Oct. 15. John Cotes, Esq; of Woodcote, in Shropshire, to the Hon. Lucy Courtney, of Marybone.
18. John O'Neil, Esq; of Shanes Castle,

Castle, in Ireland, to the Hon. Miss Boyle, daughter of the late Lord Viscount Dungarvan, and niece to the Earl of Cork.

26. Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart. to Miss Skreen, daughter of — Skreen, Esq; of Arlington-street, St. James's.

23. Sir Henry Goring, Bart. to Miss Fisher, of Barbadoes.

28. Hon. Ph. Leslie, second son of the Right Hon. Lord Newark, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Manners, only daughter to the late Marquis of Granby.

Nov. 1. Lord Viscount Crosbie, son of the Earl of Glandore, in Ireland, to Miss Sackville, daughter of Lord George Germaine. The Earl of Glandore, to Mrs. Ward, daughter of the Right Hon. Agmondeham Vesey, of Lucan, Esq; and first cousin to the Lord Viscount Vesey.

Dec. 1. The Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, to the Right Hon. Lady Mary O'Brien, only daughter of the Earl of Inchiquin.

12. Valentine Richard Quin, Esq; of the kingdom of Ireland, to Lady Frances Strangeway, sister to the Earl of Ilchester.

24. At the Earl of Bute's house, in Audley-street, the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Stuart, daughter of his Lordship, to — Dawson, Esq; of the kingdom of Ireland, and

a member in the Irish parliament.

The Right Hon. Lady Louisa Leveson Gower, daughter of Earl Gower, to Archibald Macdonald, Esq. counsellor at law, and member for Hindon, in Wilts.

26. Right Hon. George Townshend, Lord Ferrers, of Chudley, to Miss Ellicot.

Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1777, from the London Gazette, &c.

Jan. 4. M. Joseph Lomellino elected doge of Genoa.

— 28. The king was pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, containing his majesty's grants of the following dignities, viz. The dignity of an earl of the said kingdom unto Francis Lord Viscount Orwell, and to his heirs male, by the title of Earl of Shipbrooke, of Newry, in the county of Down, in the said kingdom.—The dignities of a viscount and earl of that kingdom unto John Lord Viscount Aldborough, and to his heirs male, by the title of Viscount Amiens and Earl of Aldborough of the palatinate of Upper Ormond in the said kingdom.—The dignity of an earl of the said kingdom unto William Henry Lord Viscount Clermont, and to his heirs male, by the title of Earl Clermont, of Clermont, in the county of Louth in the said kingdom.—The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland to Henry Langrishe, Esq; and to his heirs male.—Rd. Heron, Esq; Rt. Hon. Lord Langford, Major General Pomroy, and Thomas

Thomas Waite, Esq; to be privy counsellors in Ireland.

Feb. 8. The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, containing his majesty's grant of the dignity of a baron of the said kingdom unto the Most Rev. Father in God Richard Robinson, D. D. Lord Archbishop of Armagh, primate and metropolitan of all Ireland, and to his issue male, by the title of Baron of Rokeby, of Armagh, in the county of Armagh, in the said kingdom, with remainder to Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, in the North Riding of the county of York, Esq; and his issue male.

— 13. His majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on James Wallace, Esq; captain in his majesty's royal navy.—Earl Falconberg kissed hands, on being named a lord of the bed-chamber. [This article, and the following, were inserted by mistake in the Chronicle for the year 1776.]

March 4. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Andrew Stuart, Esq; of Craigthorn, appointed keepers of his majesty's signet in Scotland.

— 28. Cosmo Gordon, Esq; to be one of the barons of his majesty's court of Exchequer in Scotland, in the room of John Grant, Esq; deceased. The Rev. John Carver to be a canon or prebendary of Worcester, vice Dr. James Stillingfleet, deceased.—Allyne Fitz-Herbert, his majesty's resident at the court of Brussels.

April 15. Robert Taylor, Esq; to be master carpenter of all his majesty's works and buildings in England, vice William Oram, Esq; deceased.—James Adam, and Thomas Sandby, Esqrs, to the office

of architect of his majesty's works.

—Dr. Robert Knox to be inspector of the hospitals for the forces under the command of General Sir Guy Carleton.—Dr. Michael Morris to be ditto, for ditto under the command of General Sir William Howe.—The Earl of Dalhousie, to be high commissioner to the church of Scotland.—The Rt. Rev. Father in God Robert Lord Bishop of Oxford, to the bishopric of London.

— 20. Mr. Wombwell chosen chairman of the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, and William Devaynes, Esq; deputy chairman, for the year ensuing.—

Henry Collingwood Selby, Esq; clerk of the peace for the county of Middlesex, in the room of Thomas Butler, Esq; deceased.—Mr. Woodeson, vinerian professor at Oxford, in the room of R. Chambers, Esq; now in Bengal.—Dr. Buckler, custos archivorum of the University of Oxford, vice Mr. Swinton.—Lieut. Col. Pattison of the royal artillery, colonel of the 4th regiment of royal artillery, in the room of Colonel Ord, deceased.—Mr. Robert Hamilton to be professor of Mathematics in Marischal college in the University of Aberdeen, in the room of Mr. William Trail, deceased.—Mr. Nicholas Fursmann to be his Danish majesty's consul in the British Channel, and in the ports of the British Channel.—Major General Clinton to be a knight of the Bath.—Philip Westfaling, Esquire, and Sir George Vandepur, Bart. or the survivor of them, to the office of one of the five searchers of the port of London, by patent.

May 15. The honour of knighthood on Patrick Crawford, Esq; conservator of the privileges of Scot-

Scotland, at Campvere, and other places in Zealand, or elsewhere, in the United Provinces, and resident there for the same.—The Right Rev. Father in God Robert, Lord Bishop of London, to be dean of his majesty's chapel royal.—The Rev. John Butler, L.L. D. to be bishop of Oxford, in the room of Dr. Lowth.—Roger Palmer, of Castle Lachen, in the county of Mayo, Esq; and to his heirs male, the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 20. Hon. John Byron, Augustus John, Earl of Bristol, rear admirals of the blue, to be rear admirals of the white. And the following captains are appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz. George Mackenzie, Esq; Matthew Barton, Esq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. rear admirals of the blue.—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, to be governor of his majesty's island of Man; and Major Richard Dawson to be lieutenant governor of the said island.—John Lidderdale, Esq; to be his majesty's consul at Carthagena, in Spain.—The Hon. Apsley Batherst, second son of the lord chancellor, to be clerk of the dispensations, in the room of his lordship's late brother, deceased.—Charles Lampriere, Esq; deputy commissary of the musters at Jersey and Guernsey.—Daines Barrington, Esq; to be commissary of stores and provisions at Gibraltar.

June 1. Rev. Dr. Scroope, chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.—Rev. Dr. Kaye, to the eighth prebend of Durham.—Hon. and Rev. Dr. Boscowen, to a prebendary of St. Peter, Westminster.

— 13. This day the Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle,

and the Right Rev. Robert, Lord Bishop of London, were sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—The honour of knight bachelor on Robert Chambers, Esq; one of the puisne justices of the supreme court of Fort William, in Bengal.

— 20. Right Hon. Fred. North, commonly called Lord North, knight of the most noble order of the garter, the Right Hon. George Lord Onslow, the Right Hon. Francis Seymour Conway, commonly called Lord Viscount Beauchamp, Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq; and the Right Hon. William Henry Lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Soame Jenyns, Bamber Gascoyne, Esqrs. the Hon. Robert Spencer, commonly called Lord Robert Spencer, William Jolliffe, the Hon. Charles Greville, William Eden, and Thomas De Grey, Esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners for trade and plantations.—Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, the office or place of treasurer of his majesty's navy.—Charles Hale, Esq; to be gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber.—Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, treasurer of his majesty's household.—Sir Ralph Payne, Knt. of the Bath, youngest clerk comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth.

— 26. Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq; to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—John Day, Esq; to the honour of knighthood.—Charles Herbert, Esq; one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber.—David Dalrymple, Esq; to be one of the ordinary

dinary lords of his majesty's session in Scotland, in the room of James Ferguson, Lord Pitfour, deceased.—Alexander Elphinston, advocate, to be sheriff depute of the shire of Aberdeen, in Scotland, in the room of Mr. David Dalrymple.—William Fullerton, Esq; to be his majesty's secretary to the embassy extraordinary at the court of Verailles.

July 5. Henry Theophilus Clements, Esq; deputy vice treasurer in Ireland, to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy council in the said kingdom.—Anthony Shepherd, D. D: a prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, void by the death of John Fulham, M. A.

Sept. 1. John Dalling, Esq; to be captain-general, and governor in chief of his majesty's island of Jamaica, in the room of Sir Basil Keith, deceased.—Edward Smith Esq; to be governor of Fort Charles in Port Royal, in the island of Jamaica.—John Boddington, Esq; secretary to his majesty's Board of Ordnance.—Mr. Duncan Campbell to be commissary of the commissariot of Stirling, in the room of Mr. David Stewart, late commissary thereof.—Frederick Halldimand, Esq; lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, to be captain-general and governor in chief of his majesty's province of Quebec, in the room of Sir Guy Carleton K. B.

—20. Hon. and Rev. William Digby, to the deanry of Durham.—Rev. Mr. Barker, to be principal of Brazen-nose college, Oxford.—Rev. Dr. Lloyd, to the prebend of Stillington, York cathedral.

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Oct. 1. John Scott, Esq; to be his majesty's attorney-general, in Ireland, in the room of the Right Hon. Philip Tisdall, deceased.—Robert Hellen, Esq; to be his majesty's solicitor-general, in the room of the said. John Scott, Esq;—John Scott, Esq; and Walter Hussey Burgh, Esq; to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in Ireland.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham to be deputy earl-marshal of England.

Nov. 1. The Right Hon. Robert Earl Nugent, the Right Hon. Henry Flood, and the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, to the office of vice-treasurer of the kingdom of Ireland.—Right Hon. Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin, to be governor of the county of Clare, and trustee of the linen manufactures.

—20. Duke of Hamilton, keeper of his majesty's palace of Linlithgow and the castle of Blackness in Scotland.—Dr. Adam Smith, commissioner of the customs in Scotland, in the room of Mr. Menzies, deceased.—Lieut. Gen. John Thomas, lieutenant-governor of St. Philip's in Minorca.

Dec. 1. John Skynner, Esq; to be lord chief baron of the Court of Exchequer; and at the same time the honour of knighthood.—Abel Moysey, Esq; to be second justice of the counties of Brecon, Glamorgan, and Radnor.—Francis Bulwer, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's council, and second justice of Chester.—The Earls of Winchelsea and Aylesford, to be lords of his majesty's bed-chamber.—Wm. Lewis, Esq; to be lieutenant of his majesty's band of pensioners.—Right Hon. Lord Onslow, to be comptroller of his majesty's household.—Right Hon. Henry Earl Fauconberg,

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berg, to be lord-lieutenant of the North Riding of the county of York.—William Gregory, Esq; to be his majesty's consul at Barcelona.—Right Hon. Sir Sidney Stamford Smythe, Knt. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—John Ord, Esq; member for Midhurst, in Sussex, attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster, in the room of Sir John Skynner, chief Baron.—Mr. Robert Watson, to be principal of his majesty's college of St. Leonard, in the university of St. Andrew in Scotland, in the room of Mr. Thomas Tullidelph, deceased.

—20. The Marquis of Carmarthen, chamberlain of her majesty's household.—Sir Richard Worsley, Bart. youngest clerk comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth.—The Lord Viscount Palmerston of Ireland, to be one of his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high-treasurer, vice Lord Onslow.—The Right Hon. Constantine John Lord Mulgrave, of Ireland, to be one of the lords of the admiralty, vice Lord Palmerston.—1st Troop of horse-guards, Major-General William, Marquis of Lothian, to be captain and colonel, vice John Earl of Delawarr, deceased.—2d Troop of horse-grenadier guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, of the 4th regiment of horse, to be lieutenant and lieutenant-colonel, vice William Marquis of Lothian.

D E A T H S, 1777.

Jan. 4. Lady Cotton, relict of the late Sir Lynch Salisbury. Cot-

ton, Bart. in Great George-street, Westminster.

The Hon. Mrs. Collingwood, at Longbirch, near Wolverhampton, widow of George Collingwood, Esq; of Northumberland, and sister to the late Lord Viscount Montague.

8. Miss Powell, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Powell, of Salisbury.

11. The Right Hon. the Countess of Sussex, at Dunstable.

Cardinal Louis Marie Torrigiani, at Rome.

14. Lady Piers, at Huskard, in Essex, relict of the late Sir John Piers, Bart. of Triternagh, in Westmeath, Ireland.

The Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. in the South of France, member for the shire of Roxburgh, treasurer of the navy, keeper of the signet in Scotland, and a commissioner of the forfeited estates in that kingdom.

Mrs. Moore, aged 94, in the Cloisters at Windsor, daughter of Dr. Moore, Bishop of Ely in the reign of Queen Ann.

25. Mrs. Ashburnham, wife of William Ashburnham, Esq; son of the Right Rev. Sir William Ashburnham, Bart. Bishop of Chichester.

27. William Hutchinson, Esq; late governor of Massachusetts Bay, in North America.

30. Robert Inglis, Esq; eldest son of Sir John Inglis, Bart.

Lately, John Grant, Esq; one of the barons of Exchequer in Scotland.

Sir Benjamin Kemp, Bart. at Coln Dean, Gloucestershire, of an ancient family in Suffolk.

Right Hon. Juliana, Countess of Anglesea, at Bath.

Rt. Hon. James, Lord Belhaven.

† Miss

Miss Fletcher, daughter of the late Lord Milton.

Feb. 4. Lady Hotham, wife of Sir Richard Hotham, of Merton-place, Surrey.

6. Lady Falconer, relict of the late Sir Everard Falconer, and afterwards married to Mr. Pownal.

12. The Rev. Sir William Smith, Bart. of Mill-hall, in Essex.

13. Maria Duchess of Wharton, relict of Philip, late Duke of Wharton:

14. Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Chedworth, mother of the present Lord Chedworth, aged 90.

15. Hon. Ann Arbuthnot, sister to Lord Viscount Arbuthnot:

19. Major-General Thomas Erle.

Sir Walter Blacket, Bart. member for Newcastle upon Tyne.

21. Miss Rushout, youngest daughter of the late Sir John Rushout, Bart.

24. Sir Samuel Prime, Knt. and Serjeant at Law, in the 76th year of his age.

The Marquis de Grimaldi, formerly doge of Genoa, at Padua.

Pierre Herman Dosquet, formerly bishop of Quebec, at Paris.

The Princess Henrietta D'Este, after to the Duke of Modena, at Parma.

Louis Phelypeaux, Duke de la Vrilliere, Count de St. Florentine, Baron de Hervey, minister of state, and knight of the French King's orders, at Paris:

On Monday the 24th, His Most Faithful Majesty.

Sir George Hay Macdougall, Bart.

Sir Thomas Robinson, of Rookby, Yorkshire, aged 76, without issue.

March 1. Lady Shadwell, relict of Sir John Shadwell, Knt. physician to their Majesties Queen Anne and King George I.

Lady of General Acourt, in Parliament-street, Grosvenor-square.

3. Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.

4. The Hon. and Rev. Maurice William Count de Dohna.

5. Sir Joshua Van Neck, of Haveningham Hall, in Suffolk, one of the richest merchants in Europe.

11. Mrs. Arundell, widow of the late John Arundell, of Lanherne, in the county of Cornwall, Esq; and great aunt of the present Lord Arundell, of Wardour.

31. The Right Rev. Dr. Terrick, Lord Bishop of London.

Frederica Charlotte, Dowager Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, aged 79.

Sir Hugh Paterson, of Bannockburn, in Scotland, Bart. aged 91 years and two months; he was a member of the first British parliament at the union of the two kingdoms.

April 7. Right Hon. Countess Temple. She was daughter and coheiress of T. Chambers, Esq; of Middlesex, and had only one daughter by Lord Temple, which died Jan. 14, 1742.

8. Lady Trelawney, in Cornwall.

Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen, Bart. late chamberlain of London.

9. Lord Stavordale, an infant son of Lord Ilchester.

20. Sir William Carr, Bart.

Lady Brooke, wife of Sir R. Brooke, Bart.

Lady Dyer, wife of Sir Thomas Dyer, Bart.

22. Right Hon. John Talbot Touchet, Baron Audley, of Heleigh, in England, and Earle of Castle-

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Castlehaven, in Ireland. The ancient barony of Audley devolved to his nephew, eldest son of Philip Thicknesse, Esq; an officer in the army.

29. The Duchess of Abrantes, aged 32 years, at Madrid: she has left eleven children.

Robert Francis Cholmondeley, Esq; second son to the Hon. and Rev. Robert Cholmondeley, in the East Indies.

Sir Robert Fletcher, at the Mauritius, in his way home from Madras.

May 2. George Wyndham, L. L. D. warden of Wadham College, Oxford.

6. Sir Thomas Reeves, Bart.

8. Duchess Dowager of Devonshire, youngest daughter of the late Earl of Burlington.

9. The Right Hon. Heneage Finch, Earl of Aylesford, in Grosvenor-square.

The Hon. Mr. John Bathurst, brother to the lord chancellor, at Saperton, in Gloucestershire.

Lady Thomas, relict of the late Sir Edmond Thomas, Bart.

11. Lady Harriot Needham, sister of the late Lord Kilmurry, at Datchet.

21. Sir Armine Woodhouse, Bart. His death was occasioned by a fish-bone sticking in his throat.

22. Duchess of Bridgewater, in an advanced age.

Lady Frances West, eldest daughter to the Right Hon. Earl Delawarr.

25. Right Hon. Theodosia, Countess of Glandore, in the 55th year of her age. Her ladyship was daughter to John, Earl of Darnley, by Lady Theodosia Hyde, Ba-

ronefs Clifton, daughter of Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

26. Right Hon. Lord de Montalt, of Ireland. His lordship is succeeded in his title and estate by his only brother, Sir Cornwallis Maude, Bart.

Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, deputy vice-treasurer of Ireland, and member for Cavan, in that kingdom.

Mrs. Mary Agnes Blount, widow of the late Michael Blount, Esq; and eldest daughter of the late Sir Henry Joseph Titchborne, of Titchborne, in the county of Southampton, Bart.

June 2. Sir John Glynn, Bart. at Broad-lane, in Flintshire, member in the present parliament for the borough of Flint.

3. Lady Mary Cunningham, widow of Lieutenant-General Cunningham, Bart. of Livingstone, in Scotland.

6. Sir Frederick Rogers, of Blackford, in the county of Devon, Bart. recorder of Plymouth, and late a commissioner of the navy, at Bath.

Lady of the Hon. Ponsonby Moore, at Dublin.

19. Lady of Sir William Montgomery, Bart.

29. Right Hon. Earl of Aldborough.

July 8. Right Hon. William O'Brien, Earl and Baron of Inchiquin, and Baron Burren, K. B.

10. Abbot Duke de Biron, peer of France.

15. Hon. Mr. Cecil, grand nephew to the Earl of Exeter.

17. Her Grace the Duchess of Queensberry, daughter to Hyde, Earl

Earl of Rochester, and the celebrated patroness of Mr. Gay.

20. Rev. Dr. Gower, provost of Worcester-college, in Oxford.

23. Hon. Miss Maynard, sister to Lord Maynard.

31. Rt. Hon. Lady Sandes.

Aug. 1. Sir Charles Montagu, K.B.

8. Lady Harbord, relict of Sir William Harbord, Bt. and K. B.

20. Rev. Dr. Dampier, dean of Durham.

Sir Basil Keith, governor of Jamaica.

Sept. 7. The second son of Lord Clifford.

9. Hon. Mr. Hawke, second son of Lord Hawke.

16. The Right Hon. the Earl of Harcourt, at his seat at Newnham, in Oxfordshire. His lordship, who had gone out to take his morning's walk in the park, and did not return at his usual hour, was found by his servants in a narrow well, rising appearing above water but the feet and legs, occasioned, as it is imagined, by his over-reaching himself, in order to save the life of a favourite dog, who was found in the well with him, standing on his lordship's feet.

20. The Most Noble and Puissant Edward, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, Norfolk, and Norwich, and hereditary Earl Marshal of England, &c. &c. in the 92d year of his age, without issue. He is succeeded in honour and estates by his second cousin, Charles Howard, of Graystock.

The Right Hon. Phil. Tisdale, attorney-general of Ireland.

The Count de la Lippe Bucke-

burg, field-marshall, and generalissimo of the forces of Portugal.

Oct. 1. Sir William Philipson, Bart.

Her Serene Highness Princess Dowager Anne Charlotte Louisa, of Baden, mother to the reigning Margrave.

Princess Beatrixa Ernestina Maria d'Este, sister to the reigning Duke of Modena.

Infant Don Philip, eldest son to the King of Spain, of the small-pox.

20. Madame Dillon, lady of Count Edward Dillon, and eldest daughter of Sir Robert Harland, Bart. of Sroughton, near Ipswich.

The young sultana, Hatige, daughter to the Grand Signor.

Rt. Hon. Lady Dowager Forbes, at Edinburgh.

Hon. Edward Webley, chief justice of the island of Jamaica, &c.

Sir J. Cunningham, Bart. of Cupington, in Scotland.

Right Hon. Lord Foley.

Nov. 1. The Rev. Sir John Castleton, Bart.

The Landgrave Frederic, of Hesse Philipstall.

His Excellency Prince Massarano.

Sir Thomas Hagerstone, Bart.

22. The Right Hon. John Earl De la Warr, Viscount Cantilupe, Baron De la Warr, &c. lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces, lord chamberlain to her Majesty, and colonel of the first troop of life-guards, at his house in Audley-square.

Dec. 6. Sir John Murray, Bart.

9. Sir Charles Knowles, Bt. and admiral of the white squadron.

14. Lady Selina Bathurst, relict [P] 3 of

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of the late P. Bathurst, Esq; of Clarendon Park.

ton, register of the order of the garter, and uncle to the Earl of Albemarle.

— Langham, Esq; eldest son of Sir James Langham, Bart.

28. Sir William Thomas, Bart.

27. The Hon. Dr. Frederick Keppel, Lord Bishop of Exeter, Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton,

Lady of Sir J. Tylney Long, Bart.

Lady of Sir Thomas Halifax.

APPEND-

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE

FRIDAY, February 7, Lord North presented the bill to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, high-treason in North America, or on the seas for piracy, which was read the first time. On Friday the 14th, the bill was read a second time, and strongly opposed.

During the debate it was announced to the house, that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, attended by the city remembrancer, were in waiting, with a petition to the house, against the said bill's being passed; the sheriffs were accordingly ordered in, when they presented the following petition from the city of London against the American high-treason bill, which was ordered to lie on the table till the third reading of the said bill,

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners have seen a bill depending in this honourable house, to empower his majesty to secure and detain

persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in North America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy.

That, if the said bill should pass into a law, your petitioners are apprehensive it will create the greatest uneasiness in the minds of many of his majesty's good subjects, and tend to excite the most alarming disturbances: all persons indiscriminately being liable, upon the ground of suspicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own justification, to be committed to a remote prison in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

That the Habeas Corpus act, which is the great security of the liberties of the people, will be suspended.

That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous consequences of such a law, as from little motives of resentment, and various other inducements, there may be persons competent to commit, who may be tempted to exercise that power in its utmost latitude and extent.

That measures so violent and unconstitutional; so subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights

of the people, and subjecting them to the most cruel oppression and bondage, will, in the judgment of your petitioners, be introductory of every species of mischief and confusion, and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

‘ Your petitioners therefore earnestly beseech this honourable house, That the said bill may not pass into a law, or at least to take such care, as in their wisdom may seem meet, to prevent it from being extended in its operation or construction to any of his majesty’s subjects resident in these kingdoms.’

Monday, Feb. 17. At the third reading of this bill, a warm debate ensued, and, the question being put, the numbers for the bill passing were 112, against it, 35.

Summary of the Trial of Dr. Dodd, for Forgery, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey, on Saturday, February 23.

SOON after ten o’clock the judges (Gould, Willes, and Perryn) and aldermen (about sixteen) being seated, Dr. Dodd was brought to the bar, led in by the Rev. Mr. Butler, when he read a paper to the following purport: That Mr. Robertson, who was committed with him as a principal, had, by an order from the court, (surreptitiously obtained) been conveyed before the grand jury, to enable them to find the bill; and this being, as he was informed, a thing unprecedented, he therefore requested that he might, by his counsel, be heard thereon,

Mess. Howarth, Cooper, and

Butler, then produced several objections against Robertson’s evidence, and were replied to by Messrs. Mansfield and Davenport.

Mr. Baron Perryn expressed his sorrow that so much time had been taken up, occasioned by a mistake of the officer, which he believed would not have happened had not an ill-judged lenity been shewn to the prisoner; for had he been removed with the rest, his name would necessarily have appeared in the Kalendar, and perhaps the former application to the bench might then have been complied with. The baron was of opinion, that either a new indictment should be preferred, or proceed to trial; and if the prisoner should be convicted, then this matter to be left to the determination of the twelve judges.

The prisoner’s counsel agreed that the trial should go on.

The indictment being read, Lord Chesterfield was the first evidence sworn: but, as it was necessary to prove a release from Mr. Fletcher to his lordship before his examination, Mr. Manly was sworn, and produced said release.

His lordship was then examined; he said, neither the signature to the bond, nor the receipt for the money, were of his signing.

Lord Chesterfield’s gentleman likewise swore, that the signatures of both bond and receipt were not the hand-writing of his lordship.

Mr. Manly gave a substantial detail of the whole transaction, from the time the bond came into his hands, to the time of the commitment of the prisoner; he said the bond had been in his possession from the 4th of February to this time; that the blot, by which the forgery was discovered, appeared to

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to him not to have been done by accident, but purposely with a pen; that, having doubts whether the bond was a good one, he applied to Mr. Fletcher, to advise what to do; that he likewise waited on Lord Chesterfield, who denied the bond; that on going to Sir Charles Raymond's, Mr. Robertson happened to come in, and was taken into custody; that afterwards he went to Dr. Dodd's house (leaving M. R. the officer, &c. at a house near at hand); that on seeing the Dr. he told him his business, and asked him how he could be guilty of such an act; that the doctor seemed much shocked, and as soon as he could recover himself, said, urgent necessity was the cause; that the witness then asked the prisoner if he had any of the money left, as the restitution would be the only means of saving him. Dr. Dodd replied, he had six drafts on Sir Charles Raymond, of 500l. each; he had also 500l. in the hands of the banker, all which he would very willingly give up; that he (the evidence) then asked Dr. Dodd if he would give a bond in judgment on his household goods for the remainder; to which Dr. Dodd replied, he would, that or anything else. Mr. Manly further said, he had been told another execution had been in the prisoner's house, but had been withdrawn, and he believed there was sufficient to answer the demand.

Mr. Innes, who attended Mr. Manly, confirmed Mr. Manly's evidence, as to what passed between Dr. Dodd and Mr. Manly; he also read, from notes taken at the time, Dr. Dodd's confession before the lord-mayor, and his declaring Mr. Robertson innocent.

The notes which were given in payment of the bond were produced, which Mr. Fletcher swore to be the identical notes paid.

Mr. Leecroft was called to prove the hand-writing of the prisoner, but could not swear positively.

Mr. Neale, treasurer to the society for the relief of Small Debtors, was next called to the same fact, who swore that the signatures 'Chesterfield,' and 'William Dodd,' both in the bond and receipt, were the hand-writing of the prisoner. On being asked by the judge how he could be so positive? he said, by being so long acquainted with Dr. Dodd's writing, and having so often seen him write.

Mr. Robertson swore to the prisoner bringing the bond to him unsigned; that he next day brought it signed *Chesterfield* and *William Dodd*; that he (the evidence) also signed it, received the money, and paid it to Dr. Dodd. Being asked if it was usual for him to sign a bond without seeing the principal sign it, he answered, Sometimes.

No witness being produced in favour of the prisoner, he was called upon for his defence.

He said, he was fully sensible of the heinousness of the crime of forgery, but presumed the guilt solely centered in the intention: he called God to witness, that he meant no injury to any one, and that he should have been able to re-instate the money (and it was his real intent) in a few months; that this was a most cruel prosecution, as Mr. Manly had given him hopes, if he made restitution, that no further notice would be taken: that he considered a person admitted as principal, and being committed evidence against him, an entire new

new case, and therefore affected him the more; that life to him, after being exposed to shame, was of no value, he should willingly resign it; but he had a wife [here the tears flowed from his eyes, and indeed from the eyes of the greatest part of those who heard him] then asked pardon of the court and jury for this weakness; a wife, with whom he had lived seven and twenty years in the most perfect conjugal felicity; for her he felt: his creditors must likewise, he said, be sufferers, should he now suffer; and as restitution had been made, he hoped the court and jury would consider all these circumstances, and acquit him.

Mr. Baron Perryn summed up the evidence very fully; he said, that the indictment stated that the bond was forged with intent to defraud Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Fletcher; if they believed it was done to defraud either one or the other, then they must bring in the prisoner guilty. As to the defence set up by the prisoner, the only thing for their consideration was, whether the forgery was committed with an intent to defraud; if they thought not, then they must acquit him: in regard to the other parts of his defence, it would have no weight with them; for if it was listened to in this case, not a criminal brought to that bar but would set up a similar one.

The jury then went out, and, after staying about twenty minutes, brought in their verdict, Guilty.

The jury afterwards drew up a memorial in recommendation of the unhappy prisoner to his majesty, for the royal mercy, signed the same, and presented it to the

court, which was favourably received.

Mr. Robertson was ordered to be kept in custody till the gaol delivery.

Summary of the Trial of John Horne, Esq; for a Libel.

FRIDAY, July 4, at nine o'clock, the Earl of Mansfield came into the court of King's-bench, at Guildhall, when the special jury, summoned to try the cause between the King and John Horne, Esq; on an information filed, ex officio, by the attorney-general, for a libel, were sworn.

Mr. Buller opened on the part of the crown, and stated to the jury the subject-matter of the information, which was an advertisement, dated, 'King's-arms-tavern, Cornhill, June 7, 1775,' and purporting to be an account of the Constitutional Society's having met on the said 7th of June, and agreed, 'that the sum of 100l. should be raised, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the characters of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the province of Massachusetts, on the 19th of last April;' which advertisement was signed by the defendant.

The attorney-general then arose, but was prevented from proceeding, to inform the jury more fully of the case, by the defendant. Mr. Horne, who addressed himself to the

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the court, and, declaring he thought that the proper moment to urge an objection which struck him as exceedingly essential, desired to be heard; the court assenting, Mr. Horne turned to the jury, and began speaking; when he was told by Lord Mansfield, that he must make his objection to him, and not to the jury. Mr. Horne replied, that his lordship had stopped him before he had heard what he had meant to offer, and which his lordship, when he heard, would have found to be altogether regular; the words he was about to say to the gentlemen of the jury being of no other purport, than to intreat them to attend particularly to his objection, a circumstance exceedingly necessary, as the matter he wished to urge was very material, and as juries had of late but too frequently been considered as out of court, when any point of law was debated. Lord Mansfield again desired him to proceed, when he began objecting to the practice of the court, on the late trials of the printers (convicted of publishing the advertisement, of which he was charged in the present information at the author) in admitting the attorney-general to reply, although the defendants called no witness. Lord Mansfield observed, that this objection was premature, and that, if necessary, the time to urge it was, when the attorney-general should attempt to reply. Mr. Horne shewed why it was of importance to him, that the matter should be settled in this stage of the trial, urging that he was aware the attorney-general would take all advantages, fair and unfair, to convict him, and that he should shape his defence agreeably

to a knowledge of the circumstance; whereupon Lord Mansfield declared that he would consent to it, if Mr. Attorney had no objection. The attorney-general declared his acquiescence, and Mr. Horne proceeded with observing, that, although he thanked the court and Mr. attorney-general for acceding to his motion, he was not so well pleased with accepting that as a matter of favour, which he had demanded as a matter of justice. He then proceeded to shew, that, although the practice objected to was not without precedent of late years, it was nevertheless injurious and oppressive to the subject, as well as contrary to every principle of that protection and safety, which the reason of the laws, and the ancient modes of dispensing justice, were calculated to afford to innocence.

Mr. Horne then went on to shew, that, in his cause tried at Guildford in 1771, he was advised by his counsel to forsake the advantage of examining witnesses, in order to disprove the having spoken certain words stated in the declaration as defamatory, but rather to admit them as true, (although he could have proved their falsity) than afford the leader on the other side an opportunity of replying; that he acquiesced in this advice, the consequence of which was, that the leading counsel for the plaintiff did reply, that his counsel rose to object, and upon that his lordship (who then also tried the cause) over-ruled the objection, and suffered the reply, upon which the jury had given a verdict against him, with 400l. damages.

Lord Mansfield told him, that nothing was more clear, than that the

the attorney-general had a right to reply, if he chose it; that it had been often exercised, and might be exercised again.

Mr. Horne complained that his lordship, by taking upon himself the duty of the attorney-general, had deprived him of hearing from that officer such arguments as he doubted not the attorney was able to have offered, and which he would have endeavoured to have refuted; he observed, that at all hazards his situation was a very disadvantageous one; but that he was particularly unfortunately circumstanced, if the judge, who was to try him, took upon himself to do the business of the attorney-general; for between the two he should find it extremely difficult to obtain a verdict in his favour.

Lord Mansfield defied the trial might go on, and that, if there was any informality in the proceeding on the trial, or if he thought either the judge or counsel did him injustice, Mr. Horne had a remedy by a subsequent appeal to the court, who would set aside any verdict obtained irregularly.

Mr. Horne warmly said, " Oh my lord, my lord, let me not hear of remedies of your lordship's pointing out; that poison is the most baneful of all, which poisons the physic; your lordship's remedies are worse than the diseases of the patients who apply them; and it is but a poor satisfaction for a man who receives a wound, to receive a plaster from the same hand. At Guildford, your lordship talked to me of a remedy, I submitted and tried it; it is true I set aside the verdict, but it cost me 200l. The verdict was but for 400l. and the remedy cost half as much; it was

therefore a pretty dear remedy!" Mr. Horne, in this part of the trial, was so hasty in his animadversions on the conduct of the judge and the attorney-general, treating each with a degree of unexampled severity and rudeness, that Lord Mansfield was provoked to a declaration, that, if he did not behave more decently, he should be under a necessity of committing him.

The attorney-general then rose to open the case fully to the jury, and began with expressing his contempt of the imputations cast on his character by the defendant, in what he had just urged; and declared, that he would not condescend to stoop low enough to offer an answer to such groundless, such ridiculous assertions. It was necessary, however, to speak to one part of what had been said, and that he did by denying the charge made against him by Mr. Horne, that he came prepared to take all advantages, fair and unfair; and that his view was at any rate to obtain a verdict. He solemnly protested that he had no other motive for his conduct on the present occasion, than a faithful discharge of his duty; that, as an officer of the crown, it behoved him to take notice of every thing tending to alienate the minds of the people from the king and his government, and to bring every public delinquent to punishment; that there never was a more simple, plain, and obvious case, than the present, submitted to a jury; that the advertisement, pretendedly setting forth a meeting of the Constitutional Society, and their resolution to subscribe one hundred pounds towards the support of the widows and orphans of the Americans,

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Nicans, said to be barbarously murdered by the king's troops at Lexington and Concord, was a most impudent and malignant libel. That in point of composition it was below notice; it contained no argument, nor was it founded on any rational plea; that he knew not the author, nor had he ever had so great a proof of his talents and abilities as on the present occasion; but that, if he could at all judge from what he had just heard, the defendant must have purposely drawn it up in so stupid and baderdash a manner to fit it to the vile occasion it was intended to serve. That it was evidently meant as a defiance to the laws of the kingdom, and a test how far libellers might proceed with impunity. That the author's signing his name to it was an impudent attempt to laugh at prosecution, for that he was as inscrutable, while he skulked behind the bulwark of the printer, as an anonymous writer possibly could be. That the age seemed with libels, no person was now safe from slander; that he was determined, if possible, to check the licentiousness of the press, and therefore he had filed the information now before the court.

The witnesses were then examined. The first was —— Wilson, who proved the three copies of advertisements, produced by the solicitor to the treasury, to be the hand-writing of the defendant.

H. S. Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiser, proved that Mr. Horne delivered to him one of the copies produced, paid him for the insertion of it in his paper, and commissioned him to send round copies of the same to most of the other papers, which commission he

executed, and Mr. Horne defrayed the expence.

This being all the evidence called in support of the information, the defendant rose, and addressed the jury in a speech, which took him up four hours in delivery, to the following purport:

[Mr. Horne, when he began his speech, produced a pile of manuscripts, written on some quires of paper, folded in the form of a note-book, which he laid before him; and, after having spoken for about an hour, he adverted to his written text.] His exordium went chiefly upon a reply to what had now fallen from the attorney-general, which he declared by no means full enough for the occasion; he asserted, that the learned gentleman had not produced a tittle of evidence in support of the charge made against him in the information, that he had rested his argument chiefly upon abusing the advertisement, and that above half of his speech had been merely an eulogium on his own immaculate character. As he had talked so much of his honour, his conscience, and his integrity, he would, he declared, just shew how far the honour, the conscience, and the integrity of an attorney-general extended. He then proceeded to trace the power of that officer from the times of our forefathers, shewed what privileges he had enjoyed in different reigns, and went into a very long discussion of the nature and consequences of prosecutions and informations filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general, pointing out to the jury both the simple and applied meaning of the words *ex officio*, shewing that the different technical terms of information, indictment,

dictment, and declaration, were synonymous, and meant nothing more than accusation, urging the more equitable mode of proceeding by applying to a grand jury by bill of indictment, and contrasting the different benefits deduced by the subject, under the different modes of process, proving that they could acquire none when proceeded against on ex officio informations, and inferring from the whole of his argument on this head that their origin was oppression, and their end injustice. He asserted, that, armed with this illegal power; an attorney-general might destroy the liberty, and attack the property of any subject, obnoxious, either to himself, or to the minister, whose servant and creature the attorney-general might properly be deemed, as he held his office merely during pleasure, and was liable to dismission whenever the minister was himself dismissed, or whenever the minister was displeased with him.

He complained of oppression in every stage of the business, and particularly urged, that the striking of a special jury was a mere farce; that an attorney-general could try by what jury he pleased; and that from what he had seen on his own attendance at the Crown-office, it might rather be said, that his was a picked jury than one fairly and promiscuously chosen. He instanced what had passed there, but declared he acquitted the master of any unfair conduct, laying the blame on the shoulders of the solicitor to the treasury, and of the officers of the sheriffs, who attended on the occasion.

He treated Lord Mansfield frequently in a manner equally cava-

lier and extraordinary, nor was he a whit more complaisant to the jury, declaring, he asked them for no favour, that he only desired them to discharge their conscience; and do their duty as honest men, considering fully the intention, which was the essence of all criminality, and abiding by their own feelings, without suffering themselves either to be threatened, or wheedled out of their privileges. He avowed being the author of the advertisement in question, asserted it was no libel, and assigned his motive for publishing it, which was to oppose oppression: that he had always acted on the same principles; that he advertised, and caused to be prosecuted, the murderers in St. George's-fields, in 1768, who were also soldiers.

That he had, in fact, as the advertisement was worded, made no charge, neither had he accused the king's troops of murder; but that he did not mean to take advantage of a trifling subterfuge: he did now make the charge; that he had before deemed the affair at Lexington a murder, did then, and would tomorrow, call it by no other name. He told the jury, that, like certain people mentioned in history, who dressed up their victims for slaughter, so the attorney-general had dressed him up in the character of a wild beast, and wanted them to worry him; that his aim was to shut him out from society, and lock him up like a mad dog; but that he despised his malice, and feared not the judges, as he was well aware they would not venture to punish him as they might wish, even if the jury were to deliver him over to their mercy, but that he was prepared to meet mrs. then they

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they dared to inflict in the present cause.

With regard to the attorney-general's complaint about the quantity of libels daily published, he begged him to put himself in the balance against him, and consider which had been most libelled? For his part, no man had been more so; his picture had been stuck up in the print-shops, with the words, 'The Atheist Parson,' subscribed in capitals. He had been made the subject of ballads, and the singers had borne the figure of a spruce parson in miniature, on a stick, with a label, on which was written, 'The Atheist and Macaroni parson.' His very clothes had furnished wit for the theatre, and he had even once been present, and seen himself burnt in effigy.

He offered some few legal authorities, and quoted many parts of the State Trials in support of them. In his attack on the attorney-general, he shewed no sort of respect to person or place; at one time he declared the House of Commons to be the most corrupt body in any state, and said they were the minister's house, who sat between his two brasen pillars, the attorney and solicitor-general, like Jachin and Boaz, to gārd the treasury-bench.

As soon as Mr. Horne had finished his speech, he desired the crier to call Lord Germaine and General Gage; but neither of them, though subpœnaed, attended. He then desired the attorney-general to be sworn, but the court desired him first to state the question he meant to ask, as the attorney-general had a right to demur to being sworn. Mr. Horne then pro-

posed some questions relative to the origin of the cause, and the conduct of it, which Mr. Attorney said were too impertinent for him to answer; he would not therefore be sworn.

Alderman Oliver was then called, and sworn as a witness for the defendant. The alderman proved, that the advertisement in question was so far founded in fact, that a meeting of the Constitutional Society was held, that the subscription also was raised, and the money paid to Mr. Horne.

Mr. Lacy, clerk to Henton and Co. proved that Mr. Horne paid the money to their shop on Dr. Franklin's account.

Lieutenant Gould was examined, respecting an affidavit made by him about the affair at Lexington, and published in one of the Public Advertisers, produced by the defendant. He acknowledged it to be his affidavit, and swore to its contents, giving at the same time a *viva voce* account of the action. Whence it clearly appeared, that the rebels were armed ready to receive the king's troops, and that the latter heard the alarm-guns firing, whilst they were on their march.

The attorney-general observed, that the defendant, from what he had thrown out, seemed rather to have wished to be stopped, in order to have given birth to a popular tumult, than to have aimed either at disproving the charge, or evincing the innocence of his own intention.

He ascribed its delay solely to the defendant, and answered such part of Mr. Horne's speech as went to the subject before the court; asserting, that the advertisement charged in

in the information was most clearly a gross and seditious libel, deserving every epithet he had bestowed on it; and told the jury that, if he had failed in proof, the defendant had supplied the defect; for that the whole of the defence went to an admission and aggravation of the libel. Before he sat down, the attorney-general spoke to the other parts of Mr. Horne's speech, which he declared was wholly made up of the abuse of the judge, abuse of the jury, abuse of himself, and abuse of the master of the Crown-office, the solicitor of the treasury, and even of the sheriff's officers.

Lord Mansfield remarked, that, of all the cases he had ever known, this lay in the smallest compass. There were but two points for the jury to consider; the proof of the publication, and the proof of the charge in the information. The difficulty of the first was removed, for that was fully admitted by the defendant; with regard to the second, they would take out the paper, read the advertisement, and judge for themselves. His lordship lamented the present unhappy war, and enlarged a little on the nature of the charge made against the king's troops, in the advertisement: particularly explaining the application of the phrase 'well-beloved.'

He said, the jury would readily see why he passed over a great deal which had been said on the occasion, and which ought not to have been said; but that he could not let them, or the audience, go away without enabling them to contradict any misrepresentation respecting one point. His lordship then explained his conduct on the trial of one of the printers, and, after

perfectly clearing himself on that head, shewed, by quoting the trial of Lord Lovat; when he himself, while solicitor-general, acting as counsel for the House of Commons, replied, although the prisoner called no witness; that the custom was not new.

The jury at half after four withdrew for a short time; and returned, finding Mr. Horne GUILTY;

Further Proceedings in the Case of the King against Horne for a Libel.

ON Wednesday morning, November 19, between ten and eleven o'clock, the Rev. Mr. Horne attended the court of King's-bench, agreeable to a notice issued by the attorney-general.

The several documents being read necessary to substantiate the charge against him, and the grounds of his conviction being then stated to the court, the attorney-general prayed judgment in behalf of the crown. Lord Mansfield was about to pronounce the sentence, when Mr. Horne intreated the attention of the court to a matter which he should urge, in arrest of judgment. He grounded his motion on the following arguments:

First, That the information, on which he had been tried, did not specifically charge him with any crime. That the whole of the charge was of a constructive nature. But it was an established maxim in law, that indictments and informations should so expressly set forth the nature of the crime, as not to leave any thing to the construction of the court. In the present case, Mr. Horne contended, that there had not been any thing averred in the

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the information which could amount to a crimination; he was only charged with having printed and published, or caused to be printed and published, a certain advertisement, which had been deemed a libel. This was the act charged. The guilt, or innocence, of the paper deemed a libel, depended on construction. Not any thing of guilt being charged in the information, the conviction might reasonably be supposed a mistake of the jury, which the judges, as guardians of the law, would rectify.

The attorney-general, in reply, confessed he expected a very different kind of argument would have been insisted on by the defendant. To say that not any thing like a criminal charge had been averred in the information, was surely to be attributed to a perversion of the understanding. The charge was too obvious to be mistaken. The information did not merely set forth that the defendant had printed and published a paper, but that he had printed and published a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, which set forth, 'that the King's troops, employed by government, had murdered our American brethren, for no other reason than because they had been faithful to the character of Englishmen, in preferring death to slavery.' Of such an act the defendant had been found guilty. The information had expressly charged him with it. The crime had been substantiated by the verdict of a jury. The exception was now, therefore, improper in point of time, and frivolous in point of weight. So frivolous, that the attorney-general expected the defendant would have rested his

motion on a very different ground. He expected to have heard it contended, that the libel was not of the nature which it had been stated to be in the information. That it was not false. That it was not scandalous. That it was not seditious. That government had not been maligned. Nor the King's troops charged with having committed murder. Those were the propositions he expected. And the argument in support of them he was well prepared to answer. Not any thing which bore the smallest affinity to such arguments having fallen from the lips of the defendant, the attorney-general repeated his prayer that the court would proceed to judgment.

Mr. Horne in reply observed, that, however the expectations of the attorney-general might have been excited, he would answer for it that his wishes had not kept pace with them. Mr. Attorney-general might expect it to be proved that the advertisement was neither false, scandalous, nor seditious. But he could not wish for such proof. It would entirely defeat the design of the prosecution. The attorney-general had therefore spared him the trouble of advancing such arguments with effect, by not chusing to combat them on the trial. The crown officer had also been extremely obliging in another respect. He had not perplexed the business with cases and precedents. Nor had he enlivened the dulness of the argument by either his oratory or his wit. Both Mr. Attorney-general might possess. But he had not chosen to make a display of either. It was so much the more for the advantage of the defendant to have the cause thus simplified,

plified, and reduced to a point which common sense could easily comprehend. Happily there was a case in point so applicable to that of the defendant, that merely to read it would serve in the place of a laboured argument. It was the case of Lord Russel. That nobleman was charged with a design 'to seize the King's guards,' as a means to effect his purpose. The opinion of Judge Atkins on the case was this, 'that the words King's guards' were too loose and indeterminate. That the law knew not of any such persons. The love and good-will of subjects had frequently been styled 'the King's guards.' The judges had been also called 'guards of the King.' To charge Lord Russel with a design to seize the King's guards, without specifying what, or whom were meant by the terms, was too indefinite a style of averment to be admitted in an indictment.

Mr. Horne hinted the applicability of this case. Who were the 'King's troops,' alluded to in the information? They had not been defined. But, admitting that they had, was it physically impossible that any of the King's troops should commit murder?

As to the epithet of 'libel,' so frequently adopted by Mr. Attorney-general, What was a libel? Was the word technically descriptive? By the court of King's-Bench the act of 'sending a wooden gun' to a man had been deemed a libel. As in the case of Thicknesse, who was sentenced for 'the libel of sending a wooden gun to Lord Orwell.' The language about libels was only the jargon of uncertainty.

The words 'of,' 'concerning,'

as they stood in the information, were strongly objected to by Mr. Horne on account of their legal informality. The word 'concerning' meant seeing together, and was applicable to persons who participated, at the same time, in the sight of a thing. In this, which was the only sense of the word, it was not applied in the information. And, if the meaning of one word might be tortured, that of many might be misapplied. A charge could only be specified by the most rigid attention to the meaning of words.

Mr. Horne expressed an hope that these observations would have weight with the court. He considered them to be of validity. And therefore it was that he had urged them as sufficient to render the prayer of the attorney-general for judgment nugatory.

Lord Mansfield, with the greatest moderation imaginable, observed, that even if there were any thing indefinite in the terms 'King's troops,' abstractedly considered; yet the information had stated those troops to have been employed by government. This was a sufficient specification. On the other hand, there appeared weight in the objections sufficient to induce the court to hear the matter argued without prejudice. There might be errors in the information. If such should be the case, the defendant was intitled to the benefit. The facts charged in the several counts of the information had been clearly proved. The deposition of the money in the hands of a banker for Dr. Franklin; the hand writing of the defendant; the delivery of the advertisement to the printers; the merit of the objections

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tions urged by the defendant only remained to be considered.

Lord Mansfield then proposed, that Mr. Horne should be committed, and brought up on Monday next.

Mr. Horne then proposed this question :

' Will your lordships commit me before I am legally convicted ? '

The commitment was dropped. Mr. Horne is to attend on Monday morning, when his objections in arrest of judgment will be argued.

Mr. Horne's conduct was cool, sensible, and manly. His arguments were well delivered, and he did not, as upon his trial, use any asperity or unbecoming warmth of language.

*Decision of the Court of King's-Bench
in the Case of Mr. Horne.*

Monday, November 24, about 11 in the morning, the Earl of Mansfield, with the Judges Astor, Willes, and Ashurst, came into court. Mr. Horne entered at the same time, accompanied by his attorney, and stood before the bench. After a few minutes spent in clearing the court, Mr. Solicitor-general and Mr. Attorney-general took their seats.

Lord Mansfield then, holding a paper in his hand, observed, that the defendant had urged on Wednesday last as a plea of defence; an 'affidavit' made by a Captain Gould, relative to the engagements between his Majesty's troops and the Americans at Lexington and Concord, which was published some time ago in the Public Advertiser, and was intended in some sort to give authority to Mr.

Horne's advertisement respecting that affair, which were the grounds of the attorney-general's prosecution ; and his lordship, having omitted it in his notes, thought proper to read it then in court.

After reading the affidavit, his lordship acquainted Mr. Horne, that, having duly weighed the merits of his motion in arrest of judgment, and having resorted to precedents, the court was of opinion, ' that no certain form of expression was technically necessary, where the words *want no inuidenos* —Had even the word Lexington been left out, it would still have been a libel, as the meaning of the words was self-evident, though the place and other circumstances had been omitted. As to the objections made by the defendant to the words 'of and concerning the King's government,' as laid in the information, they were found to have no weight. Those words were so proper in fixing the charge, that, in the case of the King against Alderton, the information was found bad, because not laid in the words 'of and concerning the justices of Suffolk.' An information in the same form, and of the same offence, had already been found a libel by five juries, on the different prosecutions against the printers, and on which even the defendant himself gave evidence. A number of learned counsel had approved of the proceedings, and there was not, in fact, a colour of doubt with respect to the formality. It was therefore the unanimous opinion of the court, that the objections could not lie, and consequently that the conviction was legal.

Mr. Attorney-general.—The defendant

defendant has been convicted of an audacious, false, and wicked libel, charging his Majesty's troops and government with no less a crime than that of wilfully murdering the King's loyal and faithful subjects; points directly to time, place, and action, and, with intent to try how far he can insult the justice and humanity of his country, boldly stands forth here, as he has on other occasions, 'am not I the man that dares do it?' Such audaciousness surely calls for the highest punishment that this court in such cases can inflict. The defendant has thought it consistent with his views to prove that the King's troops were surrounded with rebels, impeded in their operations, the country hostile, and in arms; and, as far as their strength lay, endeavouring to cut them off, firing of alarm guns (the intention of which was well understood) and collecting of magazines to make head against the King's forces in aid of the rebellion. All this the defendant has most industriously proved, to point out and strongly mark that he was the man in aid and support of that very rebellion meant to insult the justice and dignity of the mother-country. Another part of his proof is, that contributions in support of rebellion were actually set on foot and carried into execution; the money raised, and transmitted, and that the defendant was the man who dared commit such a crime and insult. Never, surely, was a libel more scandalous, more malignant, more dangerous, and as such will not be suffered to pass unpunished.

The usual punishments are fine and imprisonment for such offend-

ces, ever since the time of that real patriot and great man, Chief Justice Holt; and this being a libel against the King's troops and government, is much greater than if it had been against an individual, for the justice and humanity of the kingdom is insulted. It was my duty, on the first appearance of so gross an attempt, to prosecute to conviction. Your lordships are to judge between us. I am not interested, nor have I any malice against any man. Perfectly satisfied with the wisdom and justice of the court, I leave the whole to your lordships disposal.

Mr. Horne. — May it please your lordships: I hope I am not to be reviled and laughed at for my misfortunes. I came here to-day with a full persuasion that I was to return again with the same liberty. I object, if I am in time, and now move an arrest of judgment; for no information can be supplied by evidence; and I thought Mr. Attorney-general and I were ordered to look for precedents; but, after what I have heard to-day, I should not have said a word, if Mr. Attorney-general's rancor was not such as calls on me to deny and confute his suggestions.

To-day he has stript me of all common sense, by opening the impropriety and imprudence of others he would suppose to have acted otherwise.

It is not incumbent on me to take notice of what has dropped from the bench, but Mr. Attorney-general has been guilty of gross misrepresentation. I am as little given to audacity as he or any other gentleman in this court. He says my language and style is low, and looking only for the praise of a mob,

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a mob. This is his language, not mine. It has been my misfortune to have a liberal education ; and that mob has paid him as much tribute as they have to me. It is likewise my misfortune not to be poor ; I never said I was. If I had, I should here have joined with the attorney-general, and craved the lenity of the court ; but I never did ask a favour of them, and I hope never will.

It is unfortunate, but my notions of humanity differ widely from Mr. Attorney-general's ; and it cannot be flying in the face of justice not to shrink from her presence, I believe I did say, formerly, I even dared any thing your lordships could pronounce against me ; and I now do, for I am confident your lordships dare not do wrong. There are many more things I intended to have troubled your lordships with, but, with the attorney-general, I trust the whole in the wisdom of the court.

Mr. Justice Aston.—John Horne, you stand convicted for writing and publishing a very gross libel concerning the King's troops and government ; and it appears to this court, and by your own evidence, that you glory in the crime. You very artfully attempted to gloss over the charge, and insisted the information was not explicit and full. No man really can mistake it ; most seditious and scandalous in its nature, and but too industriously propagated by you, and too well known for me to enter into the contents of a paper, that to be read is only to be understood and abhorred by all good men and lovers of their country. The sentence of this court is, that you

pay 200l. fine to the King, and be imprisoned for the space of twelve months, and afterwards find sureties, yourself in 400l. and two sureties in 200l. each, for your good behaviour for three years.

Narrative of the Trial of James Aitken, otherwise John the Painter, at Winchester Assizes, for setting fire to the Rope-house, in his Majesty's Dock-yard, at Portsmouth, Dec. 7, 1776.

TO give the reader a clear idea of this man's character, it may be necessary to trace the steps which led to his discovery.

The fire which happened in the rope-house at Portsmouth, had passed for an accident ; and as no suspicion had fallen upon any one, no enquiry was made about it till, on the 15th of January, Mr. Russel, one of the under clerks of the dock-yard, having occasion to move some hemp in the hemp-house, discovered the machine.

It was then that the whole dock-yard was alarmed. Some hundreds of workmen were instantly drawn together, and every one looked at his neighbour, convinced that whoever was the contriver of that machine, and had placed it there, was the incendiary.

This called to mind every minute circumstance that had happened, previous to the breaking out of the fire on the day above-mentioned, and it occurred to one that a fellow had been locked into the rope-house the night before ; to another, that a man, whose name was unknown, had been seen loitering

loitering about the yard on the very day ; and to others, that he was a painter, and had worked in the neighbourhood ; and as he had never been seen there after the fire, a strong suspicion arose, that he must be some way or other concerned in the mischief that had already been done, and also in the diabolical design which providentially had been defeated.

It were needless to take notice of the advertisement that followed, describing the person of the man, and under the name of John the Painter, offering him a reward of 50l. to surrender himself to examination, and the same reward to any one who should apprehend him.

In the mean time other fires broke out, particularly at Bristol, which could no otherwise be accounted for than by supposing American agents employed to spread fire and devastation throughout the kingdom, wherever their malignant purposes could be executed with effect ; an idea that favoured the prejudices of the vulgar, and therefore was the more easily credited.

It was not long, however, before Sir John Fielding found means to trace this John the Painter out, and some time about the beginning of February he was apprehended at Odiam, in Hants, for a burglary, and brought to town for examination.

The news of his commitment was soon spread ; and it having been reported that he had been in America, and had worked there as a painter, Earl Temple desired one Baldwin, a painter, who had likewise been in America, and had done business whereby to attend his

examination before Sir John Fielding, to see if he could recollect him. But Baldwin, upon looking at the man, and being asked the question, frankly declared that he had never before seen him in his life.

This open declaration, after others, as he said, had borne false witness against him, prejudiced the prisoner in favour of Baldwin, and he expressed a strong desire to cultivate an acquaintance with him, which Baldwin did not decline, being encouraged to visit him as often as opportunity offered, in order, if possible, to bring him to confession. This had the desired effect, and brought the whole scene of iniquity to light.

After a regular attendance on him for 15 days, sometimes once a day, and sometimes twice, the prisoner at length began to trust him, and to speak openly. He told him he had been in France ; that he had there seen Silas Deane ; that Silas Deane had given him some money ; had encouraged him to set fire to the dock-yards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, &c. as the best means of distressing Great-Britain ; that he had promised to reward him according to the service he should do to the American cause ; and that as an earnest of what should follow, he had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon, a merchant in London, to the amount of 300l. which, however, he had found it necessary to burn, to prevent a discovery ; that, in consequence of this encouragement, he procured a passport from the French king ; which passport he lamented that he had left at Portsmouth, with other things, in a bundle. That

from

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from France he came to Canterbury, where he devised the machine which had been found in the hemp-house, and had it there constructed; that before he left Canterbury he had a quarrel with a dragoon; and that when he removed from thence he directed his course to Portsmouth, where he prepared the combustibles with which he afterwards set the place on fire; that he disclosed to him (Baldwin) the secret of making the composition, and the manner of his applying it; told him the circumstance of his being locked in the rope-house; of his quarrelling with his landlady, on account of the interruption she gave him in his operations; of her forcibly turning him out of her house; of his taking another lodging; of the difficulty he had in lighting his matches; of his purchasing other matches; of his flight from Portsmouth in a woman's cart; with many other particulars, all of which were confirmed on his trial by the testimony of the persons, respectively, who were any ways employed by him, or with whom he had any thing to do in the business. The boy who made the canister, the dragoon with whom he quarrelled at Canterbury, the woman at whose house he lodged at Portsmouth, the man who let him out of the rope-house, the persons who saw him in the dock-yard, the woman who sold him the matches, the woman who took him up in her cart in his flight from Portsmouth, and last of all the bundle in which was his passport from France, with the identical articles in it, which he had specifically mentioned to Baldwin; all those were produced against him, and,

as the judge observed, in summing up the evidence, that from a chain of circumstances attentively put together, such a body of evidence may be drawn, as would be abundantly stronger than where two or three witnesses swear to a positive fact; it is no wonder, therefore, that the jury, without going out of court, pronounced the prisoner **GUILTY**; and he being asked in the usual form what he had to say, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, replied, *he had nothing to say.*

He had, indeed, in making his defence, observed, upon the evidence of Baldwin, that from his, the prisoner's, name being publicly advertised, and the kingdom searched for charges against him, it might be easy for Baldwin, or such a man as Baldwin, properly instructed, to form such a story, and to bring such a number of witnesses as he has done to confirm it; nevertheless, said he, "Be it a false accusation brought against me, or a betraying of trust through the treachery of the man's heart, I should like that your lordship would take it into consideration, whether such a person has a right, in the sight of God, and according to the laws of this kingdom, to give evidence against me; or, if he has, whether such evidence ought to be regarded." He observed, likewise, on the witnesses from Canterbury, that one says he was there about six weeks before Christmas; another says six or seven weeks; another between Michaelmas and Christmas; another before or after the 20th of November; yet his passport is dated at Fontainbleau the 13th of November, so that he could not be there and at Canterbury at the same time.

time. He was asked if he rested his defence on those observations, or if he chose to call any witnesses. His answer was, For what end? till something is proved against me I intend no defence in the world. I am ready to live and die according to justice.

When the judge, in pronouncing sentence against him, said, " You cannot be surprized that the law has thought fit to punish such a crime with death; you can as little be surprized if, after you have been convicted upon the clearest evidence of this offence, I can give you no hope of pardon;" he said, *I do not look for any, my lord.* And when in conclusion, his lordship added, " I have only now to pronounce the painful sentence of the law," the prisoner said " joyful."

He was carried from Winchester gaol on the 10th of March, to Portsmouth dock-gate, where, before he was turned off, he said, I acknowledge the justness of my sentence, and hope for forgiveness, as I forgive all the world; I wish success to his majesty, King George, and his family, and all his loyal subjects; and I hope for forgiveness for all the transactions I have been guilty of.

He recommended strict vigilance at the dock-yards of Chatham, Woolwich, Deptford, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; because, he said, it was in the power of any determined resolute man to do a great deal of mischief.

After hanging the usual time upon a gallows 60 feet high, he was cut down, and immediately hung in chains.

Before he was taken from Winchester, he made a voluntary con-

fession, by which it appears, that his real name was James Aitken; that he was born at Edinburgh, September, 28, 1752; that his father was a blacksmith, and he believes his mother is now living; that he served an apprenticeship to a painter; that curiosity led him to Virginia at the age of 21; that he left America in March 1775; in October he enlisted in the 32d regiment at Gravesend, under the name of James Boswell, but soon deserted; in November he enlisted at Chard, in Somersetshire, in the 13th regiment, and soon after deserted. He never was in the 45th regiment, neither did he go to America in any regiment, as sworn against him by Baldwin; nor did he tell any one, that one Brooks, a prisoner in Newgate, would be hanged, or that he ever knew a man by the name of Brooks. That he never said he had recommendations to any merchant in London, or that he burnt bills to the amount of 300l. He burnt his indentures, he said, when he enlisted for a soldier, to conceal his real name.

At Birmingham and Warrington he followed the trade of a painter; as he did likewise at Titchfield, in Hants, where he conceived the first idea of setting fire to the dock-yards. That he went to France, and applied to Mr. Silas Deane, who told him, when the work was done, he should be rewarded. That, on his return to England, and after setting fire to the rope-yard at Portsmouth, he went to London, and waited on Dr. Bencraft, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Mr. Deane; but that the doctor gave him no countenance. That he afterwards

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wards wrote to him, and the day following met him at the Slopian coffee-house, and told him he would do all the prejudice he could to this kingdom; but the doctor not approving of his conduct, he took his leave, hoping that the doctor would not inform against him; to which the doctor said, *he did not like to inform against any man.*

That, from London he went to High Wickham, where he broke open a house; from thence to Oxford and Abingdon, at which last place he attempted to break into some silver-smiths shops, but without effect. At Fairford he broke into a house, and took a watch and some money. At Plymouth, he twice attempted to set fire to the dock-yard, and twice reached the top of the wall for that purpose; but the watchmen being within hearing, he desisted. He then went to Bristol, and in his way attempted to break into a house at Taunton. At Bristol he attempted to set fire to the shipping in the harbour, and afterwards set fire to a warehouse in Quay Lane. He then left the town, and broke open Mr. Lowe's house at Calne. That he committed or attempted to commit several other robberies; particularly one at Norwich, where he stole two silver-table-spoons, and a pair of silver buckles. He also committed a robbery on the highway between Portsmouth and Petersfield. By all which atrocious villainies, conceived and committed without any instigator or accomplice, other than the promise from Mr. Deane, he appears to have been a most abandoned miscreant, capable of the most enormous crimes; and of

suffering without remorse the most rigorous punishments.

Summary of the new Act for granting his Majesty a Duty upon all Servants retained or employed in the several Capacities therein mentioned.

AFTER a short preamble, the statute enacts: That, from and after the fifth day of July, 1777, there shall be raised unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, after the rate of twenty-one shillings per annum for every male servant, within the kingdom of Great Britain, who shall then have been, or shall afterwards be, retained or employed in the following capacities; (that is to say) of maitre d'hotel, house steward, master of the horse, groom of the chamber, valet de chambre, butler, under-butler, clerk of the kitchen, confectioner, cook, house porter, footman, running-footman, coachman, groom, postillion, stable-boy, and the respective helpers in the stables of such coachman, groom, or postillion, or in the capacity of gardener (not being a day-labourer) park-keeper, game-keeper, huntsman, whipper-in, whether such male servants shall have been, or shall be, retained in one or more of the said capacities, or in any other business jointly with one or more of the said capacities of a servant; that every such master or mistress shall be charged fifteen shillings for every such servant so retained or employed within the time which shall elapse between the fifth day of July, 1777, and the 25th of March, 1778; and every such master or

mistress

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mistress shall be charged the sum of 21 shillings for every such servant which shall be so retained within every subsequent year, ending on the 25th day of March; and the several sums herein before mentioned shall be paid in every year, within six months subsequent to the 25th day of March.

Provided always, That this act shall not extend to any servant who shall be employed, bona fide, for the purposes of husbandry or manufactures, or of any trade or calling by which the master or mistress of such servant earn a livelihood or profit.

Provided also, That the duty hereby granted for every coachman, groom, postillion, or helper, let out to hire by way of job, shall be paid by the master or mistress for whose use, and in whose service, such coachman, groom, postillion, or helper, shall be employed respectively; and that the duty granted for every gardener, employed by any person who shall contract for the keeping of any garden or gardens, shall be paid by the person for whose use, and in whose garden, such gardener shall be employed.

Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall extend to exempt any person from the payment of the duty imposed by this act, in respect of any servant employed in any of the capacities aforesaid, on account that such servant is or shall be bound as an apprentice to such person or persons; save and except such apprentices as are or shall be imposed upon any master or mistress, by virtue of the power given to magistrates, and parish-officers, by any act of parliament, so as the number

of such apprentices so imposed upon any master or mistress, does not exceed two.

Provided also, That this act shall not extend to charge with the duty hereby granted the butler or butlers, manciple, cook or cooks, gardener or gardeners, porter or porters, of any college or hall within either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; or the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, or St. Andrew's, in Scotland; or of the several colleges of Westminster, Eton, or Winchester; or to the servants of his majesty, or any of the royal family; or of any ambassador or foreign minister residing in the kingdom of Great Britain.

Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend to charge with the duty hereby granted any of the royal hospitals of Christ, St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, Bethlehem, St. Thomas in the city of London and borough of Southwark; or Guy's; or the Foundling hospital. The duties to be collected by such persons, and paid into the Exchequer, under such penalties, &c. as are appointed for the duties on houses and windows by two acts of 20 Geo. II.

The commissioners of the before-mentioned acts shall also put this act in execution, and shall appoint assessors.

Assessors to give notice in writing to masters, &c. to produce lists of their servants employed within their districts, &c.

The commissioners, on application, to grant relief to persons who have been assessed in different places for the same servants.

The masters to be doubly rated for

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for those servants they omit in their lists.

One half of which surcharge to be allowed the assessor or surveyor making the same.

Surveyors or assessors not to enter any dwelling-house, &c. to examine the number of servants.

Persons over rated may appeal to the commissioners for redress; and, if then dissatisfied, may appeal to the court of King's-bench.

Abstract of the Act of the last Session of Parliament, for restraining the Negotiation of Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes, &c.

THE ACT 17 Geo. III. c. 30, recites, That, by an act of the 15th of this present reign, all negotiable promissory notes, &c. issued after the 24th of June 1775, for less than 20s. were made void, and that all such notes issued before that time, were then made payable on demand. It adds, "that the said act had been attended with very salutary effects; and supposes, that if the provisions therein contained were extended to

a further sum ("but yet without prejudice to the convenience arising to the public from the negotiation of promissory notes, &c. for the remittance of money in discharge of any balance of account") the good purpose of the said act would be further advanced. The legislature therefore have continued the prohibition of notes, &c. for any less sum than 20s. and enacted, that from and after the 24th of June 1777, till the first day of January 1778, all notes for any sum between one and five pounds shall be liable to payment on demand, whatever be the conditions contained in the said notes, &c. It also enacts, that from and after the first day of January 1778, all negotiable promissory notes, &c. for 20s. and less than five pounds, shall be made payable at 21 days after date; and each indorsement thereon shall specify the name and place of abode of the person to whose order the money is to be paid; and that the signing of every such note, &c. or any indorsement on it, shall be attested by one subscribing witness at the least."

The following are the Forms of Promissory Notes and Draughts, and of the Indorsements, taken from the Schedule, annexed to the Act.

S C H E D U L E, N^o. I.

—[Place]—[Day]—[Month]—[Year]—

TWENTY-ONE days after date, I promise to pay to A. B. of
by —[Place]— or his order, the sum of —[Sum]— for value received
C. D.

Witness, E. F.

And the Indorsement, to wit, quoth,

—[Day]—of—[Month]—[Year]—

Pay the contents to
G. H. of —[Place]— or his order.

A. B.

Witness, J. K.

N^o. II.

No. II.

—[Place]—[Day]—[Month]—[Year]—

TTwenty-one days after date, pay to A. B. of — [Place] — or his order, the sum of — [Sum] — value received, as advised by

C. D.

To E. F. of — [Place] —

Witness, G. H.

And the Endorsement, to this quoth,

—[Day]—[Month]—[Year]—

Pay the contents to

J. K. of — [Place] — or his order.

A. B.

Witness, L. M.

Short Account of the Proceedings at Madras, and of the Controversy respecting Tanjour.

of Pondicherry, several battles were fought, in which Ancover de Cawn was worsted. He implored the aid of the then Governor of Madras, and received some ineffectual assistance; but was at length killed in battle.

Matters were in this state when the war between England and France broke out; the French were triumphant in the beginning, and carried every thing before them: they took Fort St. David's, and besieged the English in their last hold, Madras. There Alli Cawn, who then claimed the Nabobship, had taken shelter, but, dreading the worst, had sent his wife and children in an English ship to the Dutch settlement of Negapatnam. Lord Pigot gallantly defended the place, and raised the siege. This revived the Nabob's almost extinguished hopes. Reinforcements were sent from England, and General Coote took the field, joined by the Nabob with a body of Maratta cavalry, and another from the Rajah of Tanjour. Gen. Coote was every where victorious; the Nabob's interest grew strong in the country; and, by an article

WHEN the Musselmen had over-run Hindostan, and had established the vast empire of the Mogul, it became necessary for the carrying on so extensive a government, to subdivide it; and large districts and provinces were allotted to temporary governors appointed during pleasure, to over-awe the natural princes of the country, and collect from them the stipulated tribute for the Mogul. It often happened, that these temporary governors revolted, and appropriated to their own use the tributes which were to have passed through their hands. In vain were others sent to relieve them, unless such persons were rich enough themselves to raise armies, or were supplied from court with force sufficient to displace their predecessors. Thus it was that Ancover de Cawn (father to the present Mahomed Alli Cawn) was appointed Nabob of Arcot; but Chauda Sail being in possession, and supported by M. Dupleix, Governor

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article of the treaty of Paris, he was confirmed in his dominions. The alliance between the English and the Nabob was equally useful to both parties; it secured to him his dominions, and gave to them the balance of power, able to turn the scale either way; they were equally respected by the Gentoos and Moors. To this happy state Lord Pigot, by his wise management, had brought the company's affairs on the coast, when he returned to Europe, where he was rewarded with those honours he so justly merited. The Nabob having thus overcome his difficulties, and feeling himself firmly established in his dominions, began to change his stile; and, having formed a large well-regulated army, and train of artillery, under the direction of European officers, raised an alarm in England, especially as he began to manifest the design of setting aside his eldest son, who is particularly attached to the English, appointing his second son captain-general and paymaster of all his forces, and allotting him the government of Tanjour; a situation of the utmost importance in case of a war with France, or any division of interest in the Carnatic.

To prevent the consequence of these proceedings, Lord Pigot, as having raised the Nabob to what he is, was sent out to check his views, and restore the Rajah of Tanjour.

His lordship's orders were rumoured in India long before his arrival; and the Nabob publicly declared, that what he paid for could not with any justice be taken from him. But, to ward against the worst, he sent over agents and money, to purchase a revocation

of such orders, if any such were sent. Hence it is, that the London papers have been filled with complaints against Lord Pigot, and the company's servants. We are told, that the Nabob has always been our ally, firm in our cause, and that we have extorted vast sums of money from him. The fact is, that we have proved a constant support to him, and have, through his artifices and bribes, given so entirely into his measures, that we have provoked the Gentoos, lessened our own consequence, and almost rendered him independent. He has tempted the company's servants beyond a possibility of withstanding, in order to extend his dominion over the natural princes of the country; but he has so artfully and frugally bestowed his gifts, that he has acquired a princely and increasing revenue, exclusive of the sovereignty of the country, at less than two years purchase. These notorious attempts upon the integrity of its servants, the flagrant injustice done to the Rajah of Tanjour, the artful and ambitious spirit of the Nabob, called upon the company at home to oppose to it some speedy and effectual restraints. They saw the policy as well as justice of supporting the Rajah of Tanjour, and of taking some pains to conciliate the minds of the Gentoos, at the head of whom are the Marattas, a powerful and warlike people. Should a French war take place, it was not thought improbable but that the enemy might address themselves to them, and take up the cause of the Gentoos in general.

Therefore it seems clear, that upon this view of the case, the orders given to Lord Pigot were just and wise.

Some

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Some weeks after his lordship's arrival at Madras, he communicated to the Nabob the orders of the company for the restoration of Tanjour, which he had taken some time before with the assistance of the company's forces, having deposed the old Rajah. The Nabob insisted upon what he called *his* right to Tanjour, by the laws of India, and by treaties with the company. His representations had no effect. His lordship considered himself as commissioned to restore the Rajah, and accordingly he went to Tanjour the beginning of April, 1776.

Upon his return to Fort Saint George, the majority of the council disapproved of his proceedings at Tanjour. They represented to his lordship, that such a measure would be entirely repugnant to the interest of the company; that the directors being at a great distance, could not be so able to judge as the counfel who were on the spot; that, since the last dispatches to England, there had been many revolutions; and, from the then appearance of things, they did not suppose it would be for the benefit of the company to restore the King of Tanjour to the throne: but the plain truth was, seven of the council had lent large sums of money on their own account, for which, it is said, Tanjour was pledged to them as a security; they knew, therefore, that, if Tanjour was restored to its former king, they should lose that security; and they had reason to suppose, from the known cunning of the Nabob, that the money borrowed would be in the same predicament.

Lord Pigot, finding how matters stood, and that seven to four

of the members of the council were against him, had recourse to stratagem to obtain a majority. At a meeting of the council in the absence of Sir R. Fletcher, commander in chief of the company's forces, his lordship told Messrs. Stratton and Brooke, two of his most violent opponents, that, having something to propose with respect to them, he thought that in decency they should withdraw. Upon quitting the council-chamber, he moved for suspending them, and carried the motion by *his* own casting vote: at the same time orders were issued for putting Sir Robert Fletcher under arrest. But the members in opposition having afterwards met the members under suspension, they privately combined together, and, with the assistance of the military, determined to remove his lordship from the government.

Lord Pigot, apprehensive of a mutiny, slept in the fort that night; Colonel Steuart invited himself to breakfast with his lordship the next morning, then to dinner, and to sup with him at his country house in the evening, which his lordship agreed to; this was the point Col. Steuart wanted to gain, as he could not, without being liable to be tried for mutiny, arrest him in the garrison, for which purpose he had an order all that day in his pocket. Col. Steuart went with his lordship in his carriage, which had scarcely proceeded half a mile from Madras, before Col. Edington rode up and waved his drawn sword over the horses heads, calling out, Sepoys! — When Capt. Lylaught, with a party, advanced to the door of the chaise with a pistol in his hand, and told Lord Pigot he was his prisoner;

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soner; upon this, Colonel-Steuart opened the door, took his lordship by the arm, and bid him 'get out.' He was then conveyed to a carriage, which stood by the roadside, in which he was carried to the mount, and delivered into the custody of Major Horne, the commanding officer on duty there, with a declaration, that if a rescue was attempted, his lordship's life should answer it. Col. Steuart rode back to the fort that evening, and proclaimed Mr. Stratton, governor. The next day the new government sent to Messrs. Russel, Dalrymple, and Stone, declaring, that as they were too much attached to Lord Pigot to be trusted, they were suspended, and a few days after, they sent a similar message to Mr. Latham, who had only been present at one council. Col. Edington was shortly after sent at midnight, to remove Lord Pigot further up the country, but whither, it was kept a profound secret; on his being introduced, his lordship declared he would not be removed alive, except to his fort, or on board one of his majesty's ships.—A report was circulated and supported by affidavit, of an attempt of the Nabob's second son to procure Lord Pigot's assassination; and from the character of the Nabob's son, and the declaration made at the time of his lordship's commitment, this report gains universal credit.

It appears, however, upon the whole, that his lordship's conduct has not been altogether unexceptionable. In a letter from Gen. Clavering, at Calcutta, to Col. Steuart, at Madras, the general expresses his joy at the colonel's success in placing the majority of the

council in the government; considers the consequences of Lord Pigot's usurpation of the government, as leading inevitably to a war in the Carnatic; and ascribes the advantages arising to the company from the preservation of so faithful an ally as the Nabob of Arcot, chiefly to the colonel's spirit and magnanimity. The general at the same time assures the council of Madras of the firm support of the board at Bengal.

To the same effect, likewise. Mr. Hastings writes to Mr. Stratton from Fort St. George. He approves and applauds the measure of wresting from the hands of Lord Pigot the powers of government; assures him that the recovery of the constitution from an usurpation so confirmed, and from a spirit so determined as his lordship's, must be ratified at home; and professes that his opinion is formed upon the most solid and impartial grounds; he likewise, in the warmest manner, expresses his feelings on the determination of a contest of so delicate a nature, so much to the credit and advantage of his friends, without bloodshed; and concludes with owning, that he shall be easier in his mind when he hears that their late president is returned to England, as his presence must be productive of some distress, and check the operations of government.

Mr. Blair's Letter, relating to the Capture of the Morning Star.

THE capture of the Morning Star, belonging to Dr. Irving and myself, and my application for redress, having been greatly misre-

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misrepresented, both in and out of parliament, I submit the following state of facts to the public, who may then judge for themselves, how far any of their servants have been culpable; and whether, in my appeal to parliament, I have been guilty of that indecent hurry of which I am accused.

Lord Halifax, when secretary of state, in a letter to the Governor of Jamaica, dated December 9, 1763, says, "The Musquito Shore is a British settlement, and as such is to be maintained and encouraged."

Lord Dartmouth sent instructions to the Governor of Jamaica, in August 1775, for establishing a legislative council on the Musquito Shore, to be chosen by the inhabitants.

Dr. Irving and myself, induced by the above arrangement, sailed from Gravesend on the 13th of Nov. 1775, with a design of settling on the Musquito Shore, not entertaining the most distant suspicion, that our property would not be equally protected there as in any other part of the British dominions.

On the 30th of April last, the Morning Star was lying at anchor, under British colours, in the road of Black-river, the principal settlement on the Musquito Shore, and in sight of the King's house, and was there forcibly seized by two armed sloops under Dutch colours; at the same time one of their boats chased the Nancy, a small sloop belonging to Black-river: John Coffil, master of the Nancy, and Richard Burrel, who was a passenger in her, both deposed, that the boat was at one time so

near as to hook the Nancy's quarter-rail, and that the crew were Spaniards; every man who has every seen a Spaniard, must know that they could not be mistaken.

The inhabitants of Black-river, conscious that the Morning Star had never been employed in any illicit trade, were greatly alarmed; they considered the capture as a direct attack on the colony, and applied to the Superintendent to assemble the legislative council; that council, which (I am told) Lord _____ assured the House of Commons never existed, met, advised the Superintendent to send an express to Jamaica, with an account of this daring and unprecedented outrage, and laid a tax on the colony for defraying the expense.

The depositions of John Coffil, Rich. Burrel, and some other persons, who saw the transaction, were sent to the Governor of Jamaica (the colony being at present an appendage to that government); but both the governor and admiral, for reasons best known to themselves, were of opinion that the Morning Star was taken by North-American privateers; and no step was taken to reclaim the vessel and seamen, until Dr. Irving arrived in Jamaica on the 19th of September, and fortunately met with Frederic Sund, one of the seamen taken in the Morning Star, and who had escaped from Cartagena. This man made oath to all the particulars of the capture before Thomas Fench, custos and chief justice of the court of common-pleas of Kingston in Jamaica.

The governor, unable to resist such

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such positive proof, applied to Admiral Gayton, who after a delay of another month, sent a frigate to Cartagena, but positively refused to permit Dr. Irving to go in the frigate to assist the Captain in his application for redress.

The Spanish governor, contrary, in all probability, to the wishes of Sir Basil Keith and Admiral Gayton, acknowledged the capture, but said he had no power or authority to order restitution.

Having taken the earliest opportunity of returning to England, I got to London September 24, and next day presented a memorial to Lord George Germaine, with an attested estimate of the actual loss immediately sustained, amounting to 2659 l. 12 s. 10 d. sterl. besides the total ruin of our project; his lordship acquainted me with the opinion of Sir Basil Keith, that the Morning Star was taken by North American privateers. I shewed him the affidavits of John Coffin, and Richard Burrell; but his lordship chose to give more credit to the vague suspicion of the Governor of Jamaica, than to my positive assurances, as a spectator of the transaction, supported by the clearest evidence the nature of the case would admit, or which there was at that time any probability of ever obtaining. His lordship seemed extremely desirous of not making any immediate application to the court of Spain; and in deference to the critical situation of this country at that time (for the accounts of our successes in America were not then arrived) I did not then press the matter farther.

I received Frederick Sund's affi-

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davit on the 17th of Dec. and wrote immediately to Lord George Germaine, inclosing a copy of it. I saw his lordship on the 19th, when he seemed still desirous of making further delays; but being pressed by me for redress, referred me to Lord Weymouth, to whose department he told me it belonged to make application to the court of Spain.

I saw Lord Weymouth, by appointment, soon after, who told me that the first knowledge he had of the affair was by a copy of Dr. Irving's petition to the Governor of Jamaica, and of Frederick Sund's affidavit, transmitted to him from the admiralty; that he had immediately sent them to Lord Grantham; that the papers which I had put into his hands should be sent that evening; and that as soon as any answer arrived from the court of Spain, it should be communicated to me: this last part of his lordship's promise has never been performed; but I willingly impute the neglect to hurry of business.

The propriety of Lord Weymouth's conduct in the affair of Falkland's island makes it reasonable to suppose, that if the representations to the court of Spain, on the present occasion, have not been made with becoming spirit, it is not his lordship's fault.

I am assured that Lord — told the House of Commons, that the Spanish minister denied any knowledge of the affair in the month of January. The Morning Star was taken on the 30th of April, and carried directly to Porto-Bello and Cartagena. Can any man believe that a Spanish governor da-
[R] red

red so long neglect informing his court of the capture of a British vessel in so unprecedented a manner?

Great pains have been taken to represent the whole affair as a complaint of a private injury, in order that administration might shelter themselves under the shallow pretence, that I did not continue to harrafs them with daily applications for redrefs, from the 25th of Sept. to the 17th of Dec. but this is by no means the case; the British flag has been insulted; British seamen have been made captives in the most barbarous and disgraceful manner; and the very existence of a colony, capable of being made equal to any in the West Indies, is at stake.

I conceive that I have discharged my duty to the public, by communicating to his majesty's ministers, as early as possible, all I knew of the matter; if the negotiation has languished in their hands, it is to be hoped the day will arrive, when they shall be made answerable for it.

I am,
Your most obedient servant,

ALEX. BLAIR.

Oxendon-street, March 4.

THE petition which was offered to the house of commons, and which is alluded to in the above letter, stated, "That the petitioners, Capt. Blair, and Dr. Irving, an eminent man in his profession, and a celebrated chymist, had, by an encouragement from government, established a manufactory for expressing oil out of vegetable substances, with which the Musquito

country was known to abound: that the undertaking was accompanied with great success: that the purposes to which the oil, thus expressed, was used in this country, was chiefly for oiling wool for the wool-combers. That the petitioners had incurred a very great expence in establishing this manufacure; that some time in the month of April last, two Spanish Guarda Costas entered the harbour, or road, opposite the oil-works, one of 14 guns, commanded by Don Juan Castello, and the other of eight guns, commanded by Don Antonio Euppi, under Dutch colours; that they bore down on the *Morning Star*, a vessel belonging to the said partnership, and having approached very near, hoisted Spanish colours, and sent several armed men on board, making prize of the *Morning Star*, taking the British sailors prisoners on board their own ships, where they ironed them, and carried them into Porto-Bello, and at length removed them to Carthagena, whence this informant made his escape to Jamaica, where, before the chief justice of the common pleas for said island, he swore to the facts therein set forth."— The petition then stated the different applications which had been made, as recited in the above letter; and finally prayed, "that the House would be pleased to take the premises into consideration, and do therein as they shall think fit. The motion for bringing up the above petition produced a most important and animated debate; but the question being put, it was rejected without a division.

Returns

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [259]

Returns made from the Poor Rates to Parliament, stated to be from Easter, 1775, to Easter, 1776.

| Money raised. | | County Rates *. | | | |
|-------------------|---|-----------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | | l. | s. d. | l. | s. d. |
| England | — | 1,679,583 | 0 0 | 131,387 | 18 11 |
| Wales | — | 40,731 | 14 7 | 6,268 | 11 9 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | 1,720,316 | 14 7 | 137,656 | 10 8 |
| Expended on Poor. | | Rents, &c. | | Litigation. | |
| | | l. | s. d. | l. | s. d. |
| England | — | 1,523,163 | 12 7 | 78,176 | 4 0 |
| Wales | — | 33,640 | 13 8 | 2,120 | 10 7 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | 1,556,804 | 6 3 | 80,296 | 14 7 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | | | 35,072 | 0 8 |

Abstract of an Act for registering the Grants of Life Annuities; and for the better Protection of Infants against such Grants.

AFTER reciting in the preamble, that the pernicious practice of raising money by the sale of life annuities, hath of late years greatly increased, and is much promoted by the secrecy with which such transactions are conducted; it is enacted that a memorial of all deeds, bonds, &c. for granting life annuities, shall, within twenty days of the execution thereof, be enrolled in the court of chancery; which shall contain the date, names of the parties, witnesses, &c. and shall set forth the annual sum or sums to be paid, and the name of the person or persons for whose life or lives the annuity is granted, and the consideration or considerations of granting the same; otherwise every such deed, bond, &c. shall be void.

It further enacts, that before judgment shall be entered of record upon any warrant of attorney for recovering any annuity already granted, and before execution shall be sued out, &c. on any judgment already entered, &c. a memorial shall be enrolled as aforesaid; otherwise all the proceedings in the actions to be void.

It also enacts, that all future deeds for granting of annuities, shall contain the consideration, and the names of the parties, in words at length. And that if any part of the consideration shall be returned; or, in case the consideration, or any part of it, is paid in notes, if any of the notes shall not be paid when due, or shall be cancelled or destroyed without being first paid; or if the consideration, or any part of it, is paid in goods; or if any part of the consideration is retained on pretence of answering the future payments of the annuity, or any

* In most of the Northern counties, these rates are raised separately, and therefore are not included in these returns.

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other pretence; the court may order the deed to be cancelled, and the judgment, if any has been entered, to be vacated.

The bill next contains directions relating to the enrollment of memorials, and the clerks fees.

It then enacts, that all contracts for the purchase of annuities with any person under twenty-one years of age, shall be void; and that any person who shall procure or solicit any minor to grant an annuity, or to make oath, or give his or her word of honour or solemn promise, that he or she will

not plead infancy, or make any other defence against the demand of any such annuity, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, &c.

It also enacts, that solicitors, scivener, brokers, &c. who shall take more than 10 s. per 100 l. for procuring money for annuities, shall be punished by fine and imprisonment; and that the person or persons who shall have paid or given any sum or sums of money, gratuity or reward, shall be deemed a competent witness or witnesses to prove the same.

Dr. Price's Account of the Progress of the National Debt, from 1739 to 1775.

| | Principal. | Interest. |
|---|-------------|-----------|
| A MOUNT of the principal and interest of the na- | £. | £. |
| tional debt before the war which began in 1740 - | 46,382,650 | 1,903,906 |
| Amount in 1749, immediately after the war - | 78,166,906 | 2,765,608 |
| Increased by the war - | 31,784,296 | 861,747 |
| Diminished by the peace from 1748 to 1755 - | 3,089,641 | 111,590 |
| Amount at the commencement of the last war - | 75,077,264 | 2,654,018 |
| Amount at the end of the war in 1763 - | 146,582,844 | 4,840,828 |
| Increased by the last war - | 71,505,580 | 2,186,803 |
| Diminished by the peace, in 12 years, from 1763 to 1775 | 10,639,793 | 400,000 |
| Amount at Midsummer, 1775 - | 135,943,051 | 4,440,821 |

The following are given as Estimates of the Royal Income and Expenditure.

I N C O M E.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| CIVIL List | 800,000 |
| Revenue of Hanover, when the establishment, &c. is paid, brings in clear, at least | 100,000 |
| Ireland | 90,000 |
| Wales | 10,000 |
| Lancaster | 20,000 |
| Cornwall, after paying the Lord Warden's Court, produces at least | 70,000 |
| Four and a half per cent. in the West Indies | 50,000 |
| Coal-pits at Louisburgh | 12,000 |
| Interest of debts due to the late king | 150,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,302,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | EXPENDITURE |

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [26]

EXPENDITURE, January 6, 1776, to January 5, 1777.

| | |
|---|------------|
| THE Queen | £. 50,000 |
| Duke of Gloucester | 12,000 |
| Duke of Cumberland | 12,000 |
| Princess Amelia | 12,000 |
| The servants of the late King, Princess of Wales, Queen of Denmark, &c. | 8,000 |
| Cofferer of the household | 109,600 |
| Treasurer of the chamber | 60,200 |
| Great Wardrobe | 36,400 |
| Master of the robes | 8,800 |
| Master of the horse | 26,000 |
| Paymaster of the works | 76,500 |
| Foreign ministers | 98,600 |
| Great officers, judges fees, salaries, &c. | 130,000 |
| Pensions and annuities | 127,000 |
| Royal bounties | 11,500 |
| Gentlemen pensioners | 6,000 |
| Presents to foreign ministers | 3,000 |
| Secret service | 86,000 |
| His majesty's privy purse | 48,000 |
| Goldsmith | 2,500 |
| Law charges | 60,000 |
| | £. 984,100 |

Genuine Correspondence between Lord Howe and Dr. Franklin,

AS the subject of the following authentic letters, the time when they were written, and the rank and reputation of the writers, render them of much importance to the public, we cannot doubt of their being acceptable to the generality of our readers.

Eagle, June 20, 1776.

“ I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent you, in the state I receive them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

“ You will learn the nature of my mission from the official dispatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable, in the objects of the king’s paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into

into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private, as well as public motive, most heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am,

" Your sincere and faithful
Humble servant,

HOWE.

" P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever since prevented, by calms and contrary winds, from getting here to inform General Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12 July.
Superscribed

To Benjamin Franklin,
Esq; Philadelphia."

" Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

" I received safe the letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

" The official dispatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon submission; which I was sorry to find, as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

" Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of ignorance, baseness and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation

has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentment. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured: you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, if we are again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

" But your lordship mentions, 'the king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.' If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship power to treat with us; of such peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances; but

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but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though (by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord; rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as possible, the mischiefs done us) she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us ; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation ; her lust of dominion, as an ambitious one ; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them legitimate causes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and will continually goad her on, in these ruinous dilatant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations in Europe.

" I have not vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war ; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event shall verify it.

" Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire ; for I know, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares

of the strength and value that existed in the whole ; and that a perfect re-union of these parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief, I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

" The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, " is the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels :" to me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each others blood : that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities ; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both *unjust* and *unwise* ; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it ; and that even

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even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

"I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, that when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will relinquish so

odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

"With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN."

Directed

To the Right Hon. Lord Vis.
Count Howe,

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for
the Year 1777.

N A V Y.

NOVEMBER 9, 1776.

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 1. THAT 45,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1777, including 10,129 marines. | L. s. d. |
| 2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 45,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for sea service | 2,340,000 0 0 |

NOVEMBER 26.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers, for the year 1777 | 400,805 2 10 |
| 2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1777 | 465,500 0 0 |

MAY 21, 1777.

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Towards paying off and discharging the navy debt | 1,000,000 0 0 |
| 2. Upon account, to be applied by the commissioners of Greenwich hospital for the support and relief of such worn-out seamen, as shall not be provided for in the said hospital, for the year 1777 | 4,000 0 0 |

4,210,305 2 10

A R M Y.

NOVEMBER 16, 1776.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. That a number of land forces, including 3,213 invalids, amounting to 20,734 effective men, commission and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the service of the year 1777. | |
| 2. For defraying the charge of 20,734 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey | 648,009 16 5 |
| 2 | 3. For |

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| | | | |
|---|---------|----|----------------|
| 3. For the pay of the general, and general staff officers in Great Britain, for the year 1777 | 11,473 | 18 | $6\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 4. For maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations and Africa, including those in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar; and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Islands, and Africa, for the year 1777 | 949,720 | 11 | .3 |
| 5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the British and Irish establishment, of one regiment of light dragoons, and six regiments of foot, serving in North America, for the year 1777 | 47,178 | 0 | 3 |
| 6. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian battalions, serving in Gibraltar and Minorca, and provisions for the same | 56,074 | 19 | 4 |
| 7. For defraying the charge of 12,677 men, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with a subsidy | 336,932 | 1 | $6\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 8. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Hanau, &c. | 18,181 | 15 | $6\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 9. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, &c. | 17,370 | 0 | $2\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 10. For defraying the charge of 4,300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunswick | 93,947 | 15 | 8 |
| 11. For defraying the charge of provisions for the foreign troops serving in America | 41,427 | 17 | $7\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 12. For making good a deficiency in the sum voted last session, for the troops of Hesse | 6,617 | 5 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 13. For making good a deficiency in the sum voted last session, for the Hanau foot | 1,013 | 16 | 10 |
| 14. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops, for the year 1777 | 26,053 | 7 | 4 |
| 15. For defraying the charge of deficiency for foreign troops, for the year 1776 | 5,152 | 12 | $3\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 16. For defraying the charge of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for artillery for 1776 | 13,972 | 16 | 0 |
| 17. For defraying the charge of the artillery of Hanau, for 1776 | 3,383 | 6 | 8 |
| 18. For defraying the charge of artillery for the Waldeck troops, for the year 1776 | 403 | 19 | $9\frac{1}{2}$ |
| JANUARY 31, 1777. | | | |
| 1. Towards defraying the charge of the out-pensioners in Chelsea hospital | 105,279 | 13 | 9 |
| 2. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines | 93,616 | 8 | 4 |
| 3. For defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops | | | |

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troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentleman of the four troops of horse guards

754 12 1

4. For paying of pensions to widows of such reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines, as died upon the establishment of half-pay in Great Britain, and were married to them before December 25, 1716

370 0 0

FEBRUARY 24.

Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between Jan. 31, 1776, and Feb. 1, 1777

1,200,602 12 5½

MARCH 24.

1. For defraying the charge of a regiment of Chasseurs, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year 1777

36,728 11 8½

2. For defraying the charge of a regiment of Chasseurs of Hanau, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year 1777

16,326 10 1½

3. For defraying the charge of 1,285 men, the troops of the Margrave of Brandebourg Anspach, including artillery, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, for the year 1777

39,588 2 4½

4. To make good a deficiency in the sum voted last session of parliament, for the charge of Chasseurs, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, together with the subsidy, to Dec. 24, 1776

3,390 18 4½

ORDNANCE.

NOVEMBER 16, 1776.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for the year 1777

320,111 18 11

2. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in 1776

272,705 18 1

592,817 17 0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JANUARY 31, 1777.

For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1777

6,997 13 7

MARCH 4.

For defraying the charges of the following civil establishments, and other incidental expences attending

ing

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ing the same, to wit, In America;

| | | | | |
|--|---|-------|----|---|
| 1. His majesty's island of St. John's | — | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. His majesty's colony of Georgia | — | 2,816 | 0 | 0 |
| 3. His majesty's colony of Nova Scotia | — | 4,596 | 10 | 5 |
| 4. His majesty's colony of East Florida | — | 5,950 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. His majesty's colony of West Florida | — | 5,900 | 0 | 0 |
| 6. In Africa: Senegambia, situate between the port of Sallee in South Barbary, and Cape Rouge | — | 5,550 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. For defraying expences attending general sur- veys of his majesty's dominions in North America, for the year 1777 | — | 2,993 | 5 | 0 |

APRIL 29.

Towards enabling the Trustees of the *British Mu-*
seum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in
them

MAY 28.

| | | | | |
|---|---|--------|----|---|
| 1. For discharging such unsatisfied claims and de- mands, for expences incurred upon account of hospi- tals, during the late war in Germany, as appear to be due by the reports of Mr. T. Bishop, late director of foreign hospitals, to the lords commissioners of his ma- jesty's treasury, dated March 28, 1777 | — | 41,820 | 14 | 5 |
| 2. To make good the sum which has been issued by his majesty's orders to sundry persons, to be by them applied for the relief and benefit of such American civil officers, and others, as have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government | — | 32,934 | 16 | 6 |
| 3. To replace the sum issued by his majesty's orders to Mr. Duncan Campbell, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames | — | 1,879 | 10 | 6 |
| 4. To make good to his majesty the sums issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house | — | 13,060 | 2 | 0 |

JUNE 2.

Towards defraying the expences of printing the
Journals of the house, and to defray such extraordinary
expences as have been, or shall be incurred on account
of the printed Journals and reports

JUNE 5.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---------|----|---|
| 1. For repairing and supporting the British forts and settlements, on the coast of Africa | — | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. To George White, Esq; for defraying expences incurred by him in business done by authority of the house, relative to enquiries into the state of the poor of this kingdom | — | 13,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 144,598 | 12 | 5 |
| | | NOVEM. | | |

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [269]

NOVEMBER 26, 1776.

Towards paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament 1,500,000 0 0

DECEMBER 2.

For paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled *An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned* 1,000,000 0 0

APRIL 18, 1777.

To discharge the arrears and debts due and owing upon the civil list on Jan. 5, 1777 618,340 9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

At the same time it was resolved, "That for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, there be granted to his majesty during his life, out of the aggregate fund, the clear yearly sum of 100,000l. to commence from the 5th of Jan. 1777, over and above the sum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the 1st year of his majesty's reign."

For discharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery, of the year 1776 500,000 0 0

3,618,340 9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

D E F I C I E N C I E S.

APRIL 29.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1776 61,288 7 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

2. To make good the deficiency on 5th July 1776, of the fund established for paying annuities granted, by an act made in the 31st year of his late majesty, towards the supply granted for the year 1758 44,599 13 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

3. In the land tax 250,000 0 0

4. In the malt tax 200,000 0 0

555,888 0 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

Total of Supplies — — 12,895,543 0 2

WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies granted to his Majesty, for the year 1777.

NOVEMBER 12, 1776.

THAT the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th of March, 1777, upon lands, tenements, heredita-

ments,

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ments, pensions, offices and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable cess, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland

2,000,000 o o

NOVEMBER 19.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which by an act of parliament of the 16th year of his present majesty's reign have continuance to the 24th of July, 1777, shall be further continued and charged upon all malt, which shall be made, and all mum, which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry, which shall be made for sale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June, 1777, to the 24th of June, 1778

750,000 o o

MARCH 24, 1777.

That, towards making good the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 295,832l. 18s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th of Jan. 1777, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen from the surplusses and other revenues composing the fund, commonly called the *sinking fund*

295,832 18 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

APRIL 21.

That, towards making good the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 760,363l. 14s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th of April, 1777, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses and other revenues of the fund, commonly called the *sinking fund*

760,363 14 2 $\frac{1}{4}$

MAY 15.

1. That, towards the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of 5,000,000l. be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 500,000l. by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor towards raising the said 5,000,000l. shall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to an annuity of 4l. to continue for a certain term of ten years, to commence from the 5th day of April, 1777, subject to redemption by parliament after the expiration of that term, and not sooner; and also be entitled, in respect of every such 100l. so contributed, to a further annuity of 10s. to continue for a certain term of ten years, from the said 5th day of April, 1777, and then to cease; the said annuity of 4l. and of 10s. in respect of each

100l.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [27]

100l. contributed, to be charged upon the sinking fund, and to be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and paid half-yearly, on the 10th day of October, and the 5th day of April, in every year:

That every such contributor shall, upon payment of the further sum of 10l. (in addition to each 100l. contributed for annuities as aforesaid) be entitled to a ticket in a lottery to consist of 50,000 tickets, amounting to 500,000l. the same to be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money at the Bank of England to such proprietors, upon demand, as soon after the 1st day of March, 1778, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever:

That every contributor shall, on or before the 23d day of this instant May, make a deposit of 15l. *per centum*, on such sum as he or she shall choose to subscribe towards raising the said sum of 5,000,000l. with the chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England; and also a deposit of 15l. *per centum* with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of 500,000l. by a lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively, on or before the days, or times hereinafter limited; that is to say,

On 5,000,000l. to be raised by annuities;

15l. *per centum* on or before the 30th day of June next.

15l. *per centum* on or before the 29th day of July next.

20l. *per centum* on or before the 5th day of September next.

15l. *per centum* on or before the 29th day of October next.

20l. *per centum* on or before the 1st day of December next.

On the lottery for 500,000l.

25l. *per centum* on or before the 10th day of July next.

30l. *per centum* on or before the 28th day of August next.

30l. *per centum* on or before the 7th day of October next.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to

time

272] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

time to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament.

That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the sum of 5,000,000l. to be contributed for annuities as aforesaid, at any time before the 27th day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery on or before the 27th day of August next, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of 3*l. per centum per annum*, on the sum so completing his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of completing the same to the 1st day of December next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities; and to the 7th day of October next, in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered as soon as they can conveniently be made out

5,500,000 0 0

2. That towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of one million nine hundred thirty-nine thousand six hundred thirty-six pounds, five shillings, and nine-pence three farthings, out of such monies as shall or may arise of the surpluses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund commonly called *The Sinking Fund*

1,939,636 5 9*½*

3. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds be raised, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1778, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment

1,500,000 0 0

4. That, towards making good the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of three thousand nine hundred nineteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and seven pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, of the monies arisen by the duties on rice exported, the duties on apples imported, and on cambrics and sugars, granted by an act of the sixth year of his present majesty's reign, the monies paid by the receivers general of the several counties which have not raised the militia, and also of such imprest monies as remain there for the disposition of parliament

3,919 13 7
5. That,

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [273]

5. That the sum of one thousand three hundred and ninety-one pounds, and seven pence, out of such monies remaining in the receipt of the exchequer as have arisen by the duties and revenues which have been directed to be reserved for the disposition of parliament, towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British colonies and plantations in America, be applied towards making good such part of the supply as hath been granted to his majesty for maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations, and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Ceded Islands, for the year 1777

1,391 o 7

6. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of April, 1777, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1778, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts, made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum senega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty

1,391 o o

MAY 28.

That such sum or sums of money, as shall be paid into the exchequer by the executors of the late Henry Lord Holland, formerly paymaster of his majesty's forces, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty

200,000 o o-

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|----|-----------------|
| Total of Ways and Means | 12,952,534 | 12 | 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Total of Supplies | 12,895,543 | o | 2 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|----|-----------------|
| Excess of Ways and Means | 56,991 | 12 | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
|--------------------------|--------|----|-----------------|

Note, the vote of credit for one million, granted this session, for the future army extras, and expence of, and loss by, coinage, is charged on the next aids.

It appears from the above resolutions, that the additional public debt funded this year amounts to five millions, the interest of which, at 4 per cent. per annum

— 200,000

Together with the additional annuity of 10s. per cent. per annum, for the term of ten years (by the 1st resolution of May 15, 1777)

— 25,000

Amounts in the whole to

— 225,000

274] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1777.

This sum (by acts passed, in pursuance of several resolutions of May 15, 1777) is to be raised in the following manner:

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| By a tax of one guinea each on all male servants not employed in agriculture, husbandry, or trade | 100,000 |
| By additional duties on glass | 45,000 |
| By additional stamp duties | 55,000 |
| By a duty on auctioneers, and on goods sold by auction | 37,500 |
| | Total of new taxes |
| From this is to be deducted the annual produce of the plate duty, which is repealed | 237,500 |
| | 12,000 |
| | Left |
| | 225,000 |

STATE

S T A T E P A P E R S.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the 31st Day of October, 1776.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
NOTHING could have afforded me so much satisfaction as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this session, that the troubles which have so long distracted my colonies in North America, were at an end; and that my unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and returned to their duty: but so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country: they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission; and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and indeed to the present system of all Europe. One

great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood; we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.

I am happy to inform you, that by the blessing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my service, Canada is recovered; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province has been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences: but, notwithstanding this fair prospect, we must, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and am using my utmost endeavours to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and I still hope, that all misunderstandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace: I think nevertheless that, in the present situation of affairs, it is expedient that we should be in

a respectable state of defence at home.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. It is matter of real concern to me, that the important considerations which I have stated to you must necessarily be followed by great expence: I doubt not, however, but that my faithful commons will readily and chearfully grant me such supplies as the maintenance of the honour of my crown, the vindication of the just rights of parliament, and the public welfare, shall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it; their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have faithfully and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, &c &c

lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It is with the truest satisfaction we congratulate your majesty on the success of your arms in the province of New-York, the recovery of Canada, and the fair prospect of decisive good consequences, which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, is now opened by the firmness of your majesty's councils, the valour and good conduct of your majesty's officers and forces by sea and land, and by the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in your majesty's service.

We beg leave to assure your majesty, that nothing would have given us equal happiness to the having been informed by your majesty, at the opening of this session, that the troubles, which have so long distracted North America, had been at an end; that your majesty's unhappy people in those provinces had recovered from their delusion, and, awakened by a due sense of their misfortunes and misdoings, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and were returned to their duty. While we lament that your majesty's humane and merciful intentions have been frustrated by the neglect shewn to the means of conciliation, notified under the authority of your majesty's royal commission, we feel the strongest indignation at the insolent manner in which they were rejected; and we want words to express our abhorrence of the desperate spirit of those overbearing men, who with an insatiable thirst of power and dominion, which has uniformly actuated all their proceedings, have now

now renounced allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with Great Britain; and, with an arrogance equal to the enormity of the attempt, left a doubt of their real design should remain on the breast of any person whatever, have set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. We are fully aware of the mischief which would accrue from the success of this treason, to your majesty's loyal colonies, to the commerce of this nation, and, more remotely indeed, but not less certainly, to the system of Europe, and to every state upon the continent of Europe possessed of distant colonies.

We reflect with pleasure on the solid advantage which will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed and clearly understood, the unanimity which will prevail at home, founded in a conviction of the justice and necessity of your majesty's measures. Inspired with the same zeal for the cause of our country which animates the kingdom at large, we will steadily support your majesty in the vindication of the honour of your crown, and the just rights of parliament, and will cheerfully concur in making the necessary provisions for those great purposes.

The assurances of amity, which your majesty continues to receive from the several courts of Europe, afford us great satisfaction; we entertain the most grateful sense of the endeavours, which your majesty is exerting to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and we trust that, by your majesty's auspicious endeavours, these misunderstandings will be removed, and Europe

continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace. Permit us, Sir, at the same time to return your majesty our dutiful thanks for your provident attention in guarding against any events which may arise out of the present situation of affairs, by keeping us in a respectable state of defence at home.

With hearts full of duty and gratitude, we acknowledge the happiness, which, under your majesty's mild government, is extended to every part of the British empire; of which the late flourishing state of the revolted provinces, their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, shew that they have abundantly participated. And we earnestly hope, that your majesty's paternal object of restoring your distracted colonies to the happy condition from which, by their own misconduct, they are wretchedly fallen, will be speedily attained.

Protest of the Lords.

Die Jovis, 31^o Oct. 1776.

UPON the motion for the above address, an amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and seconded by the Duke of Manchester, which produced a long debate; when the question being put, the house divided,

Contents - - 26

Non-contents 82 } 91

Proxies - - 9 } 91

The question was next put on the address, and carried in the affirmative.

[S] 3

Differ-

Dissentient,

For the reasons contained in the amendment proposed and rejected, viz.

" To assure his majesty, that animated with the most earnest and sincere zeal for his true interest, and the real glory of his reign, we behold with inexpressible concern, the minds of a very large, and lately loyal and affectionate part of his people, entirely alienated from his government. Nor can we conceive, that such an event as the disaffection and revolt of a whole people, could have taken place without some considerable errors, in the conduct observed towards them.

" These erroneous measures we conceive are to be imputed to a want of sufficient information being laid before parliament; and to too large a degree of confidence being reposed in those ministers, who from their duty were obliged, and from their official situation were best enabled, to know the temper and disposition of his majesty's American subjects; and were, therefore, presumed most capable of pointing out such measures as might produce the most salutary effect. Hence the schemes which were formed for the reduction and chastisement of a supposed inconsiderable party of factious men, have driven thirteen large provinces to despair! Every act which has been proposed as a means of procuring peace and submission, has become a new cause of war and revolt; and we now find ourselves almost inextricably involved in a bloody and expensive civil war, which besides exhausting, at present, the strength of his majesty's dominions, exposing our allies to

the designs of their, and our enemies, and leaving this kingdom in a most perilous situation, threatens in its issue, the most deplorable calamities to the whole British race.

" We cannot avoid lamenting, that in consequence of the credit afforded to the representations of ministers, no hearing has been given to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies: neither has any ground been laid, for removing the original cause of these unhappy differences, which took their rise from questions relative to parliamentary proceedings, and can be settled *only* by parliamentary authority. By this fatal omission, the commissioners nominated for the apparent purpose of making peace, were furnished with no legal power, but those of giving or withholding pardons at their pleasure; and of relaxing the severities of a single penal act of parliament, leaving the whole foundation of this unhappy controversy as it stood at the beginning.

" To represent to his majesty, that in addition to this neglect, when, in the beginning of the last session, his majesty, in his gracious speech to both houses of parliament, had declared his resolution of sending out commissioners for the purposes therein expressed, as speedy as possible; no such commissioners were sent, until nearly seven months afterwards; and until the nation was alarmed by the evacuation of the only town, then held for his majesty, in the thirteen united colonies. By this delay, acts of the most critical nature, the effect of which must as much depend upon the power of immediately relaxing them on submission,

mission, as in enforcing them upon disobedience, had only an operation to inflame and exasperate. But if any colony, town, or place, had been induced to submit by the operation of the terrors of those acts, there were none in the place, of power sufficient to restore the people so submitting to the common right of subjection. The inhabitants of the colonies, apprized that they were put out of the protection of government, and seeing no means provided for their entering into it, were furnished with reasons but too colourable, for breaking off their dependency on the crown of this kingdom.

" To assure his majesty, that removing our confidence from those who in so many instances have grossly abused it, we shall endeavour to restore to parliament, the confidence of all his people.

" To this end, it may be adviseable to make a more minute enquiry into the grievances of the colonies, as well as into the conduct of ministers, with regard to them. We may think it proper, particularly, to enquire how it has happened, that the commerce of this kingdom has been left exposed to the reprisals of the colonies, at the very time that their seamen and fishermen being indiscriminately prohibited from the peaceable exercise of their occupations, and declared open enemies, must be expected, with a certain assurance, to betake themselves to plunder, and to wreak their revenge on the commerce of Great-Britain.

" That we understand, that amidst the many disasters and disgraces which have attended on his majesty's arms in many parts of America, an advantage has been

gained by his majesty's British and foreign mercenary forces, in the province of New-York. That if a wise, moderate, and prudent use be made of this advantage, it is not improbable, that happy effects may result from that use. And we assure his majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to enable his majesty to take full advantage of any dispositions to reconciliation, which may be the consequence of the miseries of war, by laying down, on our part, real permanent grounds of connection between Great-Britain and the colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual advantage.

" That whilst we lament this effusion of English blood, (which we hope has not been greater or other than necessity required and honour justified) we should most heartily congratulate his majesty, on any event leading to the great desirable end of settling a peace, which might promise to last, by the restoration of the ancient affection which has happily subsisted between this kingdom and its colonies; any other would necessarily require, even in case of a total conquest, an army to maintain, ruinous to the finances, and incompatible with the freedom of his majesty's people. We should look with the utmost shame and horror on any events, of what nature soever, that should tend to break the spirit of any large part of the British nation, to bow them to an abject unconditional submission to any power whatsoever, to annihilate their liberties, and to subdue them to servile principles, and passive habits, by the mere force of mercenary arms. Because, amidst the excesses and abuses which have hap-

pene, we must respect the spirit and principles operating in these commotions; our wish is to regulate, not to destroy them. For though differing in some circumstances, those very principles evidently bear so exact an analogy with those which support the most valuable part of our own constitution, that it is impossible, with any appearance of justice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the sword in any part of his majesty's dominions, without admitting consequences, and establishing precedents, the most dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom.

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| Richmond, | Craven, |
| Devonshire, | Fitzwilliam, |
| Portland, | Abingdon, |
| Manchester, | De Ferrers, |
| Rockingham, | Effingham, |
| Scarborough, | Abergavenny, |
| King, | Ponsonby." |

The humble address of the House of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,
WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the humble thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

While we lament the continuance of the troubles which have so long distracted your majesty's colonies in North America, and of the calamities and oppressions which our unhappy fellow-subjects are still suffering under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders; we cannot forbear to express our detestation and abhorrence of the audacious and desperate spirit of ambition, which has at last carried those leaders so

far, as to make them openly renounce all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country, and in direct terms to presume to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states.

We consider their rejection of the gracious and condescending means of reconciliation, held out to them, under the authority of your majesty's commission, as a fresh and convincing proof that the object of these men has always been power and dominion; but we can impute the circumstances of indignity and insult accompanying this proceeding, to no other motive than a resentment of your majesty's firm and constant adherence to the maintenance of the constitutional rights of parliament, divested of every possible view of any separate interests of the crown; and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that the same attachment of your majesty to the parliamentary authority of Great-Britain, which hath provoked the insolence of the chiefs of this rebellion, cannot but operate, as it ought to do, in fixing your majesty still deeper, if possible, in the affections of a British house of commons.

With reverence and gratitude to Divine Providence, permit us to express our unfeigned joy, and to offer our sincere congratulations to your majesty, on the success which has attended the good conduct and valour of your majesty's officers and forces both by sea and land, and the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in your service, in the recovery of Canada, and in the important operations in the province of New-York, which give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences.

It

It is with much satisfaction we learn, that your majesty continues to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe: and we thankfully acknowledge your majesty's goodness and paternal concern for the happiness of your people, in your constant attention to preserve the general tranquillity; and it is our most earnest wish that, by your majesty's interposition, all misunderstandings and differences between two neighbouring powers may be happily reconciled, and Europe still enjoy the blessings of peace.

Your faithful commons consider it as a duty which they owe to your majesty, and to those they represent, to grant your majesty such supplies as the weighty considerations, which your majesty has been pleased to state to us, shall be found to require; and we have a well-grounded confidence, that, at this time, when the object of the rebels is openly avowed and clearly understood; the general conviction of the justice and necessity of your majesty's measures must unite all ranks of your faithful subjects in supporting your majesty with one mind and heart in the great national cause in which you are engaged.

On the 10th day of April the following message from the King was delivered to the House of Commons by Lord North.

“ G. REX.

“ I T gives his majesty much concern to find himself obliged to acquaint the House of Commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts incurred by the expences of his household, and of the ci-

“ vil government, which being computed on the 5th of January last, do amount to more than 600,000l. His majesty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he has received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt; and that they will at the same time make some further provision for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of his crown.

“ G. R.”

A message to the same purport was also delivered to the Lords by one of the secretaries of state; and the following address ordered to be presented.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the thanks of this house for your majesty's most gracious message, by which your majesty has been pleased to inform this house of the exceedingnes of the expences of your majesty's household and civil government, beyond the revenue settled on your majesty for defraying the same; and to assure your majesty of the grateful sense this house entertains of your majesty's well-founded reliance on the loyal and affectionate attachment of this house to your majesty's person and government; and that, fully convinced of the tender and disinterested attachment which your majesty has shewn, through the whole course

course of your reign, to the ease and welfare of your faithful people, this house will most readily concur in enabling your majesty to discharge the debts which occasion your majesty's present difficulties, and in making some further provision for the better support of your majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown.

Protest of the Lords.

Die Mercurii, 16th Apr. 1777.

UPON the motion for the above address, an amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and seconded; when, after a warm debate, the question being put, the house divided;

Contents - 20

Non-contents - 96

The Duke of Grafton then moved the previous question, when the house again divided;

Contents - 26 } 28

Proxies - 2 } 28

Non-contents 90 }

Proxies - 22 } 112

The main question was then put, and the house divided a third time;

Contents - 90—Proxies 22

Non-contents 22—Proxy 1

Dissentient,

For the reasons contained in the amendment proposed and rejected, viz.

"To assure his majesty of the inviolable affection and loyalty of this house; and that it is with the sincerest affliction we find our duty to his majesty and our country entirely incompatible with our compliance with the request made to us in his majesty's message.

"That at a time when the increase of public debt, attended

with the decrease of British empire, manifestly required the utmost economy in the management of the revenues of the crown, we cannot behold, without astonishment and indignation, a profusion in his majesty's ministers, which the greatest prosperity of our affairs could scarcely excuse.

"That this house, with the most zealous devotion to your majesty's true interests, beg leave to represent to your majesty, that we humbly apprehend the clear revenue of 800,000l. a year, which supported your majesty's grandfather, of happy memory, in great authority and magnificence, is fully sufficient (if managed by your majesty's servants with the same integrity and economy) to maintain also the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, in that reverence in which we wish, as much, at least, as those who have squandered away the revenues, to see it always supported.

"Parliament has already, in consideration (we suppose) of some expence in the beginning of your majesty's reign, discharged the debts and incumbrances on the civil list to a very great amount. Again to exceed the revenue granted by parliament, without its authority, and to abuse its indulgence in paying one debt, by contracting, in so short a time, another and a greater, is, on the first view, a criminal act. Your majesty's ministers ought to have laid some matter before this house, tending to shew that your majesty's government could not be reputably supported on the provision made by parliament; whereas they have only laid before us the heads on which they have exceeded, without any thing which can tend either

ther to justify or excuse the excess; and the only reason given to us for paying that debt is, that your majesty's ministers have incurred it.

"With regard to the further increase of your majesty's civil list revenues, we must decline any concurrence therein, not solely from motives of economy (though at no time more strictly required) but from a dread also of the effect of such an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by vesting such large sums without account in the hands of ministers, when an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting—that your majesty's civil list revenues are employed in creating undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifest reasons, great sums out of the property of your majesty's subjects, which are supposed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament, and we beg leave to represent to your majesty, that a further increase of the present overgrown influence of the crown would be a treacherous gift from parliament, even to the crown itself; as it will enable the ministers to carry on those delusive systems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if pursued, must lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the distraction, of this once great empire."

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| Abingdon, | Effingham, |
| Abergavenny, | Portland, |
| Archer, | Richmond, |
| King, | Rockingham, |
| Thanet, | Fitzwilliam, |
| Torrington, | Devonshire, |
| Stamford, | Manchester. |

The Speech made by the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty in the House of Peers, on the 7th Day of May, upon presenting the Bill for settling an additional Revenue of 100,000l. per ann. upon his Majesty, for the Services of the Civil List.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THE bill, which it is now my duty to present to your majesty, is intituled, 'An act for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain'; to which your commons humbly beg your royal assent.

By this bill, Sir, and the respectful circumstances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fullest and clearest proof of their zeal and affection for your majesty; for, in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons postponed all other business; and, with as much dispatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great, beyond example; great, beyond your majesty's highest expence.

But all this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that, under the direction of your majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign

will

will reflect dignity and honour upon his people.

The Speech made by the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on the 6th Day of June, previous to the Prorogation of Parliament.

Most gracious Sovereign,
Y OUR majesty's loyal commons have passed five money-bills for the service of the current year. The first, a bill for enabling your majesty to defray the extra expences of the American war, and to make good the deficiency of the gold coin; the second, for raising five millions by annuities, and for establishing a lottery; another, for laying a tax upon servants; another, for laying a tax upon auctions, and upon sales of estates, leases, and goods, by auction; and another, for granting to your majesty a certain sum out of the sinking fund, and for appropriating the several sums, granted in this session, to uses therein provided; to which your faithful commons, Sir, humbly desire your assent. Your commons, Sir, in the course of the present session, have applied themselves, with all possible diligence, to public business; and have done all in their power to procure the ease, happiness, and prosperity of your subjects; and have granted the most ample supplies. They have strengthened the hands of government, and have done all in their power to promote a speedy and effectual reconciliation with America. They are fully conscious how necessary it is, that the troubles in America should be amica-

bly settled; and that the legislative authority of this country should be established and maintained over all your majesty's dominions. Your faithful commons, firmly relying on your majesty's wisdom, and true regard to the interest of all your subjects, have strengthened your hands in the fullest manner; and have every right to expect, that your majesty's subjects in America will return to a proper sense of their duty; and that disorder and rebellion will give place to peace and reconciliation.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 6th of June, 1777.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE conclusion of the public business, and the consideration of the inconvenience which, I fear, you must have suffered by so long an attendance, call upon me to put an end to this session of parliament; but I cannot let you go into your several counties, without expressing my entire approbation of your conduct, and without thanking you for the unquestionable proofs you have given to me, and to all the world, of the continuance of your attachment to my person and government; of your clear discernment of the true interests of your country; and of your ready perseverance in maintaining the rights of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I cannot sufficiently thank you for the zeal and public spirit, with which you have granted the large and

and extraordinary supplies, which I have found myself under the necessity of asking of my faithful commons, for the service of the current year; and I must at the same time, acknowledge the particular marks of your affection to me, as well in enabling me to discharge the debts contracted on account of my civil government, as in making so considerable an augmentation to the civil list revenue, during my life.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I trust in the Divine Providence, that, by a well-concerted and vigorous exertion of the great force you have put into my hands, the operations of this campaign, by sea and land, will be blessed with such success, as may most effectually tend to the suppression of the rebellion in America, and to the re-establishment of that constitutional obedience which all the subjects of a free state owe to the authority of law.

Then the lord-chancellor, by his majesty's command, said:

My Lords and Gentlemen,
It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Monday, the 21st day of July next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday the 21st day of July next.

Dublin, Oct. 14, 1777.
The Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
HIS majesty has been graciously pleased to honour me with a most distinguished mark of

his confidence in appointing me to the government of Ireland: with ease he might have found an abler minister; with difficulty one more anxiously solicitous to justify his choice in meriting your approbation.

Influenced by that benevolent spirit which may justly command the affections of all his subjects, his instructions to me are to co-operate with his parliament in every measure which can promote the improvement, insure the happiness, and cherish the true interests of this kingdom.

The increase of his majesty's royal family, by the birth of a princess, cannot but be considered as a most pleasing and interesting event.

With very particular satisfaction I hear of the considerable progress which agriculture is daily making: and that the great source of the prosperity of this country, the linen manufacture, continues to flourish. No objects can more justly claim your consideration.

The educating the distressed children of the nation in sound principles, and the early training them to habits of useful labour, is of such importance, that I must not omit recommending the protestant charter-schools to your protection.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

That you may be perfectly apprized of the true state of your affairs, I have directed the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you; thoroughly confident that your wisdom, your zeal for the honour of his-majesty's government, and your attachment to the essential

essential welfare of this kingdom, will induce you to make such a provision as may be suitable to the present circumstances of your country, and the exigencies of the public service.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I decline making any professions relative to my future conduct: it is by the tenor of my actions that the character of my administration must be determined.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 16. The houses of lords and commons having resolved upon humble addresses to his majesty, the same, together with addresses from both houses to the lord-lieutenant, were this day presented to his excellency; and, with his excellency's answers, are as follow :

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty with the most dutiful and sincere professions of our unalterable loyalty and firm attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government.

We cannot but acknowledge the many and great blessings which we have enjoyed during your auspicious reign, and most humbly assure your majesty, that, animated as we are with the warmest sentiments of duty and gratitude, we shall ever be ready to shew our thank-

fulness to your majesty, by our zealous endeavours to support the honour and dignity of your crown, and to render your majesty's government happy and prosperous to yourself and your people.

We cannot but express to your majesty the just sense we have of your majesty's tender and paternal regard, in having been graciously pleased to commit the government of this kingdom to his Excellency John Earl of Buckinghamshire, who, in addition to his descent from ancestors eminent for their knowledge of, and attachment to, the laws and constitution of their country, hath those tried and approved abilities which afford us the pleasing prospect that his administration will be productive of the most solid advantages to this kingdom.

We beg leave to return our most grateful thanks to your majesty, for having been graciously pleased to give instructions to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, to co-operate with your parliament in every measure which can promote the improvement, insure the happiness, and cherish the true interests, of this kingdom.

The addition made to your majesty's domestic happiness by the birth of another princess, affords us the highest pleasure and satisfaction, as it adds strength to our hopes that there never will be wanting one descended from your majesty to transmit the blessings we enjoy to the latest posterity.

We have the strongest sense of the importance of those great objects recommended to us from the throne; the increase of agriculture, the prosperity of the linen manufacture, and the educating of the distressed

distressed children of the nation in sound principles, and training of them to habits of industry: and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that, in consideration of those great objects, and all others that may come before us, we will proceed with that attention and diligence which may best conduce to the true interest of this kingdom, and evince our ardent desire to preserve and obtain your majesty's favourable countenance and approbation.

W. Watts Gayer, } Cler. Parliament.
Edw. Gayer, }

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble Address of the Knights,
Citizens, and Burghers, in Parlia-
ment assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to assure your majesty that we have, from the fullest experience, the most grateful sense of that benevolent spirit which constantly governs your royal breast, and ought to command the affections of all your subjects.

Your majesty's gracious instructions to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to co-operate with the parliament in every measure that can promote the improvement, insure the happiness, and cherish the true interests, of this kingdom, are fresh instances of your majesty's paternal care of your people, and claim our warmest acknowledgements.

With the utmost sincerity we present our humble congratulations to

your majesty on the happy increase of your royal family by the birth of a princess; not only rejoicing in that most pleasing event, as interesting to your majesty's domestic happiness, but justly considering it as adding still further strength to your royal house, and to that succession on which the security of our religion and liberties so essentially depend.

We are deeply sensible of your majesty's goodness in the protection you have been graciously pleased to give to the agriculture of this kingdom, which cannot but engage the attention of all who wish to see their country flourish in the great articles of population, industry, and plenty.

Impressed with the warmest sense of the goodness with which those great objects of our national prosperity, the linen manufacture and the Protestant Charter Schools, have been recommended to us from the throne, we will not omit to take them into our most serious consideration; the one being justly to be regarded as the most certain source of wealth, and the other the most effectual means of reclaiming numbers of the people from sloth, ignorance and vice.

Animated no less by our attachment to the essential welfare of this kingdom, than by our zeal for the honour of your majesty's government, we will most chearfully make such a provision for the exigencies of the public service, as may be suitable to the present circumstances of our country.

We cannot do justice to the hopes we entertain of public satisfaction and happiness in the administration of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, without most thankfully

fully acknowledging your majesty's goodness in placing us under the government of a nobleman, whose abilities and integrity have been already so amply proved in a station of distinguished confidence and importance, and who, we are fully assured, will not fail, upon every occasion, to exert himself to the utmost, in fulfilling your majesty's most gracious intentions for the benefit and prosperity of the people committed to his care.

H. Alcock, } Cler. Dom. Com.
S. Carew, }

To his Excellency John Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,

May it please your Excellency,
WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, return your excellency our most sincere thanks for your speech from the throne to both houses of parliament.

We beg leave to congratulate your excellency upon your appointment to the government of this kingdom. His majesty, ever influenced by that benevolent spirit which must justly command the affections of all his people, could not have given us a more distinguished mark of his regard, than by placing at the head of this kingdom a nobleman eminent for his abilities and experience in public affairs, and descended from ancestors illustrious for their know-

ledge of the laws, and their attachment to the constitution. And we shall most cheerfully co-operate with your excellency in every measure which can promote the improvement, insure the happiness, and cherish the true interests, of this kingdom; satisfied, that the prosperity of his people is the great object of his majesty's wishes, and of your excellency's administration.

We rejoice with your excellency on the increase of his majesty's royal family, by the birth of another princess; as every such event gives us an additional security to our religion, laws, and liberty.

We cannot sufficiently acknowledge our gratitude to your excellency for the kind satisfaction you express on the improving state of agriculture, and of the linen manufactory in this country; objects of the highest consideration to us, and of which we shall exert our utmost efforts to promote and extend the progres.

The Charter Schools, so strongly recommended to us by your excellency, will ever be a principal object of our care; fully sensible of the importance of educating the distressed children of this nation in sound principles, and the early training them to habits of industry.

Thoroughly convinced of your excellency's good wishes and intentions for the service and prosperity of this country, we entertain the fullest and most pleasing confidence, that your excellency will have the satisfaction of finding your administration equally beneficial to us, and easy and honourable to yourself.

W. Watts Gayer, } Cler. Parliament.
Edw. Gayer, }

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S T A T E P A P E R S. [289]

His Excellency's Answer.

" My Lords,

" Your lordships will accept of
" my best thanks for this most
" obliging address. It will ever
" be my ambition to cultivate the
" favourable sentiments which you
" have conceived of me, by an
" invariable attention to the wel-
" fare of this kingdom."

*To his Excellency John Earl of Buck-
ingamshire, Lord Lieutenant
General, and General Governor,
of Ireland.*

*The humble Address of the Knights,
Citizens, and Burgesses, in Par-
liament assembled.*

May it please your Excellency,
WE, his majesty's most duti-
ful and loyal subjects, the
commons of Ireland in parliament
assembled, beg leave to return to
your excellency our sincere thanks
for your most excellent speech from
the throne.

Impressed at all times with the
deepest sense of his majesty's pa-
ternal regard to the welfare of his
subjects, we see it particularly in-
stanced in his appointing a chief
governor of this kingdom, whose
approved integrity, and whose cul-
tivated talents, are ornaments to
the station which he fills; and
whose descent from ancestors emi-
nent for their learning in the laws,
and their zeal for the preservation
of our constitution, presage pros-
perity to the country over which
he is to preside.

We observe with pleasure your
excellency's early attention to the
improvement of agriculture, and
the flourishing state of the linen
manufacture; we shall not fail on

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our part to pay them that regard,
which matters of such great im-
portance deserve.

As the educating the infant poor
in the protestant religion, and the
training them in habits of industry,
are objects of humanity as well as
of policy, we are doubly bound to
afford protection to the charter
schools of this kingdom.

We shall accurately consider the
state of the public accounts, and
clearly make such a provision
as may be suitable to the circum-
stances of this country, and the
exigencies of the public service.

We found our hopes of your
excellency's administration, upon
better omens than those of mere
assurances; and we are happy in
having a chief governor who
chuses rather to rest his character
upon his conduct than upon his
professions.

*H. Alcock, } Cler. Dom. Com.
S. Carew, }*

His Excellency's Answer.

" My warmest acknowledgments
" are due to the house of commons
" for their most pleasing and af-
" fectionate address. Their good
" opinion will ever be my favou-
" rite object. I flatter myself to
" merit the continuance of it, by
" equally, from duty and incli-
" nation, fulfilling his majesty's
" commands in promoting the
" prosperity of Ireland."

*Translation of a Memorial presented
by Sir Joseph Yorke to the States
General, on the 21st of February
1777.*

SINCE the commencement of
the unnatural rebellion, which
[7] has

has broke out in the English colonies against the legal constitution of the mother country, the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain has had frequent occasions to address himself to your high mightinesses, in the name of his master, to engage them, by all motives of national interest, of good neighbourhood, of friendship, and finally of treaties, to put a stop to the clandestine commerce which is carried on between their subjects and the rebels. If the measures which your high mightinesses have thought proper to take had been as efficacious as your assurances have been amicable, the undersigned would not now have been under the disagreeable necessity of bringing to the cognizance of your high mightinesses facts of the most serious nature.

The king hath hitherto borne, with unexampled patience, the irregular conduct of your subjects in their interested commerce at St. Eustatia, as also in America. His majesty has always flattered himself, that, in giving time to your high mightinesses to examine to the bottom this conduct, so irregular and so insufferable, they would have taken measures necessary to repress the abuse, to restrain their subjects within bounds, and to make them respect the rights and friendship of Great Britain.

The complaints which I have orders to make to their high mightinesses, are founded upon authentic documents annexed to this memorial, where their high mightinesses will see with astonishment,

and I doubt not at the same time with displeasure, that their new governor, Mr. Van Graaf, after having permitted an illicit commerce at St. Eustatia, hath passed his forgetfulness of his duty to the point of conniving at the Americans in their hostile equipments, and the permitting the seizure of an English vessel, by an American pirate, within cannon-shot of that island. And, in aggravation to the affront given to the English nation, and to all the powers of Europe, to return from the fortress of his government the salute of a rebel flag. In return to the amicable representations made by the president of the neighbouring island of St. Christopher, on these facts of notoriety, M. Van Graaf has answered in a manner the most vague and unsatisfactory, refusing to enter at all into the subject, or into an explanation of the matter with a member of his majesty's council of St. Christopher's, dispatched by the president for that purpose to St. Eustatia.

After exhibiting the documents annexed, nothing remains with me but to add, that the king who had read them, not with less surprize than indignation, hath ordered me to expressly demand of your high mightinesses, a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort Orange, at St. Eustatia, to the rebel ship, the dismissal and immediate recall of Governor Van Graaf, and to declare further, on the part of his majesty, that until that satisfaction is given, they are not to expect that his majesty will suffer himself to be amused by mere assurances, or that he will delay one instant

instant to take such measures as he shall think due to the interests and dignity of his crown.

(Signed) Jos. YORKE.
Given at the Hague; Feb. 21, 1777.

Memorial delivered by Order of the States General, to the Court of Great Britain, in answer to the above Memorial, by the Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of their High Mightinesses.

S I R E,

IT is with the most profound respect, that the under-signed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of their high mightinesses, in consequence of the orders which he hath received, hath the honour to represent to your majesty, that the memorial which your ambassador hath presented to their high mightinesses on the 21st of last month, has touched them very sensibly; that they find themselves obliged to make complaint of the reproaches which are contained in it, as if their high mightinesses were to be suspected of a will and intention of abusing your majesty by amicable assurances, which they have falsified by their acts; also of the menacing tone which reigns in that memorial; and appears to their high mightinesses too highly strained, beyond that which is the accorded and accustomed manner, and that ought to take place between two sovereign and independent powers, and especially between two neighbouring powers, which have been, of so many years continuance, united by the ties of good harmony and mutual friendship.

Their high mightinesses trust that on all occasions, and parti-

cularly in respect to the unfortunate troubles of your majesty's colonies in America, they have held a conduct towards your majesty, which has been expected from a good neighbour, and a friendly and affectionate power.

Their high mightinesses, Sire, hold your majesty's friendship in the highest estimation, and wish to do every thing in their power (as far as the honour and dignity of their state will permit them to go) to cultivate it still more and more; but they cannot at the same time, so far restrain themselves, as to disguise the very poignant sensation, with which that memorial hath impressed them.

It is alone from the motive of demonstrating to your majesty every possible regard, and to prove that their high mightinesses will not neglect any thing which may serve to investigate properly the truth of the facts, from whence the complaints made to them seem to have arisen, that they have resolved to institute an enquiry in a manner the most summary, and cut off all trainings of delay.

To this end their high mightinesses, passing by the ordinary and usual form in like cases, requiring a report in writing from their officers and others employed in their colonies, have already dispatched their orders to the commandant of St. Eustatia, to render himself within the republic without delay, and, as soon as possible, to give the necessary information of all that has passed within the island of St. Eustatia, and that which hath come to his knowledge relative to the American colonies and their vessels, during the period of his command, and to lay his con-
[7] 2 du^o.

duct, touching this matter, before the eyes of their high mightinesses.

The under-signed is charged by his orders to bring the information of this resolution to your majesty, as also that their high mightinesses make no difficulty of disavowing, in the most express manner, every act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers, or by any of their servants, to the vessels of your majesty's colonies of North-America, or that they may give hereafter, so far as those acts or marks of honour may be of such a nature, as that any can conclude from them that it is intended thereby, in the least degree, to recognize the independence of those colonies.

The under-signed is also farther charged to inform your majesty, that their high mightinesses have, in consequence, given their orders to their governors and councils in the West-Indies, and have enjoined them afresh, in the strongest terms, to observe exactly the placards and orders against the exportation of military stores to the American colonies of your majesty, and to see them executed most rigorously.

(Signed) WELDEREN.
Dated London, March 26, 1777.

*A Circular Letter of Lord Howe,
to the Governors of the American
Provinces.*

Eagle, off the Coast of the Province of Massachusetts-bay, June 20, 1776.

SIR,
BEING appointed commander in chief of the ships and vessels of his majesty's fleet employed

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in North-America, and having the honour to be by his majesty constituted one of his commissioners for restoring peace to his colonies, and for granting pardons to such of his subjects therein, as shall be duly solicitous to benefit by that effect of his gracious indulgence; I take the earliest opportunity to inform you of my arrival on the American coast, where my first object will be an early meeting with General Howe, whom his majesty hath been pleased to join with me in the said commission.

In the mean time, I have judged it expedient to issue the inclosed declaration, in order that all persons may have immediate information of his majesty's most gracious intentions: and I desire you will be pleased forthwith to cause the said declaration to be promulgated, in such manner, and in such places, within the province of as will render the same of the most public notoriety.

Affured of being favoured with your assistance in every measure for the speedy and effectual restoration of the public tranquillity, I am to request you will communicate, from time to time, such information as you may think will facilitate the attainment of that important object in the province over which you preside. I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Howe.

First Declaration.

By Richard Viscount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, one of the King's Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's

majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, &c.

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the last session of parliament, to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusett's-bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and for other purposes therein mentioned, it is enacted, that "it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons appointed and authorised by his majesty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons, by proclamation in his majesty's name, to declare any colony or province, colonies or provinces, or any county, town, port, district, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his majesty;" and that "from and after the issuing of any such proclamation in any of the aforesaid colonies or provinces, or if his majesty shall be graciously pleased to signify the same by his royal proclamation," then, from and after the issuing of such proclamation, the said "act, with respect to such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void." And whereas the king, desirous to deliver all his subjects from the calamities of war, and other oppressions which they now undergo; and to restore the said colonies to his protection and peace, as soon as the constitutional authority of government therein may be replaced, hath been graciously pleased, by letters patent under the great seal, dated the

6th day of May, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign, to nominate and appoint me, Richard Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; general of his forces in North America, and each of us, jointly and severally, to be his majesty's commissioner and commissioners for granting his free and general pardons to all those, who, in the tumult and disorder of the times, may have deviated from their just allegiance, and who are willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour: and also for declaring, in his majesty's name, any colony, province, county, town, port, district or place, to be at the peace of his majesty; I do therefore hereby declare, That due consideration shall be had to the meritorious services of all persons who shall aid and assist in restoring the public tranquillity in the said colonies, or in any part or parts thereof: that pardons shall be granted, dutiful representations received, and every suitable encouragement given for promoting such measures as shall be conducive to the establishment of legal government and peace, in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious purposes aforesaid.

Given on board his majesty's ship the Eagle, off the coasts of the province of Massachusett's-bay, the 20th of June, 1776.

HOWE.

Resolution of the Congress upon the above Declaration.

In Congress, July 19.

RÉSOLVED, That a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration

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claration they inclosed from Lord Howe to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Penn, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late Governors, sent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to Congress by Gen. Washington, be published in the several Gazettes, that the good people of these United States may be informed of what *nature* are the commissioners, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain has endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

Extract from the Journals.

(Signed)

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

A Second Declaration of the American Commissioners.

By Richard Viscount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; General of his Majesty's Forces in America, the King's Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, &c.

DECLARATION.

ALTHOUGH the Congress, whom the misguided Americans suffer to direct their opposition to a re-establishment of the constitutional government of these provinces, have disavowed every purpose of reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant and inadmissible claim of independence,

cy, the king's commissioners think fit to declare, that they are equally desirous to confer with his majesty's well-affected subjects upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing a permanent union with every colony, as a part of the British empire.

The king being most graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as may be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revision of all acts by which his subjects there may think themselves aggrieved, it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect seriously upon their present condition, and to judge for themselves, whether it be more consistent with their honour and happiness to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or to return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principles of the constitution.

Given at New-York, the 19th day of September, 1776.

Howe.

W. Howe.

By command of their excellencies,
HENRY STRACHEY.

Third Declaration.

By Richard Viscount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; General of his Majesty's Forces in America, the King's Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations

Plantations in North America, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by our declarations of the 20th of June and 19th of September last, in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious intentions towards his subjects in the colonies or provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusett's-bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, all persons speedily returning to their just allegiance were promised a free and general pardon, and were invited to accept, not only the blessings of peace, but a secure enjoyment of their liberties and properties, upon the true principles of the constitution: And whereas, notwithstanding the said declarations, and the example of many who have availed themselves of the assurances therein made, several bodies of armed men, in open contempt of his majesty's proffered clemency, do still continue their opposition to the establishment of legal government and peace; and divers other ill-disposed persons, pursuing their own ambitious purposes in the exercise of a lawless influence and power, are using fresh endeavours, by various arts and misrepresentations, to alienate the confidence and affection of his majesty's subjects; to defeat every plan of reconciliation, and to prolong the unnatural war between Great Britain and her colonies: Now, in order to the more effectual accomplishment of his majesty's most gracious intentions, and the speedy restoration of the public tranquillity; and duly consider-

ing the expediency of limiting the time within which such pardon as aforesaid shall be granted, and of specifying the terms upon which only the same shall and may be obtained: We do, in his majesty's name, and by virtue of the powers committed to us, hereby charge and command all persons whatsoever, who are assembled together in arms against his majesty's government, to disband themselves, and return to their dwelling, there to remain in a peaceable and quiet manner: And we also charge and command all such other persons as are assembled together under the name of General or Provincial Congresses, committees, conventions, or other associations, by whatever name or names known and distinguished, or who, under the colour of any authority from any such Congress, committee, convention and other association, take upon them to issue or execute any orders for levying money, raising troops, fitting out armed ships and vessels, imprisoning, or otherwise molesting his majesty's subjects, to desist and cease from all such treasonable actings and doings, and to relinquish all such usurped power and authority, so that peace may be restored, a speedy remission of past offences quiet the apprehensions of the guilty, and all the inhabitants of the said colonies be enabled to reap the benefit of his majesty's paternal goodness in the preservation of their property, the restoration of their commerce, and the security of their most valuable rights, under the just and moderate authority of the crown and parliament of Great Britain: And we do hereby declare, and make known to all men,

men, that every person, who within sixty days from the day of the date hereof shall appear before the governor or lieutenant-governor, or commander in chief, in any of his majesty's colonies or provinces aforesaid, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces in America, or any other officer in his majesty's service, having the command of any detachment or parties of his majesty's forces there, or before the admiral or commander in chief of his majesty's fleets, or any other officer commanding any of his majesty's ships of war, or any armed vessel in his majesty's service, within any of the ports, havens, creeks, or upon the coasts of America, and shall claim the benefit of this proclamation, and at the same time testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a declaration in the words following: "I, A. B. do promise and declare, that I will remain in a peaceable obedience to his majesty, and will not take up arms, nor encourage others to take up arms, in opposition to his authority," shall and may obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons and misprisions of treasons, by him heretofore committed or done, and of all forfeitures, attainders, and penalties for the same; and upon producing to us, or to either of us, a certificate of such his appearance and declaration, shall and may have and receive such pardon made and passed to him in due form.

Given at New-York, this thirteenth day of November, 1776.

HOWE.

W. HOWE.

By command of their excellencies,
HENRY STRACHEY.

*Copy of the free Pardon granted by
his Majesty's Commissioners, to
such Persons as claimed the Benefit
of the above Declarations.*

(L. S.) HOWE.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to all men to whom these presents shall come, greeting; know ye, that we of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, and out of the zeal and affection which we have and bear to our subjects, have pardoned, remised, and released, and by these presents do pardon, remise, and release to A. B. merchant of the town of in the province of otherwise called or by whatsoever

other name or surname, dignity, office, or place the said A. B. shall be reputed, called, or named, all and singular treasons, as well high treasons as petit treasons, rebellions, insurrections, and conspiracies, against us, our crown and dignity, and also all manner of misprisions of treason, or other misprisions by him the said A. B. at any time heretofore had, done, or perpetrated, whether the said A. B. of the premises, or any of them, should have been indicted, appealed, sued and adjudged, outlawed, convicted, condemned, or attainted, or not. We also pardon, remise, and release, by these presents, to the aforesaid A. B. all and singular judgments, pains of death, punishments, and issues and profits of all domains, manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, of him the said A. B. on occasion of the premises,

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miles, or any of them, by him the said A. B. forfeited or lost, and to us, by reason of the premises, due, belonging, or appertaining.

Given at New-York, this
day of December, 1776.

By command of his excellency,
HENRY STRACHEY.

American Oath of Allegiance.

In CONGRESS, October 21, 1776.

RESOLVED, That every officer who holds or shall hereafter hold a commission, or office from Congress, shall subscribe the following declaration, and take the following oath, viz.

"I _____, do acknowledge the thirteen united states of America, namely, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, independent, and sovereign states; and declare that the people thereof have no allegiance or obedience to George the third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend the said united states against the said king George the third, and his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors, assistants and adherents; and will serve the said united states in the office of _____, which I now hold, and in any other office which I may hereafter hold by their appointment, or under their authority, with fidelity and honour, and

according to the best of my skill and understanding.

So help me God.

By order of Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Proclamation by his Excellency George Washington, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the United States of America.

W H E R E A S several persons, inhabitants of the united states of America, influenced by imminent motives, intimidated by the threats of the enemy, or deluded by a proclamation issued the 30th of November last, by Lord and General Howe, stiled the king's commissioners for granting pardons, &c. (now at open war, and invading these states) have been so lost to the interest and welfare of their country, as to repair to the enemy, sign a declaration of fidelity, and in some instances have been compelled to take the oaths of allegiance, and engaged not to take up arms, or encourage others so to do, against the King of Great Britain: And whereas it has become necessary to distinguish between the friends of America and those of Great Britain, inhabitants of these States; and that every man who receives protection from, and as a subject of, any State (not being conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms) should stand ready to defend the same against hostile invasion; I do, therefore, in behalf of the United States, by virtue of the powers committed to me by Congress, hereby strictly command and require every person, having subscribed such declaration,

taken

taken such oaths, and accepted such protection and certificate, to repair to head quarters, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer of the Continental army, or militia, (until further provision can be made by civil authority) and there deliver up such protection, certificate and passports, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America: Nevertheless hereby granting full liberty to all such as prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemies lines. And I do hereby declare, that all and every person who may neglect or refuse to comply with this order, within thirty days from the date hereof, will be deemed adherents to the King of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies to these American states.

Given at Head Quarters,
Morris Town,
By his excellency's command,
ROBERT H. HARRISON, Sec.

*Papers relating to the Capitulation
of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's
Army at Saratoga.*

No. I.

October 13, 1777.

LIEUT. GEN. Burgoyne is desirous of sending a field-officer with a message to Major-General Gates, upon a matter of high moment to both armies. He requests to be informed at what hour General Gates will receive him to-morrow morning.

Major-General Gates.

A N S W E R.

MAJ. GEN. Gates will receive a field-officer from Lieutenant General Burgoyne at the advanced post of the army of the United States, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, from whence he will be conducted to head quarters.

Camp at Saratoga, 9 o'clock,
P. M. October 13, 1777.
Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

No. II.

Major Kingston delivered the following Message to Major-General Gates, October 14, 1777.

AFTER having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days, in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring to attack him.

He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation, he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state, and of war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms: should Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms, during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide.

No. III.

*Major-General Gates's Proposals,
together with Lieutenant-General
Burgoyne's Answers.*

I. GENERAL Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness,

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nets, &c. their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage, taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they can only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war.

Answer. Lieut. General Burgoyne's army, however reduced, will never admit that their retreat is cut off, while they have arms in their hands.

II. The officers and soldiers may keep the baggage belonging to them. The generals of the United States never permit individuals to be pillaged.

III. The troops under his Excellency General Burgoyne will be conducted by the most convenient route to New England, marching by easy marches, and sufficiently provided for by the way.

Answer. This article is answered by General Burgoyne's first proposal, which is here annexed.

IV. The officers will be admitted on parole; may wear their side arms, and will be treated with the liberality customary in Europe, so long as they, by proper behaviour, continue to deserve it; but those who are apprehended having broke their parole, as some British officers have done, must expect to be close confined.

Answer. There being no officer in this army under, or capable of being under, the description of breaking parole, this article needs no answer.

V. All public stores, artillery, arms, ammunition, carriages, horses, &c. &c. must be delivered to commissaries appointed to receive them.

Answer. All public stores may be delivered, arms excepted.

VI. These terms being agreed

to, and signed, the troops under his Excellency Gen. Burgoyne's command, may be drawn up in their encampments, where they will be ordered to ground their arms, and may thereupon be marched to the river-side, to be passed over in their way towards Bennington.

Answer. This article inadmissible in any extremity. Sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter.

VII. A cessation of arms to continue till sun-set, to receive General Burgoyne's answer.

(Signed) *Horatio Gates.*
Camp at Saratoga, Oct. 14, 1777.

No. IV.

MAJOR KINGSTON met the Adjutant-General of Major-General Gates's army, October the 14th, at sun-set, and delivered the following message:

If General Gates does not mean to recede from the 6th article, the treaty ends at once.

The army will, to a man, proceed to any act of desperation, rather than submit to that article.

The cessation of arms ends this evening.

No. V.

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's Proposals, together with Major-General Gates's Answers.

THE annexed answers being given to Major-General Gates's proposals, it remains for Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the army under his command, to state the following preliminary articles on their part.

I. The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war,

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war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, which will be left as hereafter regulated:

I. The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where their arms and artillery must be left.

II. A free passage to be granted to this army to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and a proper port to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order.

II. Agreed to for the port of Boston.

III. Should any cartel take place, by which this army, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as such exchange shall be made.

III. Agreed.

IV. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and other cattle; and no baggage to be molested or searched, the lieutenant-general giving his honour that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major-General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the security of this article.

IV. Agreed.

V. Upon the march the officers are not to be separated from their men; and in quarters the officers shall be lodged according to rank; and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll-calling, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

V. Agreed to, as far as circumstances will admit.

VI. There are various corps in this army composed of sailors,

bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army; and it is expected that those persons, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense, and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

VI. Agreed to in the fullest extent.

VII. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the establishment in Canada, to be permitted to return there.

VII. Agreed.

VIII. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captain, who shall be appointed by General Burgoyne to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great-Britain by the way of New-York, and the public faith to be engaged that these dispatches are not to be opened.

VIII. Agreed.

IX. The foregoing articles are to be considered only as preliminaries for framing a treaty, in the course of which others may arise to be considered by both parties; for which purpose it is proposed, that two officers of each army shall meet, and report their deliberations to their respective generals.

IX. This capitulation to be finished by two o'clock this day, and the troops march from their encampment at five, and be in readiness to move towards Boston to-morrow morning.

X. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne will send his deputy adjutant-general to receive Major-General Gates's answer to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

X. Com-

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X. Complied with.

(Signed) *Horatio Gates.*
Saratoga, Oct. 15, 1777.

No. VI.

THE eight first preliminary articles of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's proposals, and the 2d, 3d, and 4th of those of Major-General Gates of yesterday, being agreed to, the foundation of the proposed treaty is out of dispute: but the several subordinate articles and regulations necessarily springing from these preliminaries, and requiring explanation and precision between the parties, before a definitive treaty can be safely executed, a longer time than that mentioned by General Gates in his answer to the 9th article, becomes indispensably necessary. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne is willing to appoint two officers immediately to meet two others from Major-General Gates, to propound, discuss, and settle those subordinate articles, in order that the treaty, in due form, may be executed as soon as possible.

(Signed) *John Burgoyne.*
Camp at Saratoga, Oct. 15, 1777.

Major Kingston has authority to settle the place for a meeting of the officers proposed.

Settled by Major Kingston on the ground where Mr. Schuyler's house stood.

No. VII.

IN the course of the night, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has received intelligence that a considerable force has been detached from the army under the command of Major-General Gates, during the course of the negotiations of the treaty depending between them. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne conceives this, if true, to be not only

a violation of the cessation of arms, but subversive of the principles on which the treaty originated, viz. a great superiority of numbers in General Gates's army. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne therefore requires that two officers on his part be permitted to see that the strength of the forces now opposed to him is such as will convince him that no such detachments have been made; and that the same principle of superiority on which the treaty first began still exists.

16th October.

No. VIII.

Articles of Convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates.

I.

THE troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

II. A free passage to be granted the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great-Britain; on condition of not serving again in North-America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order.

III. Should any cartel take place by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as such exchange shall be made.

IV. The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march to Massa-

Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them.

V. The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by Major-General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

VI. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and other cattle; and no baggage to be molested or searched, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne giving his honour that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major-General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for a due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates.

VII. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll-callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

VIII. All corps whatever of General Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall

be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

IX. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies; and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there; they are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

X. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain by the way of New-York; and Major-General Gates engages the public faith that these dispatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their dispatches, and are to travel the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner.

XI. During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side-arms.

XII. Should the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their cloathing and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most manner, and

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and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

XIII. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock; and the troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

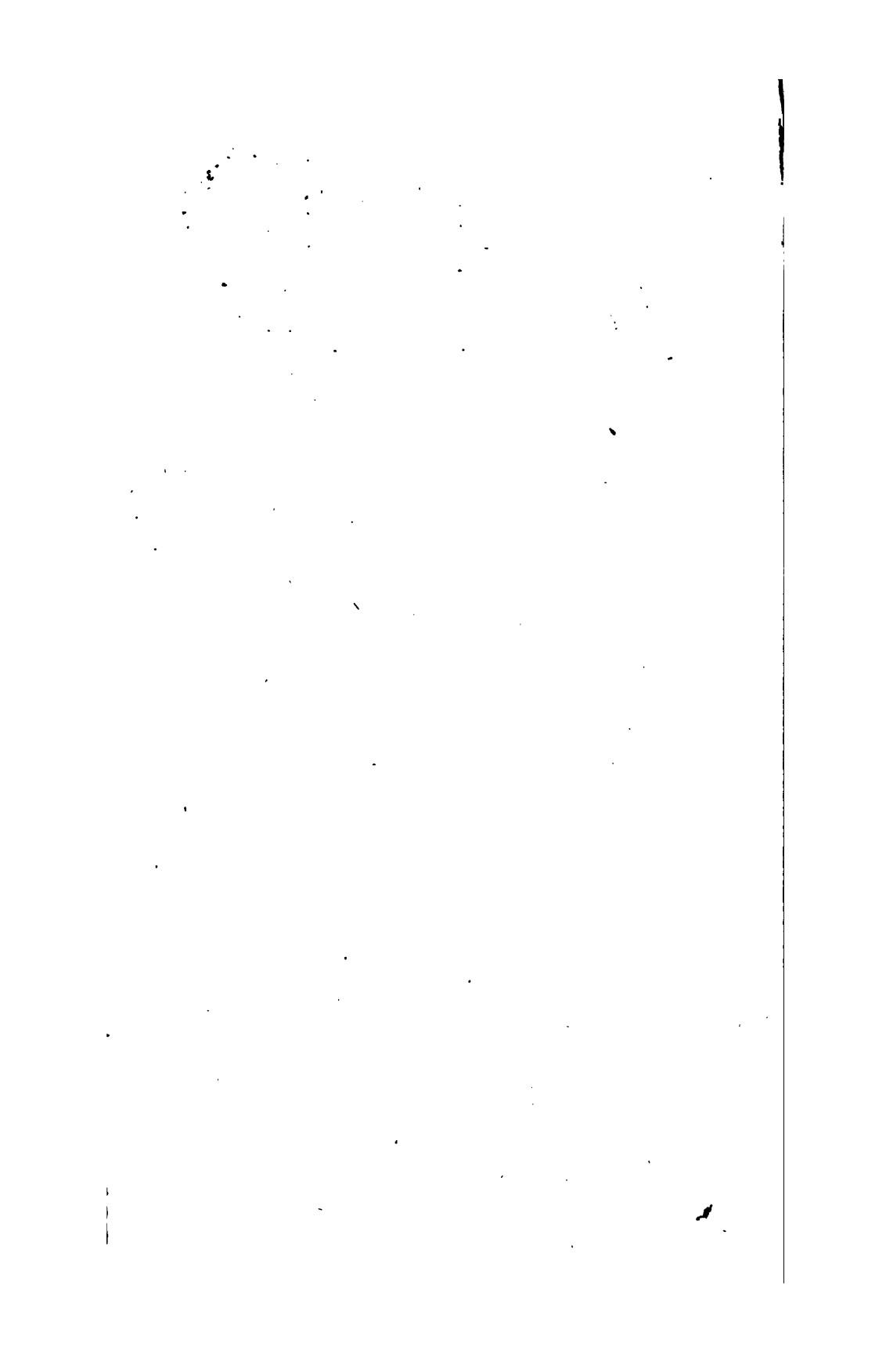
Horatio Gates, Maj. Gen.

*Camp at Saratoga,
Oct. 16, 1777.
(True Copy.)*

To prevent any doubts that might arise from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-General Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

Horatio Gates.

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CHARACTERS.

Extract from the Life of the late Lord Bishop of Rochester, written by himself.

DR. Pearce was the son of a distiller in High Holborn. He married Miss Adams, the daughter of a distiller in the same neighbourhood, with a considerable fortune, who lived with him fifty-two years in the highest degree of connubial happiness. He had had his education in Westminster School, where he was distinguished by his merit, and elected one of the King's scholars. In 1710; when he was twenty years old, he was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge. During the first years of his residence at the university, he sometimes amused himself with lighter compositions, some of which are inserted in the *Guardian* and *Spectator**. In 1716 he published his edition of *Ciceron de Oratore*, and, at the desire of a friend, luckily dedicated it to Lord Chief Justice Parker, (afterwards Earl of Macclesfield) to whom he was a stranger. This incident laid the foundation of his future fortune: for Lord Parker soon recommended him to Dr. Bentley, master of Trinity, to be

made one of the fellows; and the doctor consented to it on this condition, that his lordship would promise to *unmake* him again as soon as it lay in his power to give him a living. In 1717, Mr. Pearce was ordained at the age of twenty-seven; having taken time enough, as he thought, to attain a sufficient knowledge of the sacred office. In 1718, Lord Parker was appointed chancellor, and invited Mr. Pearce to live with him in his house, as chaplain. In 1719 he was instituted into the rectory of Stapleford Abbots, in Essex; and in 1720 into that of St. Bartholomew, behind the Royal Exchange, worth 400*l.* per ann. In 1723 the lord chancellor presented him to St. Martin's in the Fields. His majesty, who was then at Hanover, was applied to in favour of Dr. Claget, who was there along with him; and the doctor actually kissed hands upon the occasion; but the chancellor, upon the king's return, disputed the point, and was permitted to present Mr. Pearce.—Mr. Pearce soon attracted the notice and esteem of persons in the highest stations, and of the greatest abilities. Beside Lord Parker, he could reckon amongst his patrons

* An account of a *Silent Club*, *Guard.* No. 121. On *Quacks*, *Spect.* No. 572: On *Eloquence*, *Ibid.* No. 633.
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or friends, Lord Macclesfield, Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), Archbishop Potter, Lord Hardwicke, Sir Isaac Newton, and other illustrious personages. Queen Caroline (to whom he had been strongly recommended by Lady Sundon) frequently honoured him with her conversation at her drawing-room. ‘ One day at that place, she asked him, if he had read the pamphlets published by Dr. Stebbing and Mr. Foster, upon the sort of heretics meant by St. Paul, whom in *Titus* iii. 10, 11. he represents as *self-condemned*. Yes, madam, replied the doctor, *I have read all the pamphlets written by them on both sides of the question.*’ Well, said the queen, Which of the two do you think to be in the right?’ The doctor replied, ‘ I cannot say, madam, which of the two is in the right, but I think that both of them are in the wrong.’ She smiled, and said, ‘ Then what is your opinion of that text?’—‘ Madam,’ said the doctor, ‘ it would take up more time than your majesty can spare at this drawing-room, for me to give my opinion and the reasons of it; but if your majesty should be pleased to lay your commands upon me, you shall know my sentiments of the matter in the next sermon which I shall have the honour to preach before his majesty.’ *Pray do then,* said the queen; and Dr. Pearce accordingly made a sermon on that text; but the queen died a month before his term of preaching came about.—In 1724. the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him by Archbishop Wake. The same year he dedicated to his patron, the Earl of Macclesfield, his edition of *Longinus on the Sublime*,

with a new Latin version and notes. Longinus, whose name had been long known only to men of abstruse erudition, till he was introduced by his translator, Boileau, among the witty and the elegant, had ‘now, for about half a century, enjoyed great popularity, quoted by every poet and every critic, and deciding upon faults and beauties of style with authority contested only by *Huetius* and *Le Clerc*. But it was the opinion of Dr. Pearce, that something was wanting, which general admiration had not yet supplied.

The work was originally published by Robertellus and Manutius, who each used his own MSS. without the knowledge of the other’s undertaking. The texts of the two editions did not always agree, and to which the preference was due had not yet been decided. It had been four times translated into Latin; of the three former editions, that of Gabriel de Petra was considered as the best, and had accordingly been adopted by Tanaquillus Faber, and, I think, by our Langbane, in their editions. After Boileau’s translation, it was again translated into Latin by Tollius, but with such paraphrastical luxuriance, as seemed intended rather to display his own copiousness of diction, than to explain the original. Dr. Pearce undertook to adjust the readings, and, what was of far greater difficulty, to write a new Latin version, which should approach as near as is possible to the Greek, without violating its purity. To play round the text of an author, and to recede and approach as convenience may dictate, is no very arduous work, but to attend it without deviation, and measure

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sure step by step, requires at once vigour and caution. By what method he proceeded in this work, may be known from his preface and his notes. Some of his first thoughts were retracted in the subsequent editions: but Dr. Pearce has generally pleased the public, though he found it difficult to please himself.

When the church of St. Martin's was rebuilt, Dr. Pearce preached a sermon at the consecration, which he afterwards printed, and accompanied with an Essay on the Origin and Progress of Temples, traced from the rude stones, which were first used for altars, to the noble structure of Solomon, which he considers, as the first temple completely covered. In this dissertation he declares his conviction of the genuineness of the relation attributed to Sanchoniatho; and clears the difficulties which embarrass his opinion, by solutions drawn from the Newtonian chronology, of which only an abstract had been then published. Yet he does not think Sanchoniatho of much authority; but imputes his inaccuracy and barrenness to misinformation, and want of materials; and regards his book, as one of the venerable reliques of rude antiquity, and the work of one, who had missed the truth, rather than concealed it.

His observations on that building, which is called the temple of Dagon, removes part of the difficulty which presents itself in the narration of the manner in which Samson destroyed it.

In 1725, the Earl resigned the great seal, which resignation was soon followed with an impeachment by the house of commons sent up to the lords. The ground of

this impeachment, according to Dr. Pearce, was as follows: In the *South Sea year*, the money of the suitors in chancery was, by ancient custom, ordered by the lord chancellor to be paid to the master in chancery, in court. Mr. Dormer, one of the masters, had trafficked with the suitors money in 'Change-Alley, and, dying soon after, his accounts were found to be deficient 60,000l. This raised a violent commotion against Lord Macclesfield, especially among some who had personal resentments. The late king was then Prince of Wales, had lived separately from his father, as he had been ordered to do; and the education of his children had been detained from him, upon an opinion then given by ten of the twelve judges, called together, at his majesty's command, by Lord Macclesfield, upon this question; *Whether the education of the grandchildren did belong to their grandfather, as sovereign, or to the Prince of Wales as father?* The answer of the judges not being pleasing to the prince, he bore it with resentment; and when the house of commons took the affair of the suitors money into consideration, all the members who paid their court at Leicester-House joined in the outcry, and came into the impeachment. Lord Macclesfield was tried by the house of lords, was declared guilty, and received a severe judgment. He was fined 30,000l. (though he had before paid 10,000l. into chancery) upon an unpealed ancient statute, and directed to be confined in the Tower till the money should be paid; which was soon done. The king, fully sensible of the hardship of the sentence, and that it had

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been incurred chiefly on his account, informed Lord Macclesfield, that he intended to repay the sum out of his privy purse, as fast as he could spare the money. Within twelve months his lordship received 1000*l*. and the next year a message from Sir Robert Walpole informed him, that he might send for 2000*l.* more; but the king's death happening before his lordship sent for the latter sum, the former was all he ever received from the intended bounty of his gracious master.

Lord Macclesfield lived to the year 1732, and then died of a suppression of urine. Upon his asking if his physician was gone, and being told that he was, he replied, *And I am going too, but I will close my eye-lids myself*, which he did, and in a few moments expired. After several disappointments, the deanry of Winchester becoming vacant, Dr. Pearce was appointed dean in 1739,* and in the year 1744 he was elected prolocutor of the lower house of convocation for the province of Canterbury. His friends now began to think of him for the episcopal dignity, but Mr. Dean's language rather declined it. However, after several difficulties had been started and removed, he consented to accept the bishoprick

of Bangor, and promised Lord Hardwicke to "do it with a good grace." He accordingly made proper acknowledgments of the royal goodness, and was consecrated Feb. 12, 1748. Upon the declining state of health of Dr. Wilcocks, Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of Bangor was several times applied to by Archbishop Herring to accept of Rochester, and the deanry of Westminster, in exchange for Bangor, but the bishop then first signified his desire to obtain leave to resign and retire to a private life. His lordship, however, upon being pressed, suffered himself to be prevailed upon:—
 " My Lord, (said he to the Duke of Newcastle,) your grace offers these dignities to me in so generous and friendly a manner, that I promise you to accept them." Upon the death of Bishop Wilcocks he was accordingly promoted to the see of Rochester, and deanry of Westminster, in 1756. Bishop Sherlock died in 1761, and Lord Bath offered his interest for getting the Bishop of Rochester appointed to succeed him in the diocese of London, but the bishop told his lordship, that he had determined never to be Bishop of London, or Archbishop of Canterbury.

* As soon as it was known that the doctor was to be dean of Winchester, his friend Mr. Pulteney came to congratulate him on the occasion, and among other things which he then said, one was, "Dr. Pearce, though you may think that others, besides Sir Robert, have contributed to get you this dignity, yet you may depend upon it that he is all in all, and that you owe it entirely to his good-will towards you; and therefore as I am now so engaged in opposition to him, it may happen that some who are of our party, may, if there should be any opposition for members of Parliament at Winchester, prevail upon me to desire you to act there in assistance of some friend of ours, and Sir Robert, at the same time may ask your assistance in the election for a friend of his own, against one whom we recommend: I tell you, therefore, before-hand, that if you comply with my request, rather than Sir Robert's, to whom you are so very much obliged, I shall have the worse opinion of you."

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In the year 1763, his lordship being seventy-three years old, and finding himself less fit for the business of his stations as bishop and dean, informed his friend, Lord Bath, of his intention to resign both, and live in a retired manner upon his private fortune. Lord Bath undertook to acquaint his majesty, who named a day and hour, when the bishop was admitted alone into the closet. He told the king, that he wished to have some interval between the fatigues of business and eternity, and desired his majesty to consult proper persons about the propriety and legality of his resignation. In about two months the king informed him, that Lord Mansfield saw no objection, and that Lord Northington, who had been doubtful, on farther consideration, thought that the request might be complied with. Unfortunately for the bishop, Lord Bath applied for Bishop Newton to succeed. This alarmed the ministry, who thought that no dignities should be obtained but through their hands. They, therefore, opposed the resignation, and his majesty was informed that the bishops disliked the design. His majesty sent to him again, and at a third audience told him, that he must think no more of resigning. The bishop replied, "Sir, I am all duty and submission," and then retired.*

In 1768 he obtained leave to resign the deanry; in 1773 he lost his lady, and after some months of lingering decay, he died at Little Ealing, June 29, 1774. Being asked one day how he could live with so little nutriment? *I live* said he, *upon the recollection of an innocent and well-spent life, which is my only sustenance.*

This eminent prelate distinguished himself in every part of his life by the virtues proper to his station. His literary abilities, and application to sacred and philological learning, will appear by the following catalogue of his works. A Thanksgiving Sermon for Preservation from the Plague, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, 1723.—A Farewell Sermon, on quitting the Rectory of St. Bartholomew's, 1723-4.—A Sermon at the Consecration of St. Martin's Church, Oct. 20, 1726.—A Sermon on the Propagation of the Gospel, 1729-30.—A Sermon on Self-Murder, 1734.—A Sermon on the Subject of Charity-Schools, 1735.—Concio ad Synodum Cleri, in Provincia Cant. habita, 1741.—A Spittal Sermon, at St. Bride's, 1743.—A Sermon before the Lords, Jan. 30, 1748-9.—A Fast Sermon before the Lords in Westminster-Abbey, March 14, 1760.—A Jubilee Sermon, in ditto, June 3, 1760.—Three Letters in the Guardian and Spectator, mentioned

* With respect to the bishop's earnest desire of resigning his preferments, the editor (his lordship's chaplain) observes, that it gave occasion to much disquisition and conjecture. "As it could not be founded in avarice, it was sought in vanity, and Dr. Pearce was suspected as aspiring to the antiquated phrase of contempt of wealth, and desire of retirement." But the editor, who had the best opportunities of judging, seems strongly persuaded, that the intended resignation proceeded from the causes publicly alledged, a desire of dismissal from publick cares, and of opportunity for more continued study. Some of the bishop's manuscripts confirm him in this opinion.

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above.—Cicero de Oratore, 1716, 1732, 1746, 1771.—Longinus de Sublimitate, 1724, 1732, 1733, 1752, 1762, 1773.—Cicero de Officiis, 1745, 1761.—An Account of Trinity College, Cambridge, pamph. 1720. Epistolæ duæ de editione N. T. à Bentleio suscepitā, de corruptis epistolârum N. T. locis, &c. 1721.—A Letter to the clergy of the Church of England, on occasion of the Bishop of Rochester's commitment to the Tower, 2d ed. 1772.—The same in French.—Miracles of Jesu vindicated, 1727 and 1728.—A Review of the Text of Milton, 1733.—Two Letters against Dr. Middleton, occasioned by the doctor's letter to Waterland, on the publication of his treatise, intitled Scripture Vindicated, 3d edit. 1752.—

Since his death a commentary with notes on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles; together with a new translation of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, with a paraphrase and notes, have been published, with his life prefixed, from original MSS. in 2 vol. 4to. by his Lordship's chaplain, John Derby, A.M.

Extracts from the Life of David Hume, Esq; written by himself.

These Memoirs, as we are told in an Advertisement, by the Editor, were written by Mr. Hume, a few Months before his Death, and in a Codicil to his Will they are ordered to be prefixed to the next Edition of his Works. We flatter ourselves therefore that they will not be unacceptable to our Readers, as well

*on account of the Source from which they are derived, as forming an authentic Supplement to the Account we gave of the Author in our last Volume.**

IT is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity; therefore, I shall be short. It may be thought an instance of vanity that I pretend at all to write my life; but this narrative shall contain little more than the history of my writings; as, indeed, almost all my life has been spent in literary pursuits and occupations. The first success of most of my writings was not such as to be an object of vanity.

I was born the 26th of April 1711, old style, at Edinburgh.—I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments. My studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me; but I found an unsurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors which I was secretly devouring.

My very slender fortune, however, being unsuitable to this plan of life, and my health being a little broken by my ardent application, I was tempted or rather forced, to make a very feeble trial for entering into a more active scene of life. In 1734, I went to Bristol, with some recommen-

* Vid. Ann. Reg. Vol. xix. p. 27.

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dations to eminent merchants, but in a few months found that scene totally unsuitable to me. I went over to France with a view of prosecuting my studies in a country retreat; and I there laid that plan of life, which I have steadily and successfully pursued.

During my retreat in France, first at Reims, but chiefly at La Fleche, in Anjou, I composed my *Treatise of Human Nature*. After passing three years very agreeably in that country, I came over to London in 1737. In the end of 1738, I published my Treatise, and immediately went down to my mother and my brother, who lived at his country-house, and was employing himself very judiciously and successfully in the improvement of his fortune.

Never literary attempt was more unfortunate than my *Treatise of Human Nature*. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country. In 1742, I printed at Edinburgh the first part of my Essays: the work was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment.

In 1745, I received a letter from the Marquis of Annandale, inviting me to come and live with him in England; I found also, that the friends and family of that young nobleman were desirous of putting him under my care and direction, for the sake of his mind and health required it.—I lived with him a twelvemonth. My appointments

during that time made a considerable accession to my small fortune. I then received an invitation from General St. Clair to attend him as a secretary to his expedition, which was at first meant against Canada, but ended in an incursion on the coast of France. Next year, to wit, 1747, I received an invitation from the General to attend him in the same station in his military embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. I then wore the uniform of an officer, and was introduced at these courts as aide-de-camp to the General, along with Sir Harry Erskine and Captain Grant, now General Grant.

I had always entertained a notion that my want of success in publishing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I, therefore, cast the first part of that work anew in the Enquiry concerning Human Understanding, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the *Treatise of Human Nature*. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr. Middleton's Free Enquiry, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected. A new edition, which had been published at London of my Essays, moral and political, met not with a much better reception.

Such is the force of natural temper, that these disappointments made little or no impression on me. I went down in 1749, and lived two years with my brother at his country-house, for my mother was

now

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now dead. I there composed the second part of my Essays, which I called Political Discourses, and also my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which is another part of my Treatise that I cast anew. Meanwhile, my bookseller, A. Millar, informed me, that my former publications (all but the unfortunate Treatise) were beginning to be the subject of conversation; that the sale of them was gradually increasing, and that new editions were demanded. Answers by Reverends, and Right Reverends, came out two or three in a year; and I found, by Dr. Warburton's railing, that the books were beginning to be esteemed in good company.

In 1751, I removed from the country to the town, the true scene for a man of letters. In 1752, were published at Edinburgh, where I then lived, my Political Discourses, the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home. In the same year was published at London, my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals; which, in my own opinion (who ought not to judge on that subject), is of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world.

In 1762, the Faculty of Advocates chose me their Librarian, an office from which I received little or no emolument, but which gave me the command of a large library. I then formed the plan of writing the History of England; but being frightened with the notion of continuing a narrative through a period of 1700 years,

I commenced with the accession of the House of Stuart, an epoch when, I thought, the misrepresentations of faction began chiefly to take place. I was, I own, sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian, that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment: I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scotch, and Irish, Whig and Tory, churchman and sectary, free-thinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the Earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion. Mr. Millar told me, that in a twelve-month he sold only forty-five copies of it. I scarcely, indeed, heard of one man in the three kingdoms, considerable for rank or letters, that could endure the book. I must only except the primate of England, Dr. Herring, and the primate of Ireland, Dr. Stone, which seemed two odd exceptions. These dignified prelates separately sent me messages not to be disregarded.

I was, however, I confess, disengaged; and had not the war been at that time breaking out between France and England, I had certainly retired to some provincial town of the former kingdom, have changed my name, and never

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never more have returned to my native country. But as this scheme was not now practicable, and the subsequent volume was considerably advanced, I resolved to pick up courage and to persevere.

In this interval, I published at London my Natural History of Religion, along with some other small pieces: its public entry was rather obscure, except only that Dr. Hurd* wrote a pamphlet against it, with all the illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility, which distinguish the Warburtonian school. This pamphlet gave me some consolation for the otherwise indifferent reception of my performance.

In 1756, two years after the fall of the first volume, was published the second volume of my History, containing the period from the death of Charles I. till the Revolution. This performance happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brothers.

But though I had been taught by experience, that the Whig party were in possession of bestowing all places, both in the state and in literature, I was so little inclined to yield to their senseless clamour,

that in above a hundred alterations, which farther study, reading, or reflection engaged me to make in the reigns of the two first Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the Tory side. It is ridiculous to consider the English constitution before that period as a regular plan of liberty.

In 1759, I published my History of the House of Tudor. The clamour against this performance was almost equal to that against the History of the two first Stuarts. The reign of Elisabeth was particularly obnoxious. But I was now callous against the impressions of public folly, and continued very peaceably and contentedly in my retreat at Edinburgh, to finish, in two volumes, the more early part of the English History, which I gave to the public in 1761, with tolerable, and but tolerable, success.

The author being now, as he informs us, turned of fifty, and having obtained by the sale of his books, a competent and independent fortune, he retired into his native country of Scotland, determined never more to set his foot out of it. From this resolution he was however diverted by the Earl of Hertford, whom he attended, as

* The title of the pamphlet alluded to is—*Remarks on Mr. David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion. Addressed to the Rev. Dr. Warburton.* —Since the appearance of Mr. Hume's Life, a new edition of this performance has been published, with the following advertisement from the bookseller to the reader.

“The following is supposed to be the pamphlet referred to by the late Mr. David Hume, in page 21, of his Life, as being written by Dr. Hurd. Upon my applying to the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry for his permission to republish it, he very readily gave me his consent. His Lordship only added, he was sorry he could not take himself the whole infamy of the charge brought against him; but that he should hereafter, if he thought it worth his while, explain himself more particularly on that subject.”

T. CADELL.”

“Strand, March, 1777.

Secretary,

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Secretary, on his embassy to Paris in the year 1763. He gives us the following account of his reception in that capital.

Those who have not seen the strange effects of modes, will never imagine the reception I met with at Paris, from men and women of all ranks and stations. The more I resiled from their excessive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real satisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of sensible, knowing, and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the universe. I thought once of settling there for life.

I was appointed secretary to the embassy; and, in summer 1765, Lord Hertford left me, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I was *chargé d'affaires* till the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, towards the end of the year. In the beginning of 1766, I left Paris, and next summer went to Edinburgh with the same view as formerly, of burying myself in a philosophical retreat. I returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of Lord Hertford's friendship, than I left it; and I was desirous of trying what superfluity could produce, as I had formerly made an experiment of a competency. But, in 1767, I received from Mr. Conway an invitation to be Under-secretary; and this invitation, both the character of the person, and my connexions with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769, very opulent (for I possessed a revenue of 12000 a year), healthy, and though some-

what stricken in years, with the prospect of enjoying long my ease, and of seeing the increase of my reputation.

In spring, 1775, I was struck with a disorder in my bowels, which at first gave me no alarm, but has since, as I apprehend it, become mortal and incurable. I now reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and, what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline, of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits; insomuch, that were I to name the period of my life, which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this later period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gaiety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities; and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation's breaking out at last with additional lustre, I know that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present.

To conclude historically with my own character. I am, or rather was (for that is the style I must now use in speaking of myself, which emboldens me the more to speak my sentiment); I was, I say, a man of mild dispositions, of command of temper, of an open, social, and cheerful humour, capable of attachment, but little susceptible of enmity, and of great moderation in all my passions. Even my love of literary fame, my ruling passion, never soured my temper,

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per*, notwithstanding my frequent disappointments. My company was not unacceptable to the young and careless, as well as to the studious and literary ; and as I took a particular pleasure in the company of modest women, I had no reason to be displeased with the reception I met with from them. In a word, though most men any wise eminent, have found reason to complain of calumny, I never was touched, or even attacked by her baleful tooth : and though I wantonly exposed myself to the rage of both civil and religious factions, they seemed to be disarmed in my behalf of their wonted fury. My friends never had occasion to vindicate any one circumstance of my character and conduct : not but that the zealots, we may well suppose, would have been glad to invent and propagate any story to my disadvantage, but they could never find any which they thought would wear the face of probability. I cannot say there is no vanity in making this funeral oration of myself, but I hope it is not a misplaced one ; and this is a matter of fact which is easily cleared and ascertained.

The following Sketches are said to have been delineated by the Pen of

the late Lord Chesterfield. In order to make the Groupe complete, we have added that of Lord Chesterfield himself, by another Hand.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I Much question, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity : for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled and in a manner incorporated themselves with every thing that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered or more abused ; and his long power was probably the cause of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character, and therefore my picture of him will perhaps be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, cheerful, social ; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals, he had a coarse strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind, necessary for great good, or great

* The author of a letter addressed to Dr. Smith, and said to have been written by a dignitary of the University of Oxford, puts the following queries to him, upon this point—“ Was there, then, any suspicion in Scotland, that he might “ not, at times, be quite so composed and easy as he should have been ? Was “ there any particular book ever written against him, that shook his system to “ pieces about his ears, and reduced it to a heap of ruins, the success and eclat of “ which might be supposed to have hurt his mind, and to have affected his health ? “ Was there any author, whose name his friends never dared mention before him, “ and warned all strangers, that were introduced to him, against doing it, because “ he never failed, when by any accident it was done, to fly out into a transport of “ passion and swearing ? ”

mischief,

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mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his design of making a great fortune—He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu—He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory. He was both the best parliament man, and the ablest manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than eloquent speaker, he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the house, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success, which in a manner disgraced humanity*. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles the Second, but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion he brought it to that perfection which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which, (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose—A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed imprudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art: for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue and the love of one's country, calling them “*The chimerical school-boy flights of classical learning;*” declaring himself at the same time “*No Saint, no Spartan, no Reformer.*” He would frequently ask young fellows at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted—“*Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? You'll soon come off of that and grow wiser.*” And thus he was more dangerous to the morals, than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded that he meant no ill in his heart †.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so—He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest

* Notwithstanding his avowed principles of venality, it is a well known truth, that he sometimes checked the mean servility of members of Parliament, especially those from North Britain.

† Though it cannot be denied that Sir Robert ruled this country by general corruption, and succeeded in his plans of government by temporary expedients, there was a decency in his parliamentary conduct, of which we now lament the total absence.

Every motion during his administration was treated with respect, and every question discussed with seeming fairness and impartiality. The parliamentary chiefs were ranged on both sides, according to their supposed merit; and engaged each other, not only with vigour, but with that liberality which becomes citizens. There was then no rude and boisterous uproar, no boyish and tumultuous clamour of *The question!* *the question!*

kind,

kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession, which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people whose blasted characters reflected upon his own — He was loved by many, but respected by none, his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity — He was not vindictive, but on the contrary very placable to those who had injured him the most — His good humour, good nature, and beneficence in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history amongst the best Men, or the best Ministers, but much less ought it to be ranked amongst the worst *.

MR. PULTENEY.

MR. Pulteney was formed by nature for social and convivial pleasures — Resentment made him engage in business. He had thought himself slighted by Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he publicly avowed not only revenge, but utter destruction. He had lively and shining parts, a surpriz-

ing quickness of wit, and a happy turn to the most amusing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, ballads, odes, &c. in all which he had an uncommon facility. His compositions in that way were sometimes satirical, often licentious, but always full of wit.

He had a quick and clear conception of business, could equally detest and practise sophistry — he could state and explain the most intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmost perspicuity. His parts were rather above business, and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and restlessness of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and steadiness.

He was a most complete orator and debater in the house of commons, eloquent, entertaining, persuasive, strong, and pathetic, as occasion required; for he had arguments, wit, and *tears* at his command. His breast was the seat of all those passions which degrade our nature and disturb our reason. There they raged in a perpetual conflict; but Avarice, the meanest of them all, generally triumphed, ruled absolutely, and in many instances, which I forbear to mention, *most scandalously*.

* No minister was ever so liberal in rewarding his authors as W. It has been said, and I believe proved beyond contradiction, that Arnall, the writer of *The British Journal*, at different times, had sums from him to the amount of ten thousand pounds. The slightest favour from the press was sure to be amply rewarded; of which the following is a remarkable instance. — About the year 1735, several very severe pamphlets were published against Walpole's administration. Among the rest was a poem called — “Are these things so?” A young gentleman of about nineteen years of age, took it into his head to write an answer to this piece, to which he gave the title of, “Yes, they are?” Sir Robert was so pleased with it, though but a flimsy performance, that he sent for Roberts the publisher, and expressed his great satisfaction at the compliment paid him, by giving a bank note of a hundred pounds; which he desired the publisher to present with his compliments to the author.

His sudden passion was outrageous, but supported by great personal courage.

Nothing exceeded his ambition but his avarice ; they often accompany and are frequently and reciprocally the causes and the effects of each other, but the latter is always a clog upon the former.

He affected good nature and compassion, and perhaps his heart might feel the misfortunes and distresses of his fellow-creatures, but his hand was seldom or never stretched out to relieve them.

Though he was an able actor of truth and sincerity, he could occasionally lay them aside to serve the purposes of his ambition or avarice*.

He was once in the greatest point of view that I ever saw any subject in. When the opposition, of which he was the leader in the house of commons, prevailed at last against Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the crown and the people : the former imploring his protection, the latter

his support. In that critical moment his various jarring passions were in the highest ferment, and for a while suspended his ruling one. Sense of shame made him hesitate at turning courtier on a sudden, after having acted the patriot so long and with so much applause ; and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining, that he could by such a simulated and temporary self-denial preserve his popularity with the people, and his power at court†. He was mistaken in both. The king hated him almost as much for what he might have done, as for what he had done : and a motley ministry was formed who by no means desired his company.

The nation looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrank into insignificancy and an earldom.

He made several attempts afterwards to retrieve the popularity he had lost, but in vain—his situation would not allow it—he was fixed in the house of lords, that hospital of incurables, and his retreat to

* During the course of his long opposition, his animosity to Walpole led him (as we are informed by the ingenious reviewer of Lord Chesterfield's Characters) into that most scandalous practice of betraying private conversation. Mr. Pulteney, in a pamphlet which he published about the year 1735, and which contained a particular defence of himself again a ministerial work called "Scandal and Defamation displayed," declared upon his honour, that Sir Robert Walpole had spoken in very slight terms of the king when prince of Wales ; he quoted the very words which were supposed to be made use of by the minister, and which conveyed great marks of contempt. However, he lost his aim ; for the king generously took the part of the person betrayed ; and, to shew his indignation against the informer, with his own hand he struck his name from the list of privy counsellors.

† We are told by the above-mentioned author, that the following accident, which happened during the adjournment of parliament, might possibly accelerate his determination :—As he was riding in Hyde Park, he had an accidental fall from his horse, which gave him a slight bruise ; the king happened to come by at the very instant, and being informed of Mr. Pulteney's misfortune, he immediately went to him, took him into his coach, and shewed such concern for him, as could not but soothe and affect the mind of a person so publicly distinguished by his sovereign at so critical a time.

popularity was cut off—For the confidence of the people, when once great, and once lost, is never to be regained—He lived afterwards in retirement with the wretched comfort of Horace's miser.

Populus me sibilat, &c.♦

I may perhaps be suspected to have given too strong colouring to some features of this portrait; but I solemnly protest, that I have drawn it conscientiously and to the best of my knowledge, from very long acquaintance with and observation of the original. Nay, I have rather softened than heightened the colouring.†

LORD HARDWICKE.

L ORD Hardwicke was perhaps the greatest magistrate that this country ever had. He presided in the court of chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reversed, nor the justness of them ever questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption—a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion!

* Upon the death of George the Second, the E. of B. made a tender of his services to his present majesty.—The offer was accepted, so far as to the hearing of his advice; but the Great Person knew his character was so disagreeable to all parties, and so odious to the people in general, that he could not think of giving him any post in the administration. It is affirmed with great confidence, that whenever his opinion was asked relating to state-matters, he constantly gave it against the popular side of the question.

† In justice to the noble earl's memory, we cannot pass by this opportunity of submitting to the reader's judgment another character, differing in many respects from that which my Lord Chesterfield has given us of him, and drawn by a person of sound judgment, strict veracity, and who enjoyed a long and intimate connection with him, Dr. Z. Pearce, late Bishop of Rochester.

“ William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, descended from a very ancient family, (the De Pultneys, who, I think, came to England with the Norman Duke, William,) was, by inheritance and prudent economy, possessed of a very large estate, out of which he yearly bestowed, contrary to the opinion of those who were less acquainted with him, more than a tenth part of his whole income. He was a firm friend to the established religion of his country, and free from all the vices of the age, even in his youth. He constantly attended the public worship of God, and all the offices of it, in his parish church, while his health permitted it; and when his great age and infirmities prevented him from so doing, he supplied that defect by daily reading over the morning-service of the church before he came out of his bedchamber. That he had quick and lively parts, a fine head, and sound judgment, the many things which he published occasionally, sufficiently testify. He had twice, chiefly by his own personal weight, overturned the ministry; viz. in 1741 and 1745; though he kept not in power long at each of those great events, which was occasioned by his administration; and by some other means less creditable to his associates than to himself, which the writer of this account is well acquainted with. The Bishop of Rochester had lived near forty years in friendship with him; and for a great part of those years in an intimacy with him.”

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He had great and clear parts; understood, loved, and cultivated the belles lettres.

He was an agreeable, eloquent speaker in parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to mistake, or at least to seem to mistake their own talents, in hopes perhaps of misleading others to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himself more upon being a great minister of state, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great magistrate, which he certainly was.

All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper départment. The great and shining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the course of thirty years, and by still greater parsimony, he acquired an immense fortune, and established his numerous family in profitable posts, and advantageous alliances*.

Though he had been solicitor and attorney-general, he was by no means what is called a prerogative lawyer—he loved the constitution, and maintained the just prerogative of the crown, but without stretching it to the oppression of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent, and when by his former employments he was obliged to prosecute state-criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the Blood-hounds of the crown.

He was a cheerful and instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained with any vice (avarice excepted) a very great Magistrate, but by no means a great Minister.

M^r. Fox.

M^r. Henry Fox was a younger brother of the lowest extraction †. His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a considerable fortune, *some how or other*, and left him a fair younger brother's portion, which

* The Marriage Act, says the reviewer, was a thing of his own creating, and which he espoused with all his might and vigour: it met with great opposition in the house of commons, and was thought, by all impartial people, a very improper law in a commercial country, where all possible methods should be taken to encourage a legal commerce between the sexes. However, by his great power and influence, the chancellor carried this bill triumphantly through both houses. Those who pretended to know his real intentions gave out, that, in the prosecution of this business, he had nothing so much at heart as the securing his own children from rash and imprudent marriages.

† The editor of the Characters has corrected this mistake of Lord Chesterfield's, and has given us the following account of Mr. Fox's family.—Mr. Henry Fox was the second surviving son of Sir Stephen Fox. Sir Stephen was one of the younger of many children, and his father, Mr. William Fox, was a gentleman of the county of Wilts, possessing a landed estate of about 300l. a year; which estate, upon a moderate computation, must have been at one time

which he soon spent in the common vices of youth, gaming included. This obliged him to travel for some time. While abroad, he met with a very salacious Englishwoman, whose liberality retrieved his fortune, with several circumstances, more to the honour of his vigour than his morals.

When he returned, though by education a Jacobite, he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ablest *clerks*. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality, and was too unweary in ridiculing and exploding them.

He had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business, great skill in managing, that is, in corrupting the house of commons, and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to himself. He promoted, encouraged, and practised their vices; he gratified their avarice, or supplied their profusion. He wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised, and most liberally re-

warded their attachment and dependence. By these and all other means that can be imagined, he made himself many personal friends and political dependants.

He was a most disagreeable speaker in parliament, inelegant in his language, hesitating and ungraceful in his elocution, but skillful in discerning the temper of the house, and in knowing when and how to press or to yield.

A constant good humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life, and in all domestic relations he was good-natured.

As he advanced in life, his ambition became subservient to his avarice. His early profusion and dissipation had made him feel the many inconveniences of want, and, as it often happens, carried him to the contrary, and worse extreme of corruption and rapine. *Rem, quo-cunque modo rem*, became his maxim, which he observed (I will not say religiously and scrupulously) but invariably and shamefully.

in that family from father to son at least two hundred years. The present Earl of Ilchester, heir and elder branch of that family, is the present possessor of it. It is at a place called Farley, where the family has been buried, as appears by their monuments in that church, authenticating the facts here advanced. Sir Stephen Fox was in his earliest youth recommended as a companion to King Charles the Second, then Prince of Wales, by the Earl of Northumberland, who protected and in some sort educated this young person, the son of his friend and neighbour; as was very customary with the great noblemen of that time, who had usually in their houses some of the sons of the lower nobility and of the gentry to be brought up under their care and inspection. Mr. Fox, afterwards Sir Stephen, accompanied his majesty during his exile, and besides receiving distinguishing marks of the royal favour abroad, upon his return to England, and at the restoration, he was made privy counsellor, paymaster of the army, and was at one time first commissioner of the treasury. Sir Stephen had by his first lady two daughters, the one married to the Earl of Northampton, the other to the Lord Cornwallis—two families the most unlikely to have condescended to mean or unsuitable alliances. He died at a very advanced age, leaving two sons, who were afterwards the Earl of Ilchester and Lord Holland, and one daughter, the mother of the present Lord Digby.

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He had not the least notion of, or regard for the public good or the constitution, but despised those cares, as the objects of narrow minds, or the pretences of interested ones. And he lived, as Brutus died, calling Virtue *only a name*.

The following traits of Mr. Fox's character are given us by the judicious writer of Lord Chesterfield's Characters reviewed, and will serve to make the resemblance more perfect and complete.

WHEN he applied to business, he proved himself equal to any employment. He studied his great master Walpole with success; drew from him what was useful in his ministerial capacity; and copied him in the joyous part of his character, which best suited his future views of gaining friends. He softened the broad staring mirth and licentious festivity of Walpole into a conviviality more agreeable, into wit more relishing, and gaiety more palatable.

George the Second had often experienced his abilities, as well as a constant and ready submission to his will. In a very critical time, he trusted to him the management of his business in the house of commons. Fox was so far intoxicated with royal favour, that his natural caution forsook him; he sent cards to the members of parliament, importing, that the king had trusted to his care the management of the house of commons.—The glaring absurdity of such a behaviour disgusted everybody;—his power was immediately lost, and he was obliged to re-

sign his place. His influence with his master continued still as great as ever, and he gained a more lucrative employment under a minister who hated him.

His art in managing elections was superior:—a late contest for the county of Oxford will not be soon forgotten, nor his skill in managing for the party he espoused. He knew beyond all men the true method of gaining votes. A tradesman in the Strand, who has since figured in Germany as a commissary, was well rewarded for understanding and obeying the commands of his friend and patron, upon this and other similar occasions.

Fox was an excellent husband, a most indulgent father, a kind master, a courteous neighbour; and, what the world in general has little known, but which I now tell them on the best authority, a man whose charities demonstrated that he possessed in abundance the milk of human kindness.

MR. PITT.

MR. Pitt owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter, in others, too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector

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to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts—but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations of youth, for so early as at the age of fifteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure, which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge.* Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was perhaps the principal cause of its splendour.

His private life was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones.

* Notwithstanding what is here said by the noble author, it is well known that Pitt, when a boy at Eton, was the pride and boast of the school: Dean Bland, the master, valued himself upon having so bright a scholar: the old man showed him to his friends, and to every body, as a prodigy.

† It is said that Sir R. Walpole scarce heard the sound of his voice in the house of commons, but he was alarmed and thunderstruck; he told his friends that he would be glad, at any rate, to muzzle that terrible cornet of horse. The minister would have promoted his rise in the army, provided he would have given up his seat in parliament.

‡ Hume Campbell and Lord Mansfield.

|| Demosthenes was his great model in speaking; and we are told that he translated some of his orations, by way of exercise, several times over. But though he was delighted with the manner of this orator, who united a wonderful power of expression to the most forcible method of reasoning, yet he was equally master of the pleasing, diffuse, and passionate style of the Roman orator.

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he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unsuspected, champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon King George the Second, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state. In this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot, or the minister, to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the king more effectually in his most unwarrantable electoral views, than any former minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public, whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America—So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make a proper use of them, but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country: notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives, upon his voluntary resignation of the seals in the first year of the present

king, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it.—However, it must be acknowledged, that he had those qualities which none but a Great Man can have, with a mixture of some of those failings, which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

The following Character appears to have been drawn in the Year 1759, nineteen Years after Lord Scarborough's Death. It is more finished than any of those which we have already exhibited, and furnishes convincing proof of the noble Author's Discernment and Observation.

LORD SCARBOROUGH.

IN drawing the character of Lord Scarborough, I will be strictly upon my guard against the partiality of that intimate and unreserved friendship, in which we lived for more than twenty years; to which friendship, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. If this may be suspected to have biased my judgment, it must at the same time be allowed to have informed it; for the most secret movements of his soul, were, without disguise, communicated to me only. However, I will rather lower than heighten the colouring; I will mark the shades, and draw a credible rather than an exact likeness.

He had a very good person, rather above the middle size; a handsome face, and, when he was cheerful, the most engaging countenance imaginable; when grave, which

which he was oftenest, the most respectable one; he had in the highest degree the air, manners, and address of a man of quality; politeness with ease, and dignity without pride.

Bred in camps and courts, it cannot be supposed, he was untainted with the fashionable vices of those warm climates; but, if I may be allowed the expression, he dignified them, instead of their degrading him into any mean or indecent action. He had a good degree of classical, and a great one of modern knowledge, with a just, and at the same time a delicate taste.

In his common expences he was liberal within bounds, but in his charities and bounties, he had none. I have known them put him to some present inconveniences.

He was a strong, but not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of an unsuspected virtue, that it would sometimes shame vice into decency at least.

He was not only offered but pressed to accept the post of secretary of state, but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it; but he told me that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it, and that moreover he knew very well that in those ministerial employments the course of business made it necessary to do

many hard things, and some unjust ones, which could only be authorized by the jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention: a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection I cannot affirm, but I suspect that he will be the last.

He was a true constitutional and yet practical patriot; a sincere lover, and a zealous assertor of the natural, civil and religious rights of his country.

But he would not quarrel with the crown for a few stretches of the prerogative; nor with the people for some unwary ebullitions of liberty; nor with any one for difference of opinion in speculative points. He considered the constitution in the aggregate, and only watched that no one part of it should preponderate too much.

His moral character was so pure, that, if one may say of that imperfect creature man, what a celebrated historian says of Scipio, *nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit*, I sincerely think (I had almost said I know) one might say it with great truth of him, one single instance excepted, which shall be mentioned.

He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honour and generosity, the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion; and he was naturally warm; he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness without a sudden indignation; nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow-creature, without melting into softness, and endeavouring to relieve them.

This part of his character was so universally known, that our best

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and most satirical English poet says,

When I confess there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodness, Scar'brough
need I name?

He had not the least pride of birth and rank; that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched mistaken succedaneum of merit: but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deserve a good one. And such was his diffidence upon that subject, that he never could be persuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did. For surely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more universal esteem; even knaves respected him, and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I protest I never knew one) they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just.

He was too subject to sudden gusts of passion, but they never hurried him into any illiberal or indecent expression or action; so invincibly habitual to him were good nature and good manners. But if ever any word happened to fall from him in warmth, which upon subsequent reflection he himself thought too strong, he was never easy till he had made more than sufficient atonement for it.

He had a most unfortunate, I will call it a most fatal kind of melancholy in his nature, which often made him both absent and silent in company, but never more so or four. At other times he was a cheerful and agreeable companion; but, conscious, that he was not always so, he avoided com-

pany too much, and was too often alone, giving way to a train of gloomy reflections.

His constitution, which was never robust, broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two severe strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which considerably affected his body and his mind.

I desire that this may not be looked upon as a full and finished character, writ for the sake of writing it; but as my solemn deposit of the truth to the best of my knowledge. I owed this small tribute of justice, such as it is, to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and of the dearest friend I ever had.

[The act of violence which this noble lord committed on himself, in 1740, is thus related by the editor:]

"The morning of the day on which he accomplished this resolution, he paid a long visit to Lord Chesterfield, and opened himself to him with great earnestness on many subjects. As he appeared somewhat discomposed, his friend pressed him to stay and dine with him, which he refused, but tenderly embraced him at parting. It happened in the course of the conversation, that something was spoken of which related to Sir Wm. Temple's negotiations, when the two friends not agreeing about the circumstances, Lord Chesterfield, whose memory was at all times remarkably good, referred Ld. S. to the page of Sir W.'s memoirs, where the matter was mentioned. After his lordship's death the book was found open at that very page, several other books being piled about him, with the pistol in his mouth. Thus he seems, in his last

last moments, to have been still attentive to his friend, and desirous that he should know he was so. This fatal catastrophe was universally lamented, tenderly censured, and entirely execrated by those who considered the unaccountable effects of natural evils upon the human mind. But what must Lord Chesterfield's situation have been upon his being informed of this unfortunate event? His excellent lady does not, even now, without the greatest emotion, speak of the manner in which his lordship, on her return home at night, acquainted her with his loss of that amiable nobleman; she ever after lamented that he did not detain him at his house, saying, he might perhaps have been saved, if he had not been left to himself that day.

EARL CHESTERFIELD.

THE character of Lord Chesterfield is generally well understood.—It is agreed on all hands that he was a discreet Clodius; a sober duke of Wharton—born with inferior abilities to those which distinguished that unfortunate nobleman, but with the same passion for universal admiration, he was master of more prudence and discretion.

He formed himself very early to make a distinguished figure in the state. Impelled by his ruling passion, he applied himself assiduously to studies which might render him an accomplished speaker, an able negotiator, a counsellor in the cabinet—to sum up all, one equal to any civil employment. There cannot be a doubt that he aimed at acquiring the office of prime mi-

nister; or at least the power of appointing the person whom he approved to that post. But the superior abilities of Walpole disappointed his ambition.

His situation was flattering:—When young, he was placed about the person of George the Second, when Prince of Wales; he did not reflect, that those who are in the most elevated station have no idea of friendship independent of a most implicit, not to say *abject*, resignation to their will. His marriage with the Duchess of Kendal's niece, so far from advancing his interest at court, occasioned a litigation between him and his sovereign.

He understood what is called the balance of Europe, or the several interests and claims of its princes, perfectly. This science, with his polished address, qualified him to be one of the ablest negotiators of his time. He made himself acquainted with the characters of all the great men in the several courts of Europe; he knew their intrigues, their attachments, and their foibles; and was enabled from thence to counteract all their political machinations.

I am persuaded that his being sent on his first embassy to Holland, was rather an honourable exile than a mark of favour; he would in all probability have been troublesome at home. Walpole did not envy him the honour of shining among the Dutch, and eclipsing a French envoy by his superior adroitness.

As a speaker, he is justly celebrated for a certain accuracy, as well as brilliancy, of style; for pointed wit, gay humour, and sportive facetiousness. However,

his admirers must confess, that he never could reach the sublime in oratory. Of all the great speakers ancient and modern, he chiefly resembled Hyperides.* He frequently strove to disarm his adversaries by the most profuse commendation of their abilities; but, what is certainly very reprehensible in him, while he bestowed unlimited commendations on the ministers whom he opposed, he threw out the most stinging reflections on the prince, as if he had forgotten that the servants of the crown are alone accountable for errors in government.

The most applauded, as well as unexceptionable part of his public character, was his administration of Ireland as a viceroy, he shone with great lustre, and was universally approved; perhaps he was indebted to this singular good fortune, from his being called to the office of secretary of state, at the expiration of his first year's government of that kingdom.

In private life, we should naturally pronounce a Chesterfield the most satisfied of all men: easy, gay, polite, and master of his passions, what could such a man want, to render his happiness complete?—The same passion for admiration, which actuated him in public, accompanied him through every walk of life.

" Tho' wondering senates hung on
" all he spoke;
" The club must hail him master of
" the joke."

* —Habet moratum dicendi genus cum suavitate jucundum, lenites dulcedine conditum; et innumeræ sunt in illo urbanitates, natus maxime forensis, festivitas liberalis, victrix in ironiis facilitas, joci non illepidi et minime inepti, sed rei inherentes, felixque diafrymus, & multa vis comica, aculeosque cum joco scapum bene attingente, & non imitabilis venustas in his ornatis.

Longinus de Hyperide, p. 187. ed. Pearce.
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When he had reached one goal, he panted for another. He aimed at universality of character: he wished to be esteemed the patron of learned men; but wanted generosity of soul to merit that title.

He espoused and patronized a great genius of the age, who addressed an admirable plan of his Dictionary to him; but the capriciousness and instability of his mind, prevented his gaining that honour he most ardently wished for, a dedication of the work itself. A letter written to him on that memorable occasion by the author, who despised his meanness, and disdained to gratify his vanity, will live for ever in the memory of those who have been favoured with the recital of it.

It is impossible to reconcile to any principles of reason and morality, the shocking advice which he gives his son, "to treat all women alike, and to suppose them all equally liable to seduction." Was then his lordship so successful a lover? Was his address so formidable, that no lady could resist him? His lordship, I am afraid, was not wholly free from affectation. Great wits, and men who court applause from all the world, are not generally the most passionate lovers!

An Account of the Life of the late Mr. Harrison.

M R. John Harrison (a most accurate mechanic, the cele-

brated inventor and maker of the famous *Time keeper* for ascertaining the longitude at sea, and also of the compound, or, as it is commonly called, the gridiron pendulum) was born at Foulby, in the parish of Wragby, near Pontefract in Yorkshire, in 1693. The vigor of his natural abilities, if not even strengthened by the want of education, which confined his attention to few objects, at least amply compensated the deficiencies of it; as fully appeared from the astonishing progress he made in that branch of mechanics to which he devoted himself. His father was a carpenter, in which profession the son assisted; occasionally also, according to the miscellaneous practice of country artists, surveying land, and repairing clocks and watches. He was, from his early childhood, attached to any machinery moving by wheels, as appeared while he lay sick of the small-pox, about the 6th year of his age; when he had a watch placed open upon his pillow, to amuse himself by contemplating on the movement. In 1700, he removed with his father to Barrow in Lincolnshire, where, though his opportunities of acquiring knowledge were very few, he eagerly improved every incident from which he might collect information; frequently employing all, or great part of his nights, in writing, or drawing: and he always acknowledged his obligations to a clergyman who came every Sunday to officiate in the neighbourhood, who lent him a MS. copy of professor Saunderson's Lectures; which he carefully and neatly transcribed, with all the diagrams. His native genius exerted itself superior to these

solitary disadvantages; for in the year 1726, he had constructed two clocks, mostly of wood, in which he applied the escapement and compound pendulum of his own invention: these surpassed every thing then made, scarcely erring a second in a month. In 1728, he came up to London with the drawings of a machine for determining the longitude at sea; in expectation of being enabled to execute one by the board of longitude. Upon application to Dr. Halley, he referred him to Mr. George Graham; who discovering he had uncommon merit, advised him to make his machine before he applied to the board of longitude. He returned home to perform this task, and in 1735, came to London again with his *first machine*; with which he was sent to Lisbon the next year for a trial of its properties. In this short voyage he corrected the dead reckoning about a degree and a half, a success that proved the means of his receiving both public and private encouragement. About the year 1739, he completed his *second machine*, of a construction much more simple than the former, and which answered much better: this, though not sent to sea, recommended Mr. Harrison yet stronger to the patronage of his private friends and of the public. His *third machine*, which he produced in 1749, was still less complicated than the second, and superior in accuracy, as erring only three or four seconds in a week. This he conceived to be the ne plus ultra of his attempts; but in an endeavour to improve pocket watches, he found the principles he applied, to surpass his expectations so much, as to encourage

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courage him to make his *fourth Time-keeper*, which is in the form of a pocket watch, about six inches in diameter. With this Time-keeper his son made two voyages; the one to Jamaica, and the other to Barbadoes; in both which experiments it corrected the longitude within the nearest limits required by the act of the 12th of Queen Anne: and the inventor therefore, at different times, though not without infinite trouble, received the proposed reward of £20,000*l.* These four machines were given up to the board of longitude. The three former were not of any use, as all the advantages gained by making them, were comprehended in the last: they were worthy however of being carefully preserved as mechanical curiosities, in which might be traced the gradations of ingenuity, executed with the most delicate workmanship; whereas they now lie totally neglected, in the royal observatory at Greenwich. The fourth machine, emphatically distinguished by the name of the *Time-keeper*, has been copied by the ingenious Mr. Kendal; and that duplicate, during a three years circumnavigation of the globe, in the southern hemisphere with Captain Cook, answered as well as the original. The latter part of Mr. Harrison's life, was employed in making a *fifth improved Time-keeper*, on the same principles with the preceding one; which at the end of a ten weeks trial, in 1772, at the king's private observatory at Richmond, erred only $4\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. Within a few years of his death, his constitution visibly declined, and he had frequent fits of the gout, a disorder that never attack-

ed him before his 77th year: he died at his house in Red Lion Square, London; on the 24th of March, 1776, aged 83. The recluse manner of his life in the unremitting pursuit of his favourite object, was by no means calculated to qualify him as a man of the world; and the many discouragements he encountered, in soliciting the legal reward of his labours, still less disposed him to accommodate himself to the humours of mankind. In conversing on his profession, he was clear, distinct, and modest, yet, like many other mere mechanics, found a difficulty in delivering his meaning by writing; in which he adhered to a particular and uncouth phraseology. This was but too evident in his *Description concerning such Mechanism as will afford a nice or true Measurement of Time, &c.* 8vo, 1775; which his well known mechanical talents will induce the public to account for from his unacquaintance with letters, from his advanced age, and attendant mental infirmities; among which may be ranked his obstinate refusal to accept of any assistance whatever in this publication. This small work includes also an account of his new musical scale; or mechanical division of the octave, according to the proportion which the radius and diameter of a circle, have respectively to the circumference. He had, in his youth, been the leader of a distinguished band of church-singers; had a very delicate ear for music; and his experiments on sound, with a most curious monochord of his own improvement, are reported to have been not less accurate than those he was engaged in for the mensuration of time.

Mensurit.

Memoirs of the late Samuel Foote, Esq.

MR. Foote was born at Truro in Cornwall, and was descended from a very ancient family. His father was member of parliament for Tiverton, in Devonshire, and enjoyed the post of commissioner of the prize-office and fine-contract. His mother was heiress of the Dinely and Goodere families. The dreadful consequence of the misunderstanding between her two brothers, Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart. and Samuel Goodere, Esq; Captain of his Majesty's ship the Ruby, is well known; on which a considerable part of the Goodere estate, which was better than 5000*l.*, per annum, descended to Mr. Foote.

He was educated at Worcester college, Oxford, which owed its foundation to Sir Thomas Cookes Winford, Bart. a second cousin of our author's. On leaving the university, he commenced student of law in the Temple; but, as the dryness of this study did not suit the liveliness of his genius, he soon relinquished it. He married a young lady of a good family and some fortune; but, their tempers not agreeing, a perfect harmony did not long subsist between them. He now launched into all the fashionable foibles of the age, gaming not excepted, and in a few years spent his whole fortune. His necessities led him to the stage, and he made his first appearance in the character of Othello*. He next performed Fondlewife with much

more applause; and this, indeed, was ever after one of his capital parts. He attempted Lord Foppington likewise, but prudently gave it up. But, as Mr. Foote was never a capital actor in the plays of others, his salary was very unequal to his gay and extravagant turn; and he contracted debts which forced him to take refuge within the verge of the court.

He relieved his necessities by a very laughable stratagem. Sir Francis D—l—l had long been his intimate friend, and had dissipated his fortune by similar extravagance. Lady N—s P—l—t, who was likewise an intimate acquaintance of Foote's, and who was exceeding rich, was fortunately at that time bent upon a matrimonial scheme. Foote strongly recommended to her to consult upon this momentous affair the conjurer in the Old Bailey, whom he represented as a man of surprising skill and penetration. He employed an acquaintance of his own to personate the conjurer, who depicted Sir Francis D—l—l at full length; described the time when, the place where, and the dress in which she would see him. The lady was so struck with the coincidence of every circumstance, that she married D—l—l in a few days. For this service Sir Francis settled an annuity upon Foote; and this enabled him once more to emerge from obscurity.

In 1747 he opened the little theatre in the Hay-market, taking upon himself the double character of

* "But when I play'd Othello, thousands swore
They never saw such tragedy before;"

said Woodward, in the character of Foote, when he took him off in his *Tit for Tat.*

author

author and performer, and appeared in a dramatic piece of his own composing, called the *Diversion of the Morning*. This piece consisted of nothing more than the exhibition of several characters well known in real life, whose manner of conversation and expression this author very happily hit off in the diction of his drama, and still more happily represented on the stage, by an exact and most amazing imitation, not only of the manner and tone of voice, but even of the very persons of those whom he intended to take off. In this performance, a certain physician, Dr. L—n, well known for the oddity and singularity of his appearance and conversation, and the celebrated Chevalier Taylor, who was at that time in the height of his popularity, were made objects of Foote's ridicule; the latter, indeed, very deservedly: and in the concluding part of his speech, under the character of a theatrical director, Mr. Foote took off, with great humour and accuracy, the several styles of acting of every principal performer on the English stage*.

This performance at first met with some opposition from the civil magistrates of Westminster, under the sanction of the act of parliament for limiting the number of playhouses, as well as from the jealousy of one of the managers of Drury-lane playhouse; but, the author being patronized by many of the principal nobility, and

other persons of distinction, this opposition was over-ruled: and, having altered the title of his performance, Mr. Foote proceeded, without further molestation, to give *Tea in a morning* to his friends, and represented it thro' a run of forty mornings to crowded and splendid audiences.

The ensuing season he produced another piece of the same kind, which he called *An Auction of Pictures*. In this performance he introduced several new and popular characters; particularly Sir Thomas De Veil, then the acting justice of peace for Westminster, Mr. Cock the celebrated auctioneer, and the equally famous Orator Henley. This piece also had a very great run.

His Knights, which was the produce of the ensuing season, was a performance of somewhat more dramatic regularity; but still, although his plot and characters seemed less immediately personal, it was apparent that he kept some particular real persons strongly in his eye in the performance; and the town took upon themselves to fix them where the resemblance appeared to be the most striking.

Thus Mr. Foote continued, from time to time, to select, for the entertainment of the public, such characters, as well general as individual, as seemed most likely to engage their attention. His dramatic pieces, exclusive of the interlude called *Piety in Patten*, are as follow: "Tatte, The Knights,

* One of these was the late factious Harry Woodward, mentioned above, who returned the compliment in a little piece called *Tit for Tat*, of which the following was the beginning:

" Call'd forth to battle, see poor I appear
To try one fall with this fam'd auctioneer."

C H A R A C T E R S.

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The Author, The Englishman in Paris, The Englishman Returned from Paris, The Mayor of Garrat, The Lyar, The Patron, The Minor, The Orators*, The Commissary, The Devil upon Two Sticks, The Lame Lover, The Maid of Bath,

The Nabob, The Couzener, The Capuchin, The Bankrupt," and an unfinished comedy called "The Slanderer."

All these works are only to be ranked among the *petites pieces* of the theatre. In the execution they

* It was in this performance that he took off George Faulkner, the celebrated printer; who resented the joke so seriously, that he indicted our humorist for a libel, and, from the disposition of the judge who presided in the court of king's bench, Dublin, it was generally believed the matter would have terminated very much to his disgrace: but he suddenly quitted that metropolis, and returned to England, leaving his bail to pay the penalty of their bonds, whom, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary, he afterwards reimbursed.

This prosecution very probably took its rise from a ludicrous letter of Lord Chesterfield to his friend George, which that mauish compound of butter and honey considered as a serious piece of advice. "Would you think it?" says his lordship: "Mr. Foote, who, if I mistake not, was one of your *Sympson* while in London, (and, if so, the worse man he,) takes you off in his new farce called The Orators. As the Government here cannot properly take notice of it, would it be amis, that you should show some spirit on this occasion, either by way of stricture, contempt, or by bringing an action against him; I do not mean for writing the said farce, but for acting it. The doctrine of *scribere est agere* was looked upon as too hard in the case of Algernon Sidney; but my Lord Coke, my Lord Chief Justice Hales, my Lord Vaughan, Salkeld, and, in short, all the greatest men of the law, do, with their usual perspicuity and precision, lay it down for law, that *agere est agere*. And this is exactly Mr. Foote's case with regard to you: therefore, any orders that you shall think fit to send me in this affair as to retaining counsel, filing a bill of *Faulkner versus Foote*, or bringing a common action upon the case, which I think would be best of all, the case itself being actionable, shall be punctually executed by your faithful friend

CHESTERFIELD."

The irony of this letter will best appear by a subsequent letter of his lordship's, in which he expresses his impatience to congratulate his friend George on his late triumph in making his enemy his foot-stool. "A man of less philosophy than yourself, says his lordship, would, perhaps, have chastised Foote corporally, and have made him feel that your wooden leg, which he mimicked, had an avenging arm to protect it; but you scorned so inglorious a victory, and called justice and the laws of your country to punish the *criminal*, and to avenge your cause. You triumphed; and I heartily join my weak voice to the loud acclamations of the good citizens of Dublin upon this occasion. I take it for granted, that some of your many tributary wits have already presented you with gratulatory poems, &c. upon this subject. I own I had some thoughts myself of inscribing a short poem to you upon your triumph; but, to tell you the truth, when I had *writ* not above two thousand verses of it, my Muse forsook me, my poetic vein stopped, I threw away my pen, and I burned my poem, to the irreparable loss not only of the present age, but also of latent posterity."

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are somewhat loose, negligent, and unfinished; the plots are often irregular, and the catastrophes not always conclusive; but, with all these deficiencies, they contain more strength of character, more strokes of keen satire, and more touches of temporary humour, than are to be found in the writings of any other modern dramatist. Even the language spoken by his characters, incorrect as it may sometimes seem, will, on a closer examination, be found entirely dramatical; as it abounds with those natural minutiae of expression which frequently form the very basis of character, and which render it the truest mirror of the conversation of the times in which he wrote.

In the year 1766, being on a party of pleasure with the late Duke of York, Lord Mexborough, and Sir Francis Delaval, Mr. Foote had the misfortune to break his leg, by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he was compelled to undergo an amputation. This accident so sensibly affected the duke, that he made a point of obtaining for Mr. Foote a patent for life, whereby he was allowed to perform, at the little theatre in the Haymarket, from the 15th of May to the 15th of September, every year.

He now became a greater favourite of the town than ever; his very laughable pieces, with his more laughable performances, constantly filled his house; and his receipts were some seasons almost incredible. Parsimony was never a vice to be ascribed to Mr. Foote; his hospitality and generosity were ever conspicuous; he was visited

by the first nobility, and he was sometimes honoured even by royal guests.

The attack made upon his character by one of his domestics, whom he had dismissed for misbehaviour, is too well known to be particularized here. Suffice it to say, he was honourably acquitted of that charge; but it is believed by some that the shock which he received from it accelerated his death; others pretend that his literary altercation with a certain then duchess, or rather her agents, much affected him, and that from that time his health declined. We are of opinion, however, that his natural volatility of spirits could scarcely fail to support him against all impressions from either of these quarters.

Mr. Foote, finding his health decline, entered into an agreement with Mr. Colman, for his patent of the theatre, according to which he was to receive from Mr. Colman 1600*l.* per annum, besides a stipulated sum whenever he chose to perform. Mr. Foote made his appearance two or three times last summer, in some of the most admired characters; but being suddenly affected with a paralytic stroke one night whilst upon the stage, he was compelled to retire, and from that time the public lost their justly-admired Aristophanes. He was advised to bathe, and accordingly repaired to Brightelmstone, where he apparently recovered his former health and spirits, and was, what is called, the "fiddle of the company" who resorted to that agreeable place of amusement. A few weeks before his death he returned to London; but,

by the advice of his physicians, set out with an intention to spend the winter at Paris, and in the South of France. He had got no farther than Dover, when he was suddenly attacked by another stroke of the palsy, which in a few hours terminated his existence. He died on the 21st of October, in the 56th year of his age, and was privately interred in the cloisters of Westminster abbey. He has left a natural son, a minor, to whom he has bequeathed most of his fortune.

We are informed, from good authority, that the day on which Mr. Foote set out for Dover, about an hour before he went into his chaise, he walked into every room in his house, examined, with an accuracy not usual to him, every article of furniture he had, but more particularly his pictures, of which he had a large and elegant collection. When he came to the portrait of Weston, he made a full stop, as if by some secret impulse; and riveted his eyes upon the countenance of his old acquaintance for above ten minutes, without uttering a syllable. Then turning off with a tear in his eye, he exclaimed, "Poor Weston!" But the words had scarce dropped from his lips, when, with a tone, as it were, of reproach for his seeming security, he repeated again, "Poor Weston! It will be very shortly Poor Foote! or the intelligence of my spirits deceives me."

Mr. Foote, as a private man, was sincere, generous, and humane. As no man ever contributed more to the entertainment of the public, so no man oftener made the minds of his companions expand with mirth and good humour; and, in the company of men of high rank and superior fortune, who courted his acquaintance, he always preserved an easy and noble independence. That he had his foibles and caprices, no one will pretend to deny; but they were amply counterbalanced, by his merit and abilities, which will transmit his name to posterity with distinguished reputation.

" Alas, poor Yorick!—Where be your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table in a roar? Not one now! Alas, poor Yorick!"

Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Voltaire *.

S O M.E fix the birth of Francis de Voltaire to the 20th of February, others to the 20th of November, 1694, and there are extant medals of him bearing each of these dates.

At twelve years of age, having written some verses that appeared to be superior to what could have been expected so early in life, he was introduced to the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, by the Abbé

* These anecdotes are extracted from a work, originally published in French, entitled *Historical Memoirs of the author of the Henriade*. We are assured, in an advertisement prefixed to the English translation, that they are the work of the celebrated author himself; and indeed the contents leave us very little room to doubt of their authenticity.

Chateauneuf, her intimate friend, and that extraordinary woman bequeathed to him the sum of two thousand livres to buy books; which legacy was punctually paid.

The little piece in verse here alluded to, is probably that which he composed for an Invalid who had served in the regiment of Dauphiné, under the only son of Louis XIV. The old soldier had gone to the Jesuits college to entreat one of the masters to oblige him, by writing a petition in verse, to be presented to the Dauphin. The master told him he was then too busy, but that there was a young scholar who could do him the favour he requested*.

Notwithstanding his extreme youth, he was admitted to an intimacy with the Abbé Chaulieu, the Marquis de la Fare, the Duke of Sully, and the Abbé Courtin; and he has often told us that his father believed him entirely ruined, because he kept company with people of fashion, and made verses.

At the age of eighteen, he began

the tragedy of *Oedipus*, in which he proposed to introduce choruses after the manner of the ancients †. The players were very unwilling to appear in a tragedy, the subject of which had been already treated by Corneille, whose performance was what is commonly called a *Stock Play*. It was not acted till 1718, and even then, not without an order from the court.

The young man, who was excessively dissipated and immersed in all the pleasures common at his time of life, was not sensible of the risque he ran, nor did he give himself any trouble whether his piece succeeded or not. He indulged himself in a thousand follies on the stage, and at last wantonly laid hold of the train of the chief priest, in a scene where that pontiff was producing a very tragical effect. Marshal Villars's lady, who was in the first box, enquired who the young man was that had played that trick, as it seemed to be done with a view to ruin the

* The following verses are given as having been composed by him on that occasion.

Digne fils du plus grand des Rois,
Son amour et notre esperance,
Vous qui, sans régner sur la France,
Régnez sur le cœur des François;
Souffrez-vous que ma vieille veine,
Par un effort ambitieux,
Ose vous donner une étrenne,
Vous qui n'en recevez que de la main des Dieux?
On a dit qu'à votre naissance
Mars vous donna la vaillance,
Minerve la sagesse, Apollon la beauté:
Mais un Dieu bienfaisant, que j' implore en me peines,
Voulut aussi me donner mes étrennes,
En vous donnant la libéralité.

† We have a letter of the learned Dacier, dated 1713, in which he advises the author, who had then finished his piece, to add singing choruses, in imitation of the Greeks; but it was impracticable on the French stage.

piece ; and being told that he was the author, she sent for him into the box, and the attachment he formed from that time to the Maréchal and his lady, continued during their lives.

What is as singular, and a fact scarcely known, is, that the Prince of Conti, the father of him who gained so great reputation by the battles at the blockade of Demont and Chateau Dauphin, addressed some verses to him, which conclude thus ;

" Ayant puisé ses vers aux eaux de
" l'Aganippe,
" Pour son premier projet il fait le choix
" d'Oedipe,
" Et quoique des longtems ce fut fut
" connu,
" Par un stile plus beau cette piece
" changée
" Fit croire des Enfers Racine revenu,
" Ou que Corneille avait la sienne cor-
" rigée."

From Aganippe's source, his strains he drew,
Then brought old Oedipus again to view,
A theme well known—yet such correct-
ness shines,
Such easy grace adorns his polish'd lines;
We think Racine has left the shades be-
low,
Or Corneille's rugged numbers learnt to
flow.

We have not been able to find the answer of the author of Oedipus. We asked him one day if he did not jestingly say to the prince, " My lord, you will be a great poet ; I must procure you a pension from the king ;" and whether, as is also pretended, he did not once put this question to his highness at supper, Are we all princes ? or are we all poets ? He replied, *Delicta juventutis meas ut memineris Domine. Remember not the sins of my youth, O Lord.*

VOL. XX.

After having finished his *Oedipus*, but before it had been performed, he began the *Henriade*, when with Monsieur de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, at St. Ange.

We have oftener than once heard him say, that when he undertook these two performances, he did not imagine he should be able to finish them, and that he was neither acquainted with the rules of the drama, nor Epic poetry ; but that he was fired with what he heard of Henry IV. from Monsieur Caumartin, who was well versed in history, an excessive admirer of that prince, and a gentleman of a most respectable character ; and that he began the work from mere enthusiasm, almost without reflection.

Having one day read several cantos of his poem when on a visit to his intimate friend, the young President de Maisons, he was so teased with objections, that he lost patience, and threw his manuscript into the fire. The president, Henaut, with difficulty rescued it. " Remember, said Mr. Henaut to him, in one of his letters, it was I that saved the *Henriade*, and that it cost me a handsome pair of ruffles." *

Some years after, several copies of this poem were handed about, while it was only a sketch, and an edition of it with many chasms was published, under the title of *The League*.

All the poets in Paris, and even many of the learned, fell foul of him. Twenty pamphlets were let fly against him. The *Henriade* was played at the fair ; and it was insinuated to the old bishop of Frejus, preceptor to the king, that it was indecent, and even criminal,

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nal, to write in praise of Admiral Coligny and Queen Elizabeth.

The Cabal had interest enough to engage Cardinal de Biffi, then president of the assembly of the clergy, to pass a judicial censure upon the work; but this strange design proved abortive. The young author was filled with equal fury and resentment at these intrigues. His dissipation prevented him from making friends among the literati: and he had not the art of combating his enemies with their own weapons, which is said to be absolutely necessary in Paris, if a man wishes to succeed in any kind of pursuit.

In 1722, he gave the tragedy of Mariamne. That princess was poisoned by Herod. When she drank the cup, the faction cried out, *the Queen drinks*, and the piece was damned*.

These continual mortifications determined him to print the Henriade in England, as he could neither obtain privilege nor patronage for it in France.

He was right; King George the First, and more particularly the Prince of Wales, afterwards Queen of England, raised an immense subscription for him. Their liberality laid the foundation of his fortune; for on his return to France in 1728, he put his money into a lottery established by Mr. Desforts, comptroller-general of the finances. The adventurers received a rent charge on the *Hotel-de-Ville* for their tickets; and the prizes were paid in ready money; so

that if a society had taken all the tickets, it would have gained a million of livres. He joined with a numerous company of adventurers, and was fortunate. We were furnished with this anecdote by a member of the same society, who verified it by producing his registers. Mr. Voltaire wrote to him as follows: "To make a fortune in this country, nothing more is requisite than to read the arrêts of the Council. It is seldom but the ministry is obliged to make such arrangements in the finances, as turn to the advantage of individuals."

We are afterwards informed of the bad success of his Brutus and Zara, and of the refusal of the Academicians to admit him into their society. About this time he became intimately acquainted with the illustrious Marchioness of Chatellet, with whom he studied the principles of Newton, and the systems of Leibnitz. They retired to Cirey, in Champagne, for several years, two of which Mr. Koenig, an eminent mathematician, passed with them. Mr. Voltaire caused a gallery to be erected, where they performed all the experiments on light and electricity.

When he attempted to publish his *Elements of the Newtonian Philosophy*, a philosophy then scarce known in France, he could not obtain a privilege from the Chancellor Aguesseau, who was a man of universal learning, but being bred a Cartesian, discouraged the new discoveries as much as he

* Probably this alluded to some report circulated at that time, which has not come to the knowledge of the translator, otherwise the expression could not have had such an effect.

could.

could. Our author's attachment to the principles of Newton and Locke, drew upon him a new crowd of enemies. He wrote to Mr. Falkner, to whom he dedicated his *Zara*. "It is believed that the French love novelty, but it must be in cookery and fashions, for as to new truths they are always proscribed among us; it is only when they grow old that they are well received."

By way of relaxation from his studies in Natural Philosophy, he amused himself in writing his *Maid of Orleans*. We have proofs that this piece of drollery was composed almost entirely at Cirey. Madame de Chatellet loved poetry as much as geometry, and was a very good judge of it. Although this poem was only comic, yet there is much more fancy in it than in the Henriade; but it was vilely disgraced by some shameless scoundrels, who printed it with horrid lewdnesses. The only good editions are those of Geneva.

Not long afterwards he became acquainted with the celebrated Rousseau at Brussels, and they soon conceived a strong aversion from each other. Rousseau having shewn his antagonist a lyric epistle, addressed to posterity; met with this repartee; *my friend, this letter will never be delivered according to its direction.* Rousseau never forgave this piece of raillery. There is extant a letter from Mr. de Voltaire to Mr. Linant, containing the following passage: "Rousseau despises me because I am careless in my rhymes; and I despise Rousseau because he is only a rhimer."

In the year 1738, commenced the correspondence with which the king, then Hereditary Prince Royal of Prussia, hath ever since been pleased to honour him; and in the year 1740, he went to pay his court at Berlin, before the king was prepared for invading Silesia.

Soon after his return from Berlin, he wrote the tragedies of Mahomet and Merope. The tragedy of Merope is the first piece, not upon a sacred subject, that succeeded without the aid of an amorous passion; and which procured our author more honour than he hoped from it. It was played on the 26th of February, 1743. We cannot better describe the singular circumstances attending its reception, than by inserting his letter of the 4th of April following, to his friend Mr. L'Aiguebere, then at Thoulouse.

"Merope is not yet printed. I am afraid it will not succeed so well in the closet as on the stage. — The piece is not mine; it is Mademoiselle Dumenil's. — What think you of an actress that kept the audience in tears through three successive acts? The public have run into a little mistake, and given me credit for a part of the extreme pleasure given them by the actors. The seduction was so great, that the pit, with loud shouts, insisted upon seeing me*. I was seized in the hiding place, where I had squatted for shelter, and brought by force into the box of Marshal Villars's lady, who was there with her daughter-in-law. — The pit was mad; they called out to the Dutchesse de Villars to kill me, and

* Hence the ridiculous custom of crying the author, the author, when a piece, whether good or bad, succeeds the first night.

they made so much noise, that she was obliged to comply by order of her mother-in-law.—Thus have I been kissed in public, as was Alain Chartier, by the Princess Margaret of Scotland; but he was asleep, and I was wide awake."

Soon after we see him again taking a journey to the King of Prussia, who was always inviting him to Berlin, but could never prevail on him to quit his old friends for any considerable time. In this journey he performed a singular service to the king his master, as we see by the letters which passed between him and Mr. Amelot, the minister of state. But these particulars come not within our present design.—We view him only in his literary character.

In the year 1749, after the death of the illustrious Marchioness of Chatellet, whom Mr. Voltaire had attended to the court of Stanislaus, the King of Prussia gave him an invitation to come and live with him. It was not till towards the end of the month of August, 1750, after having for six months combated the opinions of all his friends, who strongly dissuaded him from going, that we find him resolved to quit France, and attach himself to his Prussian Majesty, for the rest of his life. He could not withstand the letter which the King of Prussia wrote to him the 23d of August, from the apartments destined for his future guest in the palace of Berlin: a letter which has been often printed and is universally known.

After this letter, the King of Prussia asked the consent of the King of France, by his minister at that court, which was readily

granted. Our author was presented at Berlin with the order of merit, the key of Chamberlain, and a pension of twenty thousand livres. However, he did not give up his house at Paris, and by the accounts of Mr. Delaleu, the Notary, we find that Mr. de Voltaire was at an expence of thirty thousand livres a year there. He was attached to the King of Prussia by the most respectful regard, as well as by their conformity of taste. He has a hundred times said, that Monarch was as agreeable in company, as he was formidable at the head of an army; and that he had never more pleasing evening parties at Paris, than those to which that prince would have constantly admitted him. His regard for the King of Prussia rose to a degree of enthusiasm. His apartments were under the King's, and he never quitted them but to go to supper. The king composed works in philosophy, history, and poetry, in the upper apartments, while his favourite cultivated the same arts and the same talents in the lower. They communicated their works to one another. The Prussian Monarch wrote his memoirs of the house of Brandenburgh at Potzdam; and the French author having carried his materials with him, wrote his age of Louis XIV. at the same place. Thus did his days glide along in tranquillity, enlivened by such agreeable employments.

It must be owned, that nothing could be more agreeable than this kind of life, or any thing do more honour to philosophy and the belles lettres. This happiness would have been more lasting, and would not have given place to a still greater happiness, if it had not been

been for a dispute on a subject in mixed mathematics, which arose between Maupertuis, who likewise lived at that time with the King of Prussia, and Koenig, librarian to the Princess of Orange, at the Hague. This dispute was a continuation of that which for a long time had divided the mathematicians about the living and dead forces. It cannot be denied but that a little quackery gets into this subject, as well as into theology and medicine. It was a most trifling question at best, for let them entangle it as much as they will, they must always return to the plain laws of motion. The tempers of the disputants were soured, and Maupertuis, who ruled the academy at Berlin, procured a condemnation of Koenig's opinion in the year 1752, on the authority of a letter of the late Leibnitz, without being able to produce the original of that letter, which however had been seen by Mr. Wolf. He went still farther, —he wrote to the Princess of Orange, to beg her to dismiss Koenig from his employment of Librarian; and represented him to the King of Prussia, as a man who had been wanting in the respect due to his majesty. Voltaire, who had passed two whole years at Cirey with Koenig, during which he had contracted an intimacy, thought it was his duty openly to espouse the cause of his friend.

The quarrel became violent, and the study of philosophy degenerated into faction and cabal. Maupertuis was at some pains to have it reported at court, that one day, while General Manstein happened to be in the apartments of Mr. de Voltaire, who was then

translating into French, *The Mémoirs of Russia*, composed by that officer; the king, in his usual manner, sent a copy of verses to be examined, when Voltaire said to Manstein, *Let us leave off for the present, my friend; you see the king has sent me his dirty linen to wash, I will wash your's another time.* A single word is sometimes sufficient to ruin a man at court; Maupertuis imputed such a word to Voltaire, and succeeded.

It was about this very time that Maupertuis published his very strange Philosophical Letters, in which he proposed to build a Latin city; to sail in quest of discoveries directly under the pole; to perforate the earth to the center; —to go to the Straights of Magellan, and dissect the brains of a Patagonian, in order to investigate the nature of the soul; —to cover the bodies of the sick with pitch, to prevent the danger of perspiration; and, above all, not to pay the physician.

Mr. de Voltaire heightened these philosophic ideas with all the railery which so fine an opportunity presented, and, unfortunately, the learned all over Europe were amused with the ridicule. Maupertuis was careful to join his own cause to the cause of the king; and this piece of ridicule was looked upon as a failure in respect to his majesty. Our author in the most respectful manner returned the key of Chamberlain, and the cross of his order to the king, with the following verses,

“ Je les reçus avec tendresse;
“ Je vous les rend avec douleur,
“ Comme un amant jaloux, dans sa
“ mauvaise humeur,
“ Rend le portrait de sa Maitresse.”

The king sent back the key and ribbon. Our author then set out to pay a visit to her highness the Duchess of Gotha, who continued to honour him with her friendship while she lived. It was for her that he wrote *The Annals of the Empire*, about a year after; a work which was entirely new modelled in his *Essay upon the History of the Genius and Manners of Nations*.

While he remained at Gotha, Maupertuis employed all his batteries against our traveller, which he was made sensible of, when he came to meet his niece, Madame Denis, at Francfort on the Mayne.

On the first of June, an honest German, who neither loved the French nor their verses, came, and in bad French, demanded the works in *poesby* of the king his master. Our traveller replied, that the works in *poesby* were with the rest of his property at Leipsic. The German informed him, that he was ordered to Francfort, and must not depart till these works arrived. Mr. de Voltaire gave him the key of Chamberlain, and the crois of the order, and promised to restore what he had demanded; upon which the messenger wrote the following billet*.

" SIR,

" So soon the large package from Leipsic shall be here, where " is the work of poesby of the " king, my master, you may de- " part wherever you think pro- " per.

" Francfort, 1st June, 1753."

The prisoner wrote at the bottom of the note, *Good for the work of poetry, of the king, your master.*

But when the veries arrived, it was pretended there were some bills of exchange expected, which did not arrive.—The travellers were detained fifteen days at the sign of the Goat, on account of these pretended bills; and at last were not permitted to depart without paying a considerable ransom.—These are details which never come to the ears of kings.

This adventure was very soon forgotten by both parties, and with great propriety. The king sent back his verses to his old admirer, and soon after a considerable number of new ones. It was a love quarrel;—the bickerings of a court soon die away; but a laudable railing passion will long continue.

Soon after his departure from Berlin, he purchased the Seignory of Ferney in the *Pays de Gex*, about a league from Geneva. It was here, that he undertook the defence of the celebrated family of Calas; and it was not long before he had a second opportunity of vindicating the innocence of another condemned family of the name of Sirven. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the year 1774, he had the third time a singular opportunity of employing that same zeal, which he had the good fortune to display in the fatal catastrophe of the families of Calas and Sirven. As this story is not so generally known as the former, we shall give it the reader in the author's own words.

* The Translator, that the spirit of the original might not evaporate, has rendered it word for word.

He was informed that there was a young French gentleman of modest merit, and singular good sense in the King of Prussia's army, at Wesel. This young gentleman was only a volunteer, and had been condemned at Abbeville, with the Chevalier de la Barre, to suffer the punishment of parricides, for not kneeling in time of rain before a procession of Capuchins, who had passed about fifty or sixty paces from them.

To this accusation was added that of having sung a rakish song of a hundred years old, and repeating Piron's Ode to Priapus. This Ode of Piron's was a lewd flight of a young man, and looked upon as such a venial trespass, that the King of France, Louis XV. hearing that the author was poor, gave him a pension out of his privy purse. Thus he who composed the piece was rewarded by a good king, while they who repeated it, were condemned to suffer the most dreadful punishment, by some inhuman monsters of a village.

Three judges of Abbeville conducted the prosecution, and the sentence was as follows : That the Chevalier de la Barre, and his young friend (of whom we have been speaking) should be put to the torture ordinary and extraordinary, their hands be cut off, their tongues torn out with pincers, and their bodies burnt alive.

Of three judges who gave this sentence, two of them were absolutely incompetent. One of them for being the declared enemy of the young people's parents ; the other, because having formerly got himself admitted counsellor, he had since purchased and exercised the

business of attorney in Abbeville : his principal employment was that of a dealer in bullocks and hogs ; —he had been condemned by the consuls of Abbeville, and the court of Aides had afterwards declared him incapable of holding any municipal employment in the kingdom.

The third judge, intimidated by the two others, had the weakness to subscribe to their sentence, which was followed by the most poignant and fruitless remorse.

To the surprise and astonishment of all Europe, that still shudders with horror at the deed, the Chevalier de la Barre was executed : his friend was outlawed, having been in a foreign country before the beginning of the prosecution.

This sentence so execrable, and at the same time so absurd, which is an eternal disgrace to France, was much more to be condemned than that by which the innocent Calas was broke upon the wheel ; for the judges of Calas were guilty of no other fault than that of deceiving themselves, while the crime of the Abbeville judges, was their being monsters of cruelty with their eyes open. They condemned two youths to suffer as cruel a death as Ravaillac and Damiens, for a levity which only deserved a week's imprisonment. It may be said, that since the massacre of St. Bartholomew nothing so dreadful has happened. It is melancholy to relate such an instance of brutal ferocity as is not to be met with among the most savage people, but truth obliges us to it.

Mr. de Voltaire having been informed that the other young person, a victim of the most detestable

fanaticism that ever polluted the earth, was in one of the King of Prussia's regiments; he acquainted that Monarch of it, who immediately had the generosity to make him an officer. The King of Prussia enquired particularly about the young gentleman; he found that he had learnt the art of drawing and design without the help of a master; that he was prudent, sensible, and virtuous; and that the whole of his conduct gave the lie to his pretended judges of Abbeville. The king called him near his person, gave him a company, appointed him engineer, and honoured him with a pension, and thus by his benevolence wiped away the crimes committed by folly and barbarity. He wrote in the most affecting terms to Mr. de Voltaire, to acquaint him with what he had done for this truly valuable and unfortunate young soldier. We have all been witnesses of this horrid affair, so dishonorable for France, and so noble for a royal philosopher. This great example will inform mankind, but will it correct them?

appointed him a rapporteur, or a legal informer to the court of all the parliamentary transactions. In this place he served his employers effectually, yet, at the same time, caused the remonstrances of parliament to be liberally distributed both at Paris and abroad. Honest M. d'Inval, the then comptroller-general of the finances, was displeased with his conduct; but the chancellor took the Abbé's part; Mr. d'Inval was, in spite of the Duke of Choiseul's endeavours, dismissed, and succeeded in his place by M. Terrai himself. The new comptroller now began his administration with stopping the payment of the crown debts, and diverting the revenues of the Caisse d'Amortissement, or sinking fund, to other purposes; with imposing the same taxes which under M. d'Inval's administration he had zealously opposed. His depredations on the public, induced the Duke de Choiseul to attempt his removal; but M. Terrai prevailed by gaining over the men in power, by increasing their pensions, and by soothing the farmers-general; but chiefly by humouring the king's inclination for building, and indulging the rapaciousness of the family of the royal mistress: without any regard to the interests of the kingdom, to the justice or injustice of his expedients, or the fate of the subjects and servants of the crown. He ruined the East India Company, whom he had formerly served as syndic; he forced her to pay her debts to government in ready money, and, in return, to accept payment of the king's debts to her in paper of very small value. Thus he contrived not only to discharge the twenty millions due

Memoirs of the Abbé Terrai.

TH E famous Abbé Terrai is the son of a notary at Bourg in Forez. An uncle of his, who was a physician at court, patronized him; bought him a place in the parliament of Paris, and left him a considerable fortune. M. Terrai soon distinguished himself by his talents and industry. His reports were comprehensive, perspicuous, satisfactory to the parties, apparently impartial, and considered as master-pieces. The court

due from the king to the company, but to saddle her with a debt of 15,000,000 of livres to the king. The rents in the hotel de ville, annually amounting to no less than 61,000,000, and till then, always respected by all other ministers, were in the first six months of his administration, reduced one-fifth. He imposed several new taxes to the amount of 45,000,000, and recalled all such of the demesnes of the crown as were then sold or granted away. The clergy had compounded for a tax called the Quinzième, or fifteenth penny; he kept the composition money, and yet demanded the payment of the tax. He extended the Vingtième, or twentieth penny, to new objects, and raised it to a tenth penny. He sold some goods and rights to a Jew for 2,000,000; and after having received the payment, withheld the goods; and the unfortunate Jew, in a fit of despair, killed himself. M. Terrai even seized on the monies deposited in courts of justice, and for 80,000 livres cash, returned the Marquise de la Palace paper money, for which she could get no more than 20,000. The university of Paris having saved 200,000 livres, and destined them for a building, he seized the money, undertook the building, and never erected a single stone. Without any regard for the intercession of the queen and the whole royal family, he dismissed several payeurs de rentes, and on their representations of their distress, told them that they might carry a musket. A father of fifteen children dismissed without any cause, for whom the queen also had interceded, once asked him in a passion, 'Am I then to strangle

them?' 'You would perhaps do them a service,' answered Terrai. He raised the Droit du Marc d'Or from 450,000 livres to three millions; and was for extending it to military officers; but this scheme was defeated by the ministers of war. His measures contributed towards causing a dearth. A specimen of the wretched bread of the poor country people was sent to the king, who tasted it, and found it detestable; but was soon again soothed by his mistress. During these times of public distress, five new operas were to be performed at court, for which five thousand dresses were made. He had an annual revenue of 1,200,000 livres; yet when the queen herself was once collecting charities for some distressed person, he offered her a crown piece, and it was only by repeating her entreaties that she at length prevailed on him to contribute two Louis d'ors. Such was the animosity and hatred his own vassals bore him, that once when he gave an entertainment, they cut off the supply of provisions.

After the king's death, Abbé Terrai retired without any pension, but with all his wealth, to his own castle la Motte.

Anecdotes of Thomas Britton, the famous Musical Small Coal-Man.

THIS extraordinary person bound himself, and served seven years to a small-coal-man in St. John's-street. After which his master gave him a sum of money, and Tom went back to his native place, Higham-Ferrers, in Northampton-

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amptonshire. When he had spent his money he returned to London, and set up the small-coal trade, notwithstanding his master was still living, and took a stable, which he turned into a house; of which more hereafter. Some time after he became an excellent chemist, and, perhaps, performed such things in that profession as had never been done before, by the help of a moving elaboratory, that was contrived and built by himself, and much admired by the faculty. He was also famous for his skill in the theory and practice of music; and kept up for forty odd years in his own little cell, a musical club, which was nothing less than a concert, and merits our attention the more, as it was the first meeting of the kind, and the undoubted parent of some of the most celebrated concerts in London. Its origin was from Sir Roger L'Estrange: and this attachment of Sir-Roger, and other ingenious gentlemen, arose from the profound regard that Britton had, in general, to all kinds of literature. The humility of his deportment procured him great respect; he was called, though so low in station, Mr. Britton: and men of the best wit, as well as some of the best quality, honoured his musical society with their company. When passing the streets in his blue linen frock, and with his sack of small-coal on his back, he was frequently accosted with, ‘ There goes the small-coal man who is a lover of learning, a performer of music, and a companion for gentlemen.’

Britton's house was next to the old Jerusalem tavern, under the gateway (lately pulled down and

rebuilt.) On the ground floor was a repository for small-coal; over that was the concert room, which was very long and narrow; and had a ceiling so low, that tall men could but just stand upright in it. The stairs to this room were on the outside of the house, and could scarce be ascended without crawling. The house itself was very old, low built, and, in every respect so mean, as to be a fit habitation for only a very poor man. Notwithstanding all, this mansion, desppicable as it may seem, attracted to it as polite an audience as ever the Opera did. And a lady of the first rank in this kingdom, now living, one of the first beauties of her time, may yet remember, that, in the pleasure which she manifested at hearing Mr. Britton's concert, she seemed to have forgot the difficulty with which she ascended the steps that led to it.

At these concerts, Dr. Pepusch, and frequently Mr. Handel, played the harpsichord; Mr. Bannister the first violin. Dubourg, then a child, played his first solo at Britton's concert, standing upon a joint-stool, but so terribly awed at the sight of so splendid an assembly, that he was near falling to the ground.

It has been said, that Britton found instruments, and that the subscription to his concert was ten shillings a year, and that they had coffee at a penny a dish. If so, Britton had departed from his original institution; for, at first, no coffee was drank there, nor would he receive any gratuity from any of his guests; on the contrary, he was offended whenever it was offered to him; which is asserted by a very

a very ancient person now living, a frequent performer at his concert.

The following stanza of a song, written by Ward, in praise of Britton, seems to confirm it :

UPON Thursday repair
To my palace and there
Hobble up stair by stair;
But I pray ye take care,
That ye break not your shins by a stumble.
And without e'er a soufe,
Paid to me or my spouse,
Sit as still as a mouse,
At the top of the house,
And there you shall hear how we fumble.

As to his own real skill in music, it is not to be doubted : it is certain he could tune a harpsichord ; and he frequently played the viol di gamba in his own concert.

Britton was in his person a short thick-set man, with a very honest ingenuous countenance. There are two pictures of him extant, both painted by his friend Mr. Wollaston. It happened thus : Britton had been out one morning, and, having nearly emptied his sack in a shorter time than he expected, had a mind to see his friend Mr. Wollaston, but having always considered himself in two capacities, viz. as one who subsisted by a very mean occupation, and as a companion for persons in a station of life above him, he could not, consistent with his distinction, dress as he then was, make a visit ; he therefore, in his way home, varied his usual round, and passing through Warwick-lane, determined to cry small-coal so near Mr. Wollaston's door, as to stand a chance to be invited in. Accordingly, he had no sooner turned into Warwick-court, and cried small-coal in his usual tone, than

Mr. Wollaston, who had never heard him there before, flung up the sash, and beckoned him in. Mr. Wollaston intimated a desire to draw his picture, which he consented to, and he was painted in his blue frock, and with his small-coal measure in his hand.

About the beginning of this century a passion for collecting old books and manuscripts reigned among the nobility. The chief of those who sought after them were Edward Earl of Oxford ; the earls of Pembroke, Sunderland, and Winchelsea, and the duke of Devonshire. These persons in the winter season, on Saturdays, the parliament not sitting on that day, were used to resort to the city, and, dividing themselves, took several routes, some to Little Britain, some to Moorfields, and others to different parts of the town, inhabited by booksellers : there they would enquire in the several shops as they passed along for old books and manuscripts ; and some time before noon would assemble at the shop of one Christopher Bateman, a bookseller, at the corner of Ave-Maria-lane in Pater-noster-row ; and here they were frequently met by Mr. Bagford, and other persons engaged in the same pursuits, and a conversation always commenced on the subject of their enquiries. Bagford informed them where any thing curious was to be seen or purchased, and they in return obliged him with a sight of what they from time to time collected. While they were engaged in this conversation, and as near as could be to the hour of twelve by St. Paul's clock, Britton, who by that time had finished his round, arrived clad in his blue frock,

frock, and pitching his sack of small-coal on the bulk of Mr. Bateman's shop window, would go in and join them; and after a conversation, which generally lasted about an hour, the noblemen above-mentioned adjourned to the Mourning Bush at Aldersgate, where they dined and spent the remainder of the day.

The singularity of his character, the course of his studies, and the collections he made, induced suspicitions that Britton was not the man he seemed to be: and what Mr. Walpole says as to this particular is very true; some thought his musical assembly only a cover for seditious meetings; others for magical purposes; and that Britton himself was taken for an atheist, a presbyterian, a jesuit; but these were ill-grounded conjectures, for he was a plain, simple, honest man, perfectly inoffensive, and highly esteemed by all that knew him; and, notwithstanding the meanness of his occupation, was called Mr. Britton.

The circumstances of this man's death are not less remarkable than those of his life. There dwelt in Britton's time, near Clerkenwell-close, a man named Robe, who frequently played at his concert, and who, being in the commission of the peace for the county of Middlesex, was usually called Justice Robe; at the same time one Samuel Honeyman, a blacksmith by trade, and who lived in Bear-street, near Leicester-Square, became very famous for a faculty which he possessed of speaking as if his voice proceeded from some distant part of the house where he stood; in short he was one of those men called Ventriloqui, i. e. those

that speak as it were from their bellies, and are taken notice of by Reginald Scott, in his discovery of Witchcraft, p. 111, for which reason he was called the Talking Smith: the pranks played by this man, if collected, would make a volume. During the time that Dr. Sacheverell was under censure, and had a great resort of friends to his house near the church in Holborn, he had the confidence to get himself admitted, by pretending that he came from a couple who wished to be married by the doctor. He stayed not long in the room, but made so good use of his time, that the doctor, who was a large man, and one of the stoutest and most athletic then living, was almost terrified into fits. Dr. Derham of Upminster, that sagacious enquirer into the works of nature, had a great curiosity to see Honeyman, but the person he employed to bring about the meeting, and who communicated this anecdote, contrived always to disappoint him, knowing full well that had it taken effect, it must have terminated in the death of the doctor, whose reputation as a divine and a philosopher he thought a subject too serious to be sported with.

This man, Robe was foolish and wicked enough to introduce, unknown to Britton, for the sole purpose of terrifying him, and he succeeded in it: Honeyman, without moving his lips, or seeming to speak, announced, as from afar off, the death of poor Britton within a few hours, with an intimation, that the only way to avert his doom was for him to fall on his knees immediately and say the Lord's Prayer: the poor man did as he was bid, went home and took

to his bed, and in a few days died ; leaving his friend Mr. Robe to enjoy the fruits of his mirth.

*alive with her Husband, Sept. 2,
1776, at the Head of the Bazaar
at Cansbang.*

*Authentic Account of the Burning of
a Gentoo Woman, at her own
request, at Azumabad.*

IT being asserted by Mr. Guthrie, in his Geographical Grammar, p. 536, and some other authors, that the custom of the Gentoo women burning themselves with their deceased husbands was disused in India, I desire you would insert the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Joseph Wilson, at Azumabad, (lately called Cansbang) in the kingdom of Bengal, by which it appears that custom is yet kept up and practised. I give it in his own words.

March 1, 1777. Yours,
Broomhead. JOHN WILSON.

" I WAS last September an eye witness to a Gentoo woman burning with her husband ; and as I stood by all the time, and took notes of all that passed, you may depend upon the following narration to be strictly true ; I mean the ceremonies that were used by these people, who had always got their bread by their labour, and indeed were so very poor, that the son was obliged to go from house to house to beg fire-wood to burn them with : the richer people are more curious, and have their piles made of a sweet-scented wood called Sandal, and much larger than the people I am speaking of can possibly afford.

" *The Account of Jananca, Wife
of Otram Gole, who was burnt*

" AS soon as her husband was given over by the Doctor, she sent for a Bramin, and declared her intention to burn herself, son, and daughter, (which was the whole of the family) together, which some neighbours endeavoured as much as possible to dissuade her from, but all to no purpose, and from that time refused eating any thing, except a few plantains and betel-nuts. She sent for all her friends, who staid with her all night, and with whom she was very merry. In the morning the man died, and his son came to me to ask leave to burn his father and mother in the Bazaar (or market-place), as it belongs to the plantation, and is close to my house. I told him very well; but that I should take care no force was used to make her burn against her will. He told me he was so far from forcing, that he had offered her two rupees a month for life; but yet could not help saying it would reflect an honour on his family for his mother to burn. The man was scarce cold before he and his wife were carried upon men's shoulders, the fitting by him ; and having provided herself with some couries (small shells which go current for money here), she distributed them amongst the populace, together with rice fried in butter and sugar, very plentifully, as she passed from her house to the place of burning ; where, when she arrived, they had not begun to make the pile : so she was set down, together with her dead husband, and gave several orders to the people in making the pile,

pile, and was so far from being in the least afraid, that she rejoiced much. I went up to her, and asked her, if it was her own free will and consent? She told me it was, and that she was much obliged to me for giving her liberty to burn in that place, and desired I would not offer to oppose it, as she would certainly make away with herself, was she prevented. She sat there talking with her friends and neighbours, till the pile was ready, which was above an hour, and then went a little distance off, where the deceased was also carried, and were both washed with Ganges water, and clean cloaths put on them. The son of the deceased then put a painted paper crown, or cap, on his father's head, of the same kind as is usual for them to wear at their marriages; and a Bramin woman brought four lamps burning, and put one of them into the woman's hand, and placed the other three round her, upon the ground: all the time she held the lamp in her hand, the Bramin woman was repeating some prayers to her; which when finished, she put a garland of flowers round her head, and then gave the son of the deceased, who was standing close by, a ring made of grafs, which she put upon one of his fingers, and an earthen plate full of boiled rice and plantain's mixed up together, which he immediately offered to his deceased father, putting it three times to his mouth, and then in the same manner to his mother, who did not taste it. The deceased was supported all this time, and set upon his breech close by his wife, who never spoke after this, but made three salams

to her husband, by putting her hands upon the soles of his feet, and then upon her own head. The deceased was then carried away and laid upon the pile, and his wife immediately followed, with a pot under her arm, containing 21 couries, 21 pieces of saffron, 21 pons for betel-nut, and the leaf made up ready for chewing; one little piece of iron, and one piece of sandal-wood. When she got to the pile, she looked a little at her husband, who was lying upon it, and then walked seven times round it; when she stopped at his feet, and made the same obeisance to him as before. She then mounted the pile without help, and laid herself down by her husband's side, putting the pot she carried with her close to her head; which as soon as done, she clasped her husband in her arms; and the son, who was standing ready with a wisp of straw lighted in his hand, put the blaze of it three times to his father and mother's mouths, and then set the pile on fire all round, whilst the populace threw reeds and light wood upon them; and they were both burnt to ashes in less than an hour. I believe she soon died, for she never moved, though there was no weight upon her but what she might have easily overset, had she had any inclination. It was entirely a voluntary act, and she was as much in her senses as ever she was in her life. I forgot to mention that she had her forehead painted with red paint, which she scraped off with her nails, and distributed amongst her friends, and also gave them chewed betel out of her mouth, for which favours every one seemed very solicitous. The above, I assure

assure you, is a true account of what I saw.

Account of the Inhabitants of Wallachia, by Baron Inigo Born.

THEIR manner of living is extremely rough and savage. They want religion, arts and sciences. Their children are from their first infancy washed every day in the open air, in warm water, and then swathed in coarse linen or woollen cloth. The difference of the seasons and the weather makes herein no difference. From the fifth to the twelfth or fourteenth year of their age they are left with the herds and flocks to attend them; however, the girls are taught in the same time washing, baking, spinning, making needle-work, weaving, and so on. From the fourteenth year they are brought up and employed in husbandry. Kukuruz, or maiz, is their chief object of agriculture. However, they sow likewise oats, barley, and wheat. They distil from the fruits of trees, which they plant in great plenty, a sort of brandy, called rakie, which they are very fond of. Their meat is as simple as their dress. Biscuit of coarse grinded maiz, baked under ashes, which they call malai, some flesh, milk, cheese, beans, and other vegetables, are their common food, their dress is various, but generally it consists of the following articles. The men wear long white woollen trowsers, as the Hungarians, but wider: soles of raw skin tied about the feet instead of shoes; a shirt open on the breast; a woollen jacket or coat, tight around the waist, with

long sleeves, and a fur cap, or bonnet, for the head. The women have long shirts down to the ankles; a brown variegated striped petticoat open on both sides, and tied with a girdle; a waistcoat or garment of coarse cloth, somewhat shorter than the shirts, and an annular bolster stuffed with hair or straw upon their head, which they cover with a woven cloth. The girls go bare-headed. Their ornaments consist of ear-rings of white or yellow brass, of coloured glass, beads, pearls, glass, feathers, and pieces of money fastened to a string, and tied round the head and neck. This ornament makes a ringing, so that a fine dressed Raize, or Wallachian girl, may very often be heard sooner than seen. They marry very young: and there are married couples, the man not above fourteen; the wife even not twelve years of age. Some manual arts seem to be peculiar to them. Scarce any where but you will find a cartwright or a weaver; every Wallachian being a cartwright, and every woman a weaver. No woman is seen going about without some work in hand. What they bring to sale they carry on their heads. If they have a child to nurse, it is carried in the same manner. The spindle is sticking in their girdle, and all the way they are spinning. All their necessaries are worked up by themselves. Scarce any tradesmen nor any beggars are seen among them. What can I say to you of their religion? They confess the non-united Greek religion, *Græci ritus non unitorum*. But, in fact, they have scarce more religion than their domestic animals, except repeated fastings, which almost take up half

the

the year, and are so extremely severe, that they dare not eat any meat, eggs, or milk; they scarce have any idea of other religious duties. But in these fastings they are so scrupulous that they do not break them, even should they slight every other divine or human law. A robber will never indulge himself contrary to this abstinence, nor lie with his own or another man's wife, for fear that God might in this case withdraw his blessing from his trade. What barbarism! what humiliating ideas of the Supreme Being! The ignorance and superstition of the bonzes cannot possibly be above that of their popes. Some of them are so ignorant as to be unable to read; what can they teach the poor people? They plow and till their ground, they attend their herds like other peasants, deal in every trade as Jews, and get drunk at the expence of their stupid parishioners, who sell them their sins, and think to be happy, and to be saved, if they discharge their own and their deceased relations' sins at a good price.

The religious rites and ceremonies of this people favour rather of Paganism and Judaism, than of that religion which they profess. For example; no woman will attempt to kill any animal whatever it be. The bride is on her wedding day, and the day before, constantly hid under a veil. Whoever unveils her is entitled to a kiss; and, if she desire it, obliged to make her a present. The women are in the churches separated from the men. Their funerals are singular. The corpse is with dismal shrieks brought to the tomb, in which it is sunk down as soon as

the pope has done with his ritual. At this moment the friends and relations of the deceased raise horrid cries. They remind the deceased of his friends, parents, cattle, house and household, and ask for what reason he left them. As no answer ensues, the grave is filled up, and a wooden cross with a large stone placed at the head, to avoid the dead becoming a *vampyre*, or a stroking nocturnal blood-sucker. Wine is thrown upon the grave, and frankincense burnt around it, to drive away evil spirits and witches. This done they go home; bake bread of wheat flour, which to the expiation of the deceased they eat, plentifully drinking to be the better comforted themselves. The solemn shrieks, libations of wine, and fumigations about the tomb, continue during some days, nay even some weeks, repeated by the nearest relations. The funeral of a bridegroom is still more solemn. A pole, some fathoms long, is fixed to his tomb, and the bride hangs on it a garland, a quill, and a white hand-kerchief.

If they engage themselves in an indissoluble friendship in life and death, they put the form of a cross in the vessel or the cup from which they eat or drink; swearing everlasting fidelity. This ceremony is never to be slighted. It is generally a previous rite to robberies. The same ceremony is resorted to as the most efficacious bond; for example, if robbers release a man, by whom they apprehend to be indicted, they oblige him to silence by an oath by the cross, the salt and the bread, which they call *giurar pe cruce, pe piza, pe faro*. Their canon law is very different from

from ours. Stealing and adultery are considered as trifling crimes, but violating or dishonouring a girl are great ones. No murther can be dispensed with by their popes. That dispensation is reserved to God alone. However, robberies and murthers are extremely common among this people. The reason is obvious. They have no true ideas either of God or of the soul; how should not they be wrong in their ideas of the social and political obligations of man? Any phænomenon, or effect of unknown causes, is considered by them as a miracle. They look upon a solar eclipse as a fray of the infernal dragon with the sun; for that reason, during an eclipse, a great firing is heard through the land, to frighten away the dragon, which else might conquer and devour the sun, and plunge the world into eternal darkness. The insects which in the spring creep forth from under a rock near Columbacz on the limits of the Turkish dominions, and which greatly annoy their herds, are, according to their opinion, vomited by the devil. The holy knight, St. George, is said to have cut off his head in a cavern under the rock. A Wallachian will never cut a spit of beech to roast his meat on. The reason is, beech yields in the spring a red sap, and the sentimental compassionate tree weeps these bloody tears, according to the learned and profound observations of the Wallachians, because the Turkish blood-hounds used to cut the spits for roasting Christians from beech-wood. No capital punishment is in greater abhorrence among the Wallachians than that of the rope. The pale and wheel seem prefer-

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able to it. But why? A rope ties the neck and forces the soul out downwards. They call that a most disgusting impure defilement of the soul, and I call their singular nicety on that account true psychological materialism.

Account of the Savage Tribes of America, extracted from Dr. Robertson's History.

THE first appearance of the inhabitants of the New World, filled the discoverers with such astonishment, that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from those of the other hemisphere. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarse, and lank. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly smooth. Their persons are of a full size, extremely straight, and well proportioned. Their features are regular, though often distorted by absurd endeavours to improve the beauty of their natural form, or to render their aspect more dreadful to their enemies. In the islands, where four-footed animals were both few and small, and the earth yielded her productions almost spontaneously, the constitution of the natives, neither braced by the active exercises of the chace, nor invigorated by the labour of cultivation, was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent, where the forests abound with game of various kinds, and the chief occupation of many tribes was to pursue it, their frame acquired greater firmness. Still, however, the American

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ricans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They resembled beasts of prey, rather than animals formed for labour. They were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it; and when rouzed by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease. This feebleness of constitution was universal among the inhabitants of those regions in America which we are surveying, and may be considered as characteristic of the species there.

The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American seems to indicate a defect of vigour, occasioned by some vice in his frame. He is destitute of one sign of manhood and of strength. This peculiarity, by which the inhabitants of the New World are distinguished from the people of all other nations, cannot be attributed, as some travellers have supposed, to their mode of subsistence. For though the food of many Americans be so extremely insipid, that they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple without this mark of degradation, or any apparent symptom of a diminution in their vigour.

As the external form of the Americans leads us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned by many authors as a confirmation of this suspicion. The quantity of food which men consume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the de-

gree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigour of their constitutions. Under the enervating heat of the torrid zone, and when men pass their days in indolence and ease, they require less nourishment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries. But neither the warmth of their climate, nor their extreme laziness, will account for the uncommon defect of appetite among the Americans. The Spaniards were astonished with observing this, not only in the islands, but in several parts of the continent. The constitutional tempérance of the natives far exceeded, in their opinion, the abstinence of the most mortified hermits; while on the other hand, the appetite of the Spaniards appeared to the Americans insatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one Spaniard devoured more food in a day than was sufficient for ten Americans.

A proof of some feebleness in their frame still more striking, is the insensibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. That passion which was destined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of social union, and the source of tenderness and joy, is the most ardent in the human breast; and though the perils and hardships of the savage state, though excessive fatigue, on some occasions, and the difficulty at all times of procuring subsistence, may seem to be adverse to this passion, and to have a tendency to abate its vigour, yet the rudest nations in every other part of the globe seem to feel its influence more powerfully than the inhabitants of the New World. The negro glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his

his climate; and the most uncultivated Asiatics discover that sensibility, which, from their situation, we should expect them to have felt. But the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the force of this first instinct of nature. In every part of the New World the natives treat their women with coldness and indifference. They are neither the objects of that tender attachment which takes place in civilized society, nor of that ardent desire conspicuous among rude nations. Even in climates where this passion usually acquires its greatest vigour, the savage of America views his female with disdain, as an animal of a less noble species. He is at no pains to win her favour by the assiduity of courtship, and still less solicitous to preserve it by indulgence and gentleness. Missionaries themselves, notwithstanding the austerity of monastic ideas, cannot refrain from expressing their astonishment at the dispassionate coldness of the American young men in their intercourse with the other sex. Nor is this reserve to be ascribed to any opinion which they entertain with respect to the merit of female chastity. That is an idea too refined for a savage, and suggested by a delicacy of sentiment and affection to which he is a stranger.

— Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, almost none of them are deformed, or mutilated, or defective in any of their senses. All travellers have been struck with this circumstance, and have celebrated the uniform symmetry and perfection of their external figure. Some authors search for the cause of this appearance in their physical condition. As the parents are

not exhausted or over-fatigued with hard labour, they suppose that their children are born vigorous and sound. They imagine, that in the liberty of savage life, the human body, naked and unconfined from its earliest age, preserves its natural form; and that all its limbs and members acquire a juster proportion, than when fettered with artificial restraints, which stint its growth, and distort its shape. Something, without doubt, may be ascribed to the operation of these causes; but the true reason of this apparent advantage, which is common to all savage nations, lie deeper, and are closely interwoven with the nature and genius of that state. The infancy of man is so long and so helpless, that it is extremely difficult to rear children among rude nations. Their means of subsistence are not only scanty, but precarious. Such as live by hunting must range over extensive countries, and shift often from place to place. The care of children, as well as every other laborious task, is devolved upon the women. The distresses and hardships of the savage life, which are often such as can hardly be supported by persons in full vigour, must be fatal to those of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a task so laborious, and of such long duration, the women, in some parts of America, extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish, and by the use of certain herbs procure frequent abortions. Sensible that only stout and well-formed children have force of constitution to struggle through such an hard infancy, other nations abandon or destroy such of

their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of attention. Even when they endeavour to rear all their children without distinction, so great a proportion of the whole number perishes under the rigorous treatment which must be their lot in the savage state, that few of those who laboured under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Thus, in polished societies, where the means of subsistence are secured with certainty, and acquired with ease; where the talents of the mind are often of more importance than the powers of the body; children are preserved notwithstanding their defects or deformity, and grow up to be useful citizens. In rude nations, such persons are either cut off as soon as they are born, or, becoming a burden to themselves and to the community, cannot long protract their lives. But in those provinces of the New World, where, by the establishment of the Europeans, more regular provision has been made for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and they are restrained from laying violent hands on their children, the Americans are so far from being eminent for any superior perfection in their form, that one should rather suspect some peculiar imbecility in the race, from the extraordinary number of individuals who are deformed, dwarfish, mutilated, blind, or deaf.

However feeble the constitution of the Americans may be, it is remarkable, that there is less variety in the human form throughout the New World, than in the ancient continent. When Columbus and the other discoverers first visited the different countries of

America which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the same complexion with those in the corresponding regions of the other hemisphere. To their amazement, however, they discovered that America contained no negroes; and the cause of this singular appearance became as much the object of curiosity, as the fact itself was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humour resides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to inquire and describe: The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human species. All Europe, almost the whole of Asia, and the temperate parts of Africa, are occupied by men of a fair complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and a few countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black colour. If we trace the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find, that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its colour deepens gradually as we advance; and after passing through all successive gradations of shade, terminates in an uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, which I have already explained, the climate seems to be destitute of that force which produces such wonderful effects on the human frame. The colour of the natives of the torrid

torrid zone, in America, can hardly be said to be of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate observers, who had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in countries far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect.

—In order to form a complete idea with respect to the constitution of the inhabitants of this and the other hemisphere, we should attend not only to the make and vigour of their bodies, but consider what degree of health they enjoy, and to what period of longevity they usually arrive. In the simplicity of the savage state, when man is not oppressed with labour, or enervated by luxury, or disquieted with care, we are apt to imagine that his life will flow on almost untroubled by disease or suffering, until his days be terminated, in extreme old age, by the gradual decays of nature. We find, accordingly, among the Americans, as well as among other rude people, persons, whose decrepit and shrivelled form seems to indicate an extraordinary length of life. But as most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering, and all of them as forgetful of what is past, as they are improvident for what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision. It is evident, that the period of their longevity must vary considerably, according to the diversity of climates; and their different modes of subsistence. They seem, however, to be every where exempt from many of the distempers which afflict polished nations. None of

the maladies, which are the immediate offspring of luxury, or sloth, ever visited them; and they have no names in their languages by which to distinguish this numerous train of adventitious evils.

But, whatever be the situation in which man is placed, he is born to suffer; and his diseases, in the savage state, though fewer in number, are, like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent, and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nourishes distempers of one species, the rigour and distresses of savage life bring on those of another. As men, in this state, are wonderfully improvident, and their means of subsistence precarious, they often pass from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the vicissitudes of fortune in the chase; or to the variety in the productions of the seasons. Their inconsiderate gluttony in the one situation, and their severe abstinence in the other, are equally pernicious. For, though the human constitution may be accustomed by habit, like that of animals of prey, to tolerate long famine, and then to gorge voraciously, it is not a little affected by such sudden and violent transitions. The strength and vigour of savages are, at some seasons, impaired by what they suffer from scarcity of food; at others, they are afflicted with disorders arising from indigestion and a superfluity of gross aliment. These last are so common, that they may be considered as the unavoidable consequence of their mode of subsisting, and cut off considerable numbers in the prime of life. They are likewise extremely subject to consumption, to pleuritic, asthmatic, and paralytic

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paralytic disorders, brought on by the immoderate hardships and fatigue which they endure in hunting and in war; or owing to the inclemency of the seasons to which they are continually exposed. In the savage state, hardships and fatigue violently assault the constitution. In polished societies, intemperance undermines it. It is not easy to determine which of them operates with most fatal effect, or tends most to abridge human life. The influence of the former is certainly most extensive. The pernicious consequences of luxury reach only a few members in any community, the distresses of savage life are felt by all. As far as I can judge, after a very minute inquiry, the general period of human life is shorter among savages, than in well-regulated and industrious societies.

One dreadful malady, the severest scourge, with which, in this life, offended Heaven chastens the indulgence of criminal desire, seems to have been peculiar to the Americans. By communicating it to their conquerors, they have not only amply avenged their own wrongs, but by adding this calamity to those which formerly embittered human life, they have, perhaps, more than counterbalanced all the benefits which Europe has derived from the discovery of the New World. This temper, from the country in which it first raged, or from the people by whom it was supposed to have been spread over Europe, has been sometimes called the Neapolitan, and sometimes the French disease. At its first appearance, the infection was so malignant, its symptoms so violent, its operation so

rapid and fatal, as to baffle all the efforts of medical skill. Astonishment and terror accompanied this unknown affliction in its progress, and men began to dread the extinction of the human race by such a cruel visitation. Experience, and the ingenuity of physicians gradually discovered remedies of such virtue as to cure or mitigate the evil. During the course of two centuries and a half, its virulence seems to have abated considerably. At length, in the same manner with the leprosy, which raged in Europe for some centuries, it may waste its force and disappear; and in some happier age, this western infection, like that from the East, may be known only by description.

After considering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily constitution of the Americans, our attention is naturally turned towards the powers and qualities of their minds. As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigour and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which several powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. In the early ages of society, while the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a very narrow sphere. Hence arise two remarkable characteristics of the human mind, in this state. Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both these distinctions are conspicuous among the rudest and most

most unimproved of the American tribes, and constitute a striking part in their description.

What, among polished nations, is called speculative reasoning or research, is altogether unknown in the rude state of society, and never becomes the occupation or amusement of the human faculties, until man be so far improved as to have secured, with certainty, the means of subsistence, as well as the possession of leisure and tranquillity. The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects, immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him. Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him ; what is out of sight, or at a distance, makes no impression. There are several people in America whose limited understandings seem not to be capable of forming an arrangement for futurity ; neither their solicitude nor their foresight extend so far. They follow blindly the impulse of the appetite which they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension. While they highly prize such things as serve present use, or minister to present enjoyment, they set no value upon those which are not the object of some immediate want. When, on the approach of the evening, a Caribbee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammoc. But, in the morning, when he is sallying out to the business or pastime of the day, he will part with it for the

slightest toy that catches his fancy. At the close of winter, while the impression of what he has suffered from the rigour of the climate is fresh in the mind of the North American, he sets himself with vigour to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season ; but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he forgets what is past, abandons his work, and never thinks of it more, until the return of cold compels him, when too late, to resume it.

—After viewing the bodily constitution of the Americans, and contemplating the powers of their minds, we are led, in the natural order of inquiry, to consider them as united together in society. Hitherto our researches have been confined to the operations of understanding respecting themselves, as individuals, now they will extend to the degree of their sensibility and affection towards their species.

The domestic state is the first and most simple form of human association. The union of the sexes, among different animals, is of longer or shorter duration in proportion to the ease or difficulty of rearing their offspring. Among those tribes where the season of infancy is short, and the young soon acquire vigour or agility, no permanent union is formed. Nature commits the care of training up the offspring to the mother alone, and her tenderness, without any other assistance, is equal to the task. But where the state of infancy is long and helpless, and the joint affiduity of both parents is requisite in tending their feeble brood, there a more intimate connection takes place, and continues

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until the purpose of nature be accomplished, and the new race grow up to full maturity. As the infancy of man is more feeble and helpless than that of any other animal, and he is dependent, during a much longer period, on the care and foresight of his parents, the union between husband and wife came early to be considered, not only as a solemn, but as a permanent contract. A general state of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes never existed but in the imagination of poets. In the infancy of society, when men, destitute of arts and industry, lead a hard precarious life, the rearing of their progeny demands the attention and efforts of both parents; and if their union had not been formed and continued with this view, the race could not have been preserved. Accordingly, in America, even among the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife was universal, and the rights of marriage were understood and recognized. In those districts where subsistence was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer or more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate, in inducing the inhabitants to increase the number of their wives. In some countries the marriage union subsisted during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to dissolve it on very slight pretexts, and often without assigning any cause.

But whether they considered the obligation of this contract as per-

petual, or only temporary, the condition of women was equally humiliating and miserable. Whether man has been improved by the progress of arts and civilization in society, is a question, which, in the wantonness of disputation, has been agitated among philosophers. That women are indebted to the refinements of polished manners for a happy change in their state, is a point which can admit of no doubt. To despise and to degrade the female sex, is the characteristic of the savage state in every part of the globe. Man, proud of excelling in strength and in courage, the chief marks of pre-eminence among rude people, treats woman, as an inferior, with disdain. The Americans, perhaps from that coldness and insensibility which has been considered as peculiar to their constitution, add neglect and harshness to contempt. The most intelligent travellers have been struck with this inattention of the Americans to their women. It is not, as I have already observed, by a studied display of tenderness and attachment that the American endeavours to gain the heart of the woman whom he wishes to marry. Marriage itself, instead of being an union of affection and interest between equals, becomes, among them, the unnatural conjunction of a master with his slave. It is the observation of an author, whose opinions are deservedly of great weight, that wherever wives are purchased, their condition is extremely depressed. They become the property and the slaves of those who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this custom prevails, the observation holds. In countries where refinement has made

made some progress, women, excluded from society, and shut up in sequestered apartments, are kept under the vigilant guard of their masters. In ruder nations, they are degraded to the meanest functions. Among many people of America the marriage-contract is properly a purchase. The man buys his wife of her parents. Though unacquainted with the use of money, or with such commercial transactions as take place in more improved society, he knows how to give an equivalent for any object which he desires to possess. In some places the suitor devotes his service for a certain time to the parents of the maid whom he courts; in others, he hunts for them occasionally, or assists in cultivating their fields, and forming their canoes; in others, he offers presents of such things as are deemed most valuable on account of their usefulness or rarity. In return for these, he receives his wife; and this circumstance, added to the low estimation of women among savages, leads him to consider her as a female servant whom he has acquired, and whom he has a title to treat as an inferior. In all unpolished nations, it is true, the functions in domestic economy, which fall naturally to the share of women, are so many, that they are subjected to hard labour, and must bear more than their full portion of the common burden. But in America their condition is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife, among most tribes, is no better than a beast of burden, destined to every office of labour and fatigue. While

the men loiter out the day in idleness, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon them without pity, and services are received without complacence or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed. Thus the first institution of social life is perverted. That state of domestic union towards which nature leads the human species, in order to soften the heart to gentleness and humanity, is rendered so unequal, as to establish a cruel distinction between the sexes, which forms the one to be harsh and unfeeling, and humbles the other to servility and subjection.

It is owing, perhaps, in some measure, to this state of depression, that women in rude nations are far from being prolific. The vigour of their constitution is exhausted by excessive fatigue, and the wants and distresses of savage life are so numerous, as to force them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their progeny. Among wandering tribes, or such as depend chiefly upon hunting for subsistence, the mother cannot attempt to rear a second child, until the first has attained

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tained such a degree of vigour as to be in some measure independent of her care. From this motive, it is the universal practice of the American women to nurse their children during several years; and as they seldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over, before they can finish the long but necessary attendance upon two or three successive children. Among some of the least polished tribes, whose industry and foresight does not extend so far as to make any regular provision for their own subsistence, it is a maxim not to burden themselves with rearing more than two children; and no such numerous families, as are frequent in civilized societies, are to be found among men in this state. When twins are born one of them commonly is abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of educating both. When a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave. As the parents are frequently exposed to want by their own improvident indolence, the difficulty of sustaining their children becomes so great, that it is not uncommon to abandon or destroy them. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness.

But, though necessity compels the inhabitants of America thus to set bounds to the increase of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. They feel the power of

this instinct in its full force, and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care. But in rude nations, the dependence of children upon their parents is of shorter continuance than in polished societies. When men must be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous discipline and education, when the knowledge of abstruse sciences must be taught, and dexterity in intricate arts must be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action, the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to the establishment of his child in the world. Even then, his solicitude does not terminate. His protection may still be requisite, and his wisdom and experience still prove useful guides. Thus a permanent connection is formed; parental tenderness is exercised, and filial respect returned, throughout the whole course of life. But in the simplicity of the savage state, the affection of parents, like the instinctive fondness of animals, ceases almost entirely as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are destined. The parents, as if their duty were accomplished, when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. They seldom advise or admonish, they never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the

the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connection. As filial love is not cherished by the continuance of attention or good offices, the recollection of benefits received in early infancy is too faint to excite it. Conscious of their own liberty, and impatient of restraint, the youth of America are accustomed to act as if they were totally independent. Their parents are not objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence, as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration, and weaken the force, of the connection between parents and children.

From the domestic state of the Americans, the transition is natural to the consideration of their civil government and political institutions. In every inquiry concerning the operations of men when united together in society, the first object of attention should be their mode of subsistence. Accordingly as that varies, their laws and policy must be different. The institutions suited to the ideas and exigencies of tribes, which subsist chiefly by fishing or hunting, and which have hardly formed a conception of any species of property, will be much more simple than those which must take place when the earth is cultivated with regular

industry, and a right of property, not only in its productions, but in the soil itself, is completely ascertained.

All the people of America, now under review, belong to the former class. But though they may all be comprehended under the general denomination of savage, the advances which they had made in the art of procuring to themselves a certain and plentiful subsistence, were very unequal. On the vast plains of South America, man appears in one of the rudest states in which he has been ever observed, or, perhaps, can exist. Several tribes depend entirely upon the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, they scarcely exert any industry, to secure what is necessary for their support. The *Topayres* of Brasil, the *Guaxeros* of Tierra-Firme, the *Caiguas*, the *Moxos*, and several other people of Paraguay, are unacquainted with every species of cultivation. They neither sow nor plant. Even the culture of the manioc, of which cassada bread is made, is an art too intricate for their ingenuity, or too fatiguing to their indolence. The roots which the earth produces spontaneously, the fruits, the berries, and seeds, which they gather in the woods, together with lizards and other reptiles, which the heat engenders in a fat soil, moistened by frequent rains, supply them with food during some part of the year. At other times they subsist by fishing; and nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the people, by the liberality with which she ministers, in this way, to their wants. The vast rivers of South-America abound with an infinite

infinite variety of the most delicate fish. The lakes and marshes, formed by the annual overflowing of the waters, are filled with all the different species, where they remain shut up, as in natural reservoirs, for the use of the inhabitants. They swarm in such shoals, that in some places they are caught without art or industry. In others, the natives have discovered a method of infecting the water with the juice of certain plants, by which the fish are so intoxicated, that they float on the surface, and are taken with the hand. Some tribes have ingenuity enough to preserve them without salt, by drying or smoking them upon hurdles over a slow fire. The prolific quality of the rivers in South-America induces many of the natives to resort to their banks, and to depend almost entirely for nourishment on what their waters supply with such profusion. In this part of the globe, hunting seems not to have been the first employment of men, or the first effort of their invention and labour to obtain food. They were fishers before they became hunters; and as the occupations of the former do not call for equal exertions of activity, or talents, with those of the latter, people in that state appear to possess neither the same degree of enterprise, nor of ingenuity. The petty nations, adjacent to the Maranon and Orinoco, are manifestly the most inactive and least intelligent of all the Americans.

None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can sustain themselves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is covered, do not procure

sustenance with the same facility. For although these forests, especially in the southern continent of America, are stored plentifully with game, considerable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requisite in pursuit of it. Necessity incited them to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it called forth strenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it was deemed a function no less honourable than necessary. This was peculiar to the men. They were trained to it from their earliest youth. A bold and dextrous hunter ranked next in fame to the distinguished warrior, and an alliance with the former is often courted in preference to one with the latter. Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has discovered for ensnaring or destroying wild animals, was unknown to the Americans. While engaged in this favourite exercise, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, the latent powers and vigour of their minds are roused, and they become active, persevering, and indefatigable. Their sagacity in finding their prey, and their address in killing it, are equal. Their reason and their senses, being constantly directed towards this one object, the former displays such fertility of invention, and the latter acquire such a degree of acuteness, as appear almost incredible. They discern the footsteps of a wild beast, which escape every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathless forest. If they attack their game openly, their arrow seldom errs from the mark; if they endeavour to circumvent it by

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art, it is almost impossible to avoid their toils. Among several tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry, until they had given such proofs of their skill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family. Their ingenuity, always on the stretch, and sharpened by emulation, as well as necessity, has struck out many inventions, which greatly facilitate success in the chase. The most singular of these is the discovery of a poison in which they dip the arrows employed in hunting. The slightest wound with those envenomed shafts is mortal. If they only pierce the skin, the blood fixes and congeals in a moment, and the strongest animal falls motionless to the ground. Nor does this poison, notwithstanding its violence and subtlety, infect the flesh of the animal which it kills. That may be eaten with perfect safety, and retains its native relish and qualities. All the nations along the Maranon and Orinoco are acquainted with this composition, the chief ingredient in which is the juice extracted from the root of the *curare*, a species of withe. In other parts of America, they employ the juice of the *manchenille* for the same purpose, and it operates with a no less fatal activity. To people possessed of those secrets, the bow is a more destructive weapon than the musket, and, in their skilful hands, does great execution among the birds and beasts which abound in the forests of America.

But the life of a hunter gradually leads man to a state more advanced. The chase, even where prey is abundant, and the dexterity of the hunter much improved, affords but

an uncertain maintenance, and at some seasons it must be suspended altogether. If a savage trusts to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme distress. Hardly any region of the earth furnishes man spontaneously with what his wants require. In the mildest climates, and most fertile soils, his own industry and foresight must be exerted, in some degree, to secure a regular supply of food. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labour natural to savage nations, and compels them to have recourse to culture, as subsidiary to hunting. In particular situations, some small tribes may subsist by fishing, independent of any production of the earth, raised by their own industry. But throughout all America, we scarcely meet with any nation of hunters, which does not practise some species of cultivation.

Their agriculture, however, is neither extensive nor laborious. As game and fish are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation, is to supply any occasional defect of these. In the southern continent of America, the natives confined their industry to rearing a few plants, which, in a rich soil and warm climate, were easily trained to maturity. The chief of these is *Maize*, well known in Europe by the name of Turkey or Indian wheat, a grain extremely prolific, of simple culture, agreeable to the taste, and affording a strong hearty nourishment. The second is the *manioc*, which grows to the size of a large shrub, or small tree, and produces roots somewhat resembling parsnips. After carefully squeezing out the juice, these roots are grated down

to a fine powder, and formed into thin cakes, called *Cassada* bread, which, though insipid to the taste, proves no contemptible food. As the juice of the manioc is a deadly poison, some authors have celebrated the ingenuity of the Americans, in converting a noxious plant into wholesome nourishment. But it should rather be considered as one of the desperate expedients for procuring subsistence, to which necessity reduces rude nations; or, perhaps, men were led to the use of it by a progress, in which there is nothing marvellous. One species of manioc is altogether free of any poisonous quality, and may be eaten without any preparation but that of roasting it in the embers. This, it is probable, was first used by the Americans as food; and necessity having gradually taught them the art of separating its pernicious juice from the other species, they have by experience found it to be the most prolific as well as the most nourishing plant of the two. The third is the *plantain*, which though it rises to the height of a tree, is of such quick growth, that in less than a year it rewards the industry of the cultivator with its fruit. This, when roasted, supplies the place of bread, and is both palatable and nourishing. The fourth is the *potasse*, whose culture and qualities are too well known to need any description. The fifth is *pimento*, a small tree, yielding a strong aromatic spice. The Americans, who, like other inhabitants of warm climates, delight in whatever is hot and of pungent flavour, deem this seasoning a necessary of life, and mingle it copiously with every kind of food they take.

Such are the various productions, which were the chief object of culture among the hunting tribes on the continent of America, and with a moderate exertion of active and provident industry, these might have yielded a full supply to the wants of a numerous people. But men, accustomed to the free and vagrant life of hunters, are incapable of regular application to labour; and consider agriculture as a secondary and inferior occupation. Accordingly, the provision for subsistence, arising from cultivation, was so limited and scanty among the Americans, that, upon any accidental failure of their usual success in hunting, they were often reduced to extreme distress.

In the islands, the mode of subsisting was considerably different. None of the large animals which abound on the continent were known there. Only four species of quadrupeds, besides a kind of small dumb dog, existed in the islands, the biggest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. To hunt such diminutive prey, was an occupation which required no effort either of activity or courage. The chief employment of a hunter in the isles was to kill birds, which on the continent are deemed ignoble game, and left chiefly to the pursuit of boys. This want of animals, as well as their peculiar situation, led the islanders to depend principally upon fishing for their subsistence. Their rivers, and the sea with which they are surrounded, supplied them with this species of food. At some particular seasons, turtle, crabs, and other shell-fish, abounded in such numbers, that they could support themselves with a facility in which

their

their indolence delighted. At other times, they eat lizards, and various reptiles of odious forms. To fishing, the inhabitants of the islands added some degree of agriculture. Maize, manioc, and other plants, were cultivated in the same manner as on the continent. But all the fruits of their industry, together with what their soil and climate produced spontaneously, afforded them but a scanty maintenance. Though their demands for food were very sparing, they hardly raised what was sufficient for their own consumption. If a few Spaniards settled in any district, such a small addition of supernumerary mouths soon exhausted their scanty stores, and brought on a famine.

Two circumstances, common to all the savage nations of America, concurred with those which I have already mentioned, not only in rendering their agriculture imperfect, but in circumscribing their power in all their operations. They had no tame animals; and they were unacquainted with the use of metals.

—Agriculture, even when the strength of man is seconded by that of the animals which he has subjected to the yoke, and his power augmented by the use of the various instruments with which the discovery of metals has furnished him, is still a work of great labour; and it is with the sweat of his brow that he renders the earth fertile. It is not wonderful, then, that people destitute of both these advantages should have made so little progress in cultivation, that they must be considered as depending for subsistence on fishing and hunt-

ing, rather than on the fruits of their own labour.

Account of a Society in the Friendly Islands named Arreoy; extracted from Forster's Voyage.

WE walked along this creek in the afternoon, as far as the intermitting showers would permit. The shore was lined with innumerable canoes, whilst every house and shed was crowded with people, many of whom were preparing large and luxuriant dinners, from heaps of provisions which were every where accumulated. We were told that a peculiar society or order of persons of both sexes, named Arreoy, existed in these islands; and that they assembled at times from all parts, and travelled through all the islands, feasting and carousing to excess. During the time we lay at Huahine, we had observed no less than seventy canoes, with more than seven hundred of these arreoyos on board; crossing over to Raietea in one morning. We were told that they had spent a few days on the east side of the island, and were arrived on its western shore only a day or two before us. We took notice that they were all persons of some consequence, and of the race of chiefs. Some of the men were punctured in large broad blotches; and Mahine assured us, these were the most eminent members of the society, and that the more they were covered with punctures, the higher was their rank. They were in general stout and well made, and all professed themselves warriors. Mahine had a very high veneration for

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for this society, and told us he himself was a member. They are united by the ties of reciprocal friendship, and exercise hospitality towards each other in its greatest latitude. As soon as an arreoy visits another, though he were unknown to him, he is sure to have his wants supplied, and his desires gratified; he is introduced to other members of the order, and they vie with each other in loading him with carresses and presents. It was to this principle that Mahine ascribed all the pleasures which he had enjoyed at Taheitee. The first people who saw him on board were arreloys according to his account, and in that quality made him a present of their garments, since he had no other than European cloaths. It appears that one or more persons of each little family of chiefs enter into this community, of which the invariable and fundamental character is, that none of its members are permitted to have any children. From the accounts of the most intelligent among the natives, we have great room to suppose, that the original institution required their living in perpetual celibacy. As this law was too repugnant to the impulses of nature, which must be uncommonly strong in their climate, they soon transgressed it; but preserved the intention of the prescribed abstinence, by suffocating their unfortunate offspring immediately after birth.

The arreloys enjoy several privileges, and are greatly respected throughout the Society Islands and Taheitee; nay, they claim a great share of honour from the very circumstance of being childless. Tu-

pays, when he heard that the king of England had a numerous offspring, declared he thought himself much greater, because he belonged to the arreloys. In most other countries the name of a parent gives honour and respect; but when an arreoy, at Taheitee, emphatically bestows it, it is meant as a term of contempt and reproach. The arreloys keep great meetings at stated times, travelling from one island to another. They feast on the choicest vegetables, and on plenty of pork, dog's flesh, fish, and poultry, which is liberally furnished by the towtows, or lower class, for their entertainment. The pepper-root drink is prepared and swallowed in surprising quantities on these occasions. Wherever they go, the train of sensual pleasure waits upon them. They are amused with music and dances; which are said to be particularly lascivious at night, when no other spectators besides themselves are admitted.

In a country so far emerged from barbarism as Tabitee, it cannot be supposed that a society would have maintained itself to the present time, which appears so injurious to the rest of the nation, unless its advantages were so considerable, as to require its continuance. Two reasons seem to favour the existence of arreloys, and both are in some measure connected together. The first appears to be the necessity of entertaining a body of warriors, to defend their fellow-citizens from the invasions and depredations of enemies. This is confirmed by the circumstance, that all the arreloys are warriors; but as love might be supposed to ener-

vate them, they were restrained to that celibacy, which they have since found it too difficult to observe. The second reason for the association of the arreos, seems to be to prevent the too rapid propagation of the race of chiefs. An intelligent man, who perhaps was once the lawgiver of Taheitee, might foresee, that the common people would at length groan under the yoke of this numerous and ever multiplying breed of petty-tyrants. To oblige a part of them to a single life, was the shortest means of obtaining this end; but certain glaring advantages were to be held out, to make them submit without reluctance to such a restraint. From hence we may derive that high esteem with which the whole nation honours the order of arreoy; and likewise account for their authority, and for their gluttony in eating, which has been the privilege of warriors in every country, before they became the tools of tyranny. When the arreos had once so far departed from the laws of their first institution, as to admit the commerce with the sex, it is easy to conceive, that, by insensible degrees, they have almost wholly lost the original chaste and sober spirit of the order. They are at present, without doubt, the most luxurious set of people in the island; though I have not found the least reason to charge them with a refinement in voluptuousness, which is at once improbable, and inconsistent with the tenderness of the whole people. We have been told a wanton tale of promiscuous embraces, where every woman is common to every man: but when we enquired for a confirmation of this story from the natives,

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we were soon convinced that it must, like many others, be considered as the groundless invention of a traveller's gay fancy.

Some arreos are married to a woman, in the same manner as Mähine was to the daughter of Toperree; but others keep a temporary mistress. Many may perhaps revel in the arms of several prostitutes, which are to be met with in all the islands. This dissolute pleasure is however much more frequent in every civilized country of Europe; but I apprehend it would not authorise an assertion, that in Europe there exists a society of men and women, who practise a particular refinement of sensuality. When we consider the whole character of the Taheitians; when we recollect their gentleness, their generosity, their affectionate friendship, their tenderness, their pity, we cannot reconcile these qualities to the murder of their own offspring. We shudder at the stern inhumanity of the father, but much more so at the obdurate heart of the mother, where the voice of nature, and of powerful instinct, should cry aloud for mercy and protection. The paths of virtue are but too easily forsaken; still we are at a loss to conceive, how a people so much left to nature, could arrive at such a detestable pitch of depravity; but custom,

That monster custom, who all sense doth
eat
Of habits evil — — — SHAKESPEARE.

gradually blunts every feeling, and overcomes the strings of remorse. We had no sooner learnt that such an unnatural and barbarous practice stigmatized the society of arreoy, than we reprehended our

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young friend Mahine for valuing himself on being a member of such a detestable body. We endeavoured to point out the immorality and cruelty of this practice, and made use of every argument which our reflections could furnish, or our words express. We easily succeeded in convincing him, and obtained a promise that he would not kill his children, but separate from the society as soon as he should receive the glorious name of father. To our great satisfaction he assured us, that the instances of arreoyes having children were extremely rare. It seems that they choose their wives and mistresses among the prostitutes; and from this circumstance, as well as from their great voluptuousness, they have seldom reason to dread the intrusion of an unfortunate infant. The answers of O-Mai, whom I consulted on this subject after my return to England, gave me still greater pleasure, as they softened the transgression at least of one part, and entirely freed the bulk of the nation from that share of guilt, which the simple acquiescence in such a heinous crime might throw upon them. He assured me, that the invariable laws of the community of arreoy required the extinction of their offspring; that the pre-eminence and advantages which a man enjoyed as arreoy were so valuable, as to urge him on against his own feelings; that the mother was never willing to consent to the horrid murder, but that her husband and other arreoyes persuaded her to yield up the child; and that when entreaties were not sufficient, force was sometimes employed. But above all, he added, that this act was always performed in secret,

and so that none of the people, not even the towtows or attendants of the house, were present; because, if it were seen, the murderers must be put to death. This being the case, we may comfort ourselves with the reflection, that criminal individuals are not more numerous in the Society Islands, than among other people; and that the votaries of vice have no reason to triumph, in supposing a whole nation accustomed to commit unnatural murders, without a sense of wrong.

The arreoyes were no less hospitable than luxurious, and it was not for want of invitation that we did not partake of their refreshments. We rambled in the country till sunset, and then returned to the ship, which Mahine, the woman, and the other Indian passengers had now left. The next morning a great number of natives came to the ship in their canoes, among whom were many women, who remained with the sailors. At Huahine the commerce of this kind had been very inconsiderable, and chiefly confined to women who were only on a visit to that island; it was therefore resumed here with the greatest eagerness by our crew. We passed the day on an excursion to the northward, where we shot several wild ducks, and met with a hospitable reception in different cottages.

The next was a fine day, delightfully tempered by a strong easterly gale. We received the visits of Orea and all his family, of Boba, the viceroy of the island of O-Tahà, and of Teïna, the fair dancing-woman, whose picture Mr. Hodges had formerly attempted to draw. Boba was a tall, hand-

handsome young man, a native of Borabora, related to Poonee, the king of that island, and conqueror of Raietea and Tahà. Mahine has frequently told us, that he is destined to be the successor of O-Poone, whose only daughter Maïwherua, said to be a young beautiful princess, twelve years old, he is to marry. Boba was at present an arreoy, and kept the lively Teina as his mistress, who was with child in consequence. We entered into conversation with her on the custom of killing the offspring of an arreoy. The short dialogue which passed between us was couched in the most simple expressions, because we had not sufficient knowledge of the language to discourse of abstract ideas. For the same reason all our rhetoric was exhausted, in a few moments, and had no other effect, than to draw the following concession from Teina-mai: "that our eauta (deity) in England might perhaps be offended by the practice of the arreloys; but that her's was not displeased with it. She promised, however, if we would come from England to fetch her child, she might perhaps keep it alive, provided we gave her a hatchet, a shirt, and some red feathers."

In a former volume we have given our Readers an account of the manners and customs of the natives of Otabeite. As some facts in that account appear to have been misrepresented, we think it necessary to add the following extract from Captain Cook's last Voyage.

GRÉAT injustice has been done the women of Otaheite, and the Society Isles, by those who

have represented them, without exception, as ready to grant the last favour to any man who will come up to their price. But this is by no means the case; the favours of married women, and also the unmarried of the better sort, are as difficult to be obtained here as in any other country whatever. Neither can the charge be understood indiscriminately of the unmarried of the lower class, for many of these admit of no such familiarities. That there are prostitutes here, as well as in other countries, is very true, perhaps more in proportion, and such were those who came on board the ships to our people, and frequented the post we had on shore. By seeing these mix indiscriminately with those of a different turn, even of the first rank, one is, at first, inclined to think that they are all disposed the same way, and that the only difference is in the price. But the truth is, the woman who becomes a prostitute, does not seem, in their opinion, to have committed a crime of so deep a dye as to exclude her from the esteem and society of the community in general. On the whole, a stranger who visits England might, with equal justice, draw the characters of the women there, from those which he might meet with on board the ships in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent-Garden and Drury-Lane. I must, however, allow that they are all completely versed in the art of coquetry, and that very few of them fix any bounds to their conversation. It is, therefore, no wonder that they have obtained the character of libertines.

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uneasiness till she voids it: for they know all her motions, and when they see her thus uneasy, they carry her to the door of the house, where she makes these few drops. Nor have they, in all these three years, ever discovered the smallest wetting in her bed; in proof of which, notwithstanding her being so long bed-ridden, there has never been the least excoriation, though she never attempts to turn herself, or make any motion with hand, head, or foot, but lies like a log of wood. Her pulse today, which with some difficulty I felt (her mother at this time having raised her, and supported her in her bed) is distinct and regular, slow, and to the extremest degree small. Her countenance is clear and pretty fresh, her features not disfigured nor sunk; her skin feels natural both as to touch and warmth; and, to my astonishment, when I came to examine her body, for I expected to feel a skeleton, I found her breasts round, and prominent, like those of a healthy young woman; her legs, arms, and thighs, not at all emaciated; the abdomen somewhat tumid, and the muscles tense; her knees bent, and her ham-strings tight as a bow-string; her heels almost close to the *nates*. When they struggle with her, to put a little water within her lips, they observe sometimes a dewy softness on her skin; she sleeps much, and very quiet; but when awake keeps a constant whimpering like a new-born weakly infant, and sometimes makes an effort to cough. At present no degree of strength can force open her jaws. I put the point of my lit-

tle finger into the gap of her teeth, and found the tongue, as far as I could reach, soft and moist; as I did with my other fingers the mouth and cheeks quite to the back teeth. She never can remain a moment on her back, but always falls to one side or to the other; and when her mother sat behind her in the bed, and supported her while I was examining her body, her head hung down, with her chin close to her breast, nor could I with any force move it backwards, the anterior muscles of the neck being rigid, like a person in the *emphybotonus*, and in this posture she constantly lies.

The above case was taken in writing this day, at the deceased woman's bed-side, from the mouths of her father and mother, who are known to be people of great veracity, and are under no temptation to deceive; for they neither ask, expect, or get any thing: their daughter's situation is a very great mortification to them, and universally known and regretted by all their neighbours. I had along with me, as interpreters*, Mr. Robertson, a very discreet young gentleman, eldest son to the minister of the parish, and David Ross, at the Craig of Strath-Carron, their neighbour, and one of the elders of the parish, who verified from his own knowledge all that is above related. The present situation and appearances of the patient were carefully examined this 21st of October, 1767, by Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, physician at New Tarbat; who likewise, in the month of October, 1772, being informed that the patient was

* The family spoke only Erse.

recovering and ate and drank, visited her, and found her condition to be as follows: about a year preceding this last date, her parents one day returning from their country labours, (having left their daughter as for some years before fixed to her bed) were greatly surprised to find her sitting on her hams, on the side of the house opposite to her bed-place, spinning with her mother's distaff. I asked, whether she ever ate or drank? whether she had any of the natural evacuations? whether she ever spoke or attempted to speak? And was answered, that she sometimes crumbled a bit of oat or barley cake in the palm of her hand, as if to feed a chicken; that she put little crumbs of this into the gap of her teeth, rolled them about for some time in her mouth, and then sucked out of the palm of her hand a little water, whey, or milk; and this once or twice a day, and even that by compulsion: that the *egesta* were in proportion to the *ingesta*; that she never attempted to speak; that her jaws were still fast-locked, her ham-strings tight as before, and her eyes shut. On my opening her eye-lids I found the eye-balls turned up under the edge of the *os frontis*, her countenance ghastly, her complexion pale, her skin shrivelled and dry, and her whole person rather emaciated; her pulse with the utmost difficulty to be felt. She seemed sensible and tractable in every thing, except in taking food; for, at my request, she went through her different exercises, spinning on the distaff, and crawling about on her hams, by the wall of the house, with the help of her hand: but when she was desired to eat, she

shewed the greatest reluctance, and indeed cried before she yielded; and this was no more than, as I have said, to take a few crumbs as to feed a bird, and to suck half a spoonful of milk from the palm of her hand. On the whole, her existence was little less wonderful now than when I first saw her, when she had not swallowed the smallest particle of food for years together. I attributed her thinness and wan complexion, that is, the great change of her looks from what I had first seen when fixed to her bed, to her exhausting too much of the *saliva* by spinning flax on the distaff, and therefore recommended her being totally confined to spinning wool: this she does with equal dexterity as she did the flax. The above was her situation in October, 1772; and within these eight days I have been told by a neighbour of her father's, that she still continues in the same way, without any addition to her support, and without any additional ailment.

New Tarbat, ALEX. MACKENZIE.
April 3, 1775.

At Croick, the fifteenth Day of
June, 1775.

TO authenticate the history set forth in the preceding pages, Donald Mac Leod, esq. of Granies, sheriff depute of Ross-shire, George Munro, esq. of Cuthain, Simon Ross, esq. of Gladfield, Captain George Sutherland of Elphin, all justices of the peace; Messieurs William Smith, preacher of the gospel, John Barclay, writer in Tain, Hugh Ross, student of divinity, and Alexander Mac Leod, did come to this place, accompanied

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nied by the above Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, physician at New Tarbat, and after explaining the purport and meaning of the above history to Donald Mac Leod, father to Janet Mac Leod above-mentioned, and to David Ross, elder, in the parish of Kincardine, who lives in the close neighbourhood of this place, and was one of the doctor's original interpreters; they, to our full satisfaction, after a minute examination, authenticate all the facts set forth in the above account: and, for our further satisfaction, we had Janet Mac Leod brought out before us to the open air, when the doctor discovered a very great improvement in her looks and health since the period of his having seen her last, as now she walked tolerably upright, with a little hold by the wall. And notwithstanding her age, which, upon inquiry, we found to be exactly as set forth in the above account, her countenance and looks would have denoted her not to be above twenty years of age at most. At present the quantity of food she uses is not above what would be necessary for the sustenance of an infant of two years of age. And we do report, from our knowledge of the above men, and the circumstances of the case, that full faith and credit is to be given to every article of the above history.

WILLIAM SMITH,
JOHN BARCLAY, N. P.
HUGH ROSS,
ALEXANDER MAC LEOD,
DONALD MAC LEOD, Sh. Dep.
GEORGE MUNRO, J. R.
SIMON ROSS, J. P.
GEORGE SUTHERLAND, J. P;

Account of persons who could not distinguish colours.

From the Philosophical Transactions,

London,

Jan 15, 1777.

S I R, Read Feb. 13, WHEN I had the
1777.

pleasure of waiting on you last winter, I had hopes before now of giving you a more perfect account of the peculiarity of vision which I then mentioned to you, in a person of my acquaintance in the North: however, if I give you now the best I am able, I persuade myself you will pardon the delay.

I promised to procure you a written account from the person himself, but this I was unfortunately disappointed in, by his dying suddenly of a pleurisy a short time after my return to the country.

You will recollect I told you that this person lived at Maryport in Cumberland, near which place, viz. at Altonby, I myself live, and having known him about ten years, have had frequent opportunities of conversing with him. His name was Harris, by trade a Shoe-maker. I had often heard from others that he could discern the form and magnitude of all objects very distinctly, but could not distinguish colours. This report having excited my curiosity, I conversed with him frequently on the subject. The account he gave was this: That he had reason to believe other persons saw something in objects which he could not see; that their language seemed to mark qualities with confidence and precision, which he could only guess at with hesitation, and frequently with error. His first suspicion of

this

this arose when he was about four years old. Having by accident found in the street a child's stocking, he carried it to a neighbouring house to inquire for the owner: he observed the people called it a red stocking, though he did not understand why they gave it that denomination, as he himself thought it completely described by being called a stocking. The circumstance, however, remained in his memory, and together with subsequent observations led him to the knowledge of his defect. As the idea of colours is among the first that enters the mind, it may perhaps seem extraordinary that he did not observe his want of it still earlier. This, however, may in some measure be accounted for from the circumstance of his family being Quakers, among whom a general uniformity of colours is known to prevail.

He observed also that, when young, other children could discern cherries on a tree by some pretended difference of colour, though he could only distinguish them from the leaves by their difference of size and shape. He observed also, that by means of this difference of colour they could see the cherries at a greater distance than he could, though he could see other objects at as great a distance as they; that is, where the sight was not assisted by the colour. Large objects he could see as well as other persons; and even the smaller ones if they were not enveloped in other things, as in the case of cherries among the leaves.

I believe he could never do more than guess the name of any colour; yet he could distinguish white from black, or black from any

light or bright colour. Dove or straw-colour he called white, and different colours he frequently called by the same name: yet he could discern a difference between them when placed together. In general, colours of an equal degree of brightness, however they might otherwise differ, he frequently confounded together. Yet a striped ribbon he could distinguish from a plain one; but he could not tell what the colours were with any tolerable exactness. Dark colours in general he often mistook for black, but never imagined white to be a dark colour, nor a dark to be a white colour.

He was an intelligent man, and very desirous of understanding the nature of light and colours, for which end he had attended a course of lectures in natural philosophy.

He had two brothers in the same circumstances as to sight; and two other brothers and sisters who, as well as their parents, had nothing of this defect.

One of the first mentioned brothers, who is now living, is master of a trading vessel belonging to Mary-port. I met with him in December 1776, at Dublin, and took the opportunity of conversing with him. I wished to try his capacity to distinguish the colours in a prism, but not having one by me, I asked him, whether he had ever seen a rain-bow? He replied, he had often, and could distinguish the different colours; meaning only, that it was composed of different colours, for he could not tell what they were.

I then procured and shewed him a piece of ribbon: he immediately, without any difficulty, pronounced it a striped and not a plain ribbon.

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He then attempted to name the different stripes: the several stripes of white he uniformly, and without hesitation, called white: the four black stripes he was deceived in, for three of them he thought brown, though they were exactly of the same shade with the other, which he properly called black. He spoke, however, with diffidence as to all those stripes; and it must be owned, the black was not very distinct: the light green he called yellow; but he was not very positive: he said, "I think this is what you call yellow." The middle stripe, which had a slight tinge of red, he called a sort of blue. But he was most of all deceived by the orange colour; of this he spoke very confidently, saying, "This is the colour of grass; this is green." I also shewed him a great variety of ribbons, the colour of which he sometimes named rightly, and sometimes as differently as possible from the true colours.

I asked him, whether he imagined it possible for all the various colours he saw, to be mere difference of light and shade; whether he thought they could be various degrees between white and black; and that all colours could be composed of these two mixtures only? With some hesitation he replied, no, he did imagine there was some other difference.

I could not conveniently procure from this person an account in writing; but I have given his own words, having set them down in writing immediately. Besides, as this conversation happened only the 10th of last month, it is still fresh in my memory. I have endeavoured to give a faithful account

of this matter, and not to render it more wonderful than it really is.

It is proper to add, that the experiment of the striped ribbon was made in the day-time, and in a good light.

I am SIR, &c.

An Account of a Journey into Africa from the Cape of Good-Hope, and a Description of a new Species of Cuckow. By Dr. Andreas Sparrman, of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, in a Letter to Dr. John Reinhold Forster, F. R. S.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

DEAR SIR, Sept. 16, 1776.
Gottenburgh.

Read Dec. 19, BEING returned to 1776. MY native country after an absence of five years from it, I will endeavour to give you a short account of my expedition into Africa, which I undertook soon after parting with you at the Cape of Good-Hope. The voyage round the world, of which I shared the perils and pleasures with you, had only made me more eager to continue my rambles in quest of new discoveries. I set out therefore from the neighbourhood of the Cape-town in the beginning of August 1775, with no other company than the son of the Dutch Lieutenant Emelman, who had formerly accompanied my learned friend Dr. Thunberg on a similar journey, and some Hottentots who took care of my oxen.

The first misfortune I met with was the loss of the thermometer which you had left me, and which broke before I had reached the hot-bath.

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bath. This was only a prelude to greater distresses. The drought was so violent this year, that the like had not been experienced in the colony within the memory of man, and it obliged the inhabitants to leave their country-seats. A great part of their cattle perished for want of grass and water, and I have frequently suffered the most raging thirst in the hot desarts which I traversed; but I was too well season'd during the voyage to dread the hardships of a scanty subsistence, the fatigues of travelling, or the power of the climate. The most sensible misfortune which the dry season brought along with it, was the desolation of the vegetable kingdom. Far from being so fortunate as Dr. Thunberg, who has added above a thousand species to the *Flora Capensis*, I found every thing burnt up, and only in the thickest forests met with some perennial plants which were new to me, and which, upon a revisal of that gentleman's herbal, I believe are likewise unknown to him. Of these I propose to send you specimens as soon as I can find time to bring my collection into some kind of order. On the other hand, I have been fortunate with animals, and especially in the class of quadrupeds. I shall not speak of lions and other beasts of prey, which I have frequently seen in broad daylight, and heard roaring about me at night, though they never ventured to attack our cattle. But it was chiefly among the antelopes and animals of that sort that I hunted. Mr. Emelman and myself, with nine hottentots, a waggon drawn by several pairs of oxen, and several hunting horses, happily traversed a desart of fifty

miles, where we had greater sport than any German prince could ever boast of. On that route I penetrated farther into the country than any of my predecessors, having gone one hundred miles beyond the last Christian's or Dutchman's hut, into the district of the Yellow or (as they are vulgarly called) Chinese Hottentots.

The great buffaloes which inhabit the wilds of Africa, do not appear to me to differ in any respect from the North American *Bison*, although I have seen great numbers of them. I have likewise found a species of pole-cat on that continent, which Linnaeus calls *Viverra Putorius*, contrary to M. De Buffon's opinion, who seems to confine this animal and its species to America. By the sea-side I was fortunate enough to catch a *Manatee* alive, notwithstanding the difficulty which must attend the capture of such an unwieldy animal. There I likewise saw some islands, on which I was told an English ship had been lost. These I suspected at first to be the *Doddingtons*; but afterwards had reason to doubt it, those islands being supposed to lie in a more southerly latitude.

I have had opportunities of making many curious and valuable observations relative to the different tribes of Hottentots, their economy, hunting-matches, and other customs; an account of which, together with some remarks on the natural history of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and other animals, I intend to prepare for the press. I am possessed of an accurate map of that part of Africa which I have visited, containing all the hills, together with the smallest rivulets, as far as the Bay de la Goa, which, I think,

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I think, will be a great addition to the work. I only regret that I was not able to draw the objects of natural history, and have an hundred times wished that your son had been with me for this purpose.

As I had been upwards of nine months on this journey, at my return to the Cape I found that my acquaintance had given up all hopes of seeing me again, having had no tidings of me for so long a space of time. Notwithstanding the many dangers to which I had been exposed on this expedition, I assure you I was greatly tempted to stay another year, in hopes of being more successful in botanical discoveries. However, the prospect of securing the spoils which I had collected, prevailed on me to relinquish that scheme. Indeed I little thought at that time, that the greatest danger awaited my collection in Sweden. A few days ago a great part of it has been damaged here by fire, which has been particularly fatal to my stuffed birds, having destroyed some which were not yet described.

As I am well acquainted with the pleasure which every new discovery in the history of nature gives you, I take this early opportunity of expressing the readiness with which I wish to contribute to your satisfaction, and have subjoined to this letter an account of a curious bird, a species of Cuckow, which I have saved out of the fire. I only beg that you will consider it as an earnest of more important communications, as soon as the hurry of my affairs will permit me to bring my papers into order. In the mean time if you should think

that account, and the annexed drawing, worthy the attention of the Royal Society, I should be greatly flattered if you would do me the honour to lay it before that learned body.

With the greatest esteem I remain, &c.

The History of the Honey-Guide, or Cuculus Indicator.

THIS curious species of Cuckow is found at a considerable distance from the Cape of Good Hope, in the interior parts of Africa, being entirely unknown at that settlement. The first place where I heard of it was in a wood, called the *Groot Vaader's Bosch*, the Grand Father's Wood, situated in a desert near the river which the Hottentots call *T'kaut'kai*. The Dutch settlers thereabouts have given this bird the name of *Hennig-wyzer*, or Honey-guide, from its quality of discovering wild-honey to travellers. Its colour has nothing striking or beautiful, as will appear from the description and drawing annexed; and its size is considerably smaller than that of our Cuckow in Europe: but in return, the instinct which prompts it to seek its food in a singular manner, is truly admirable. Not only the Dutch and Hottentots, but likewise a species of quadruped, which the Dutch name a *Ratel**, are frequently conducted to wild bee-hives by this bird, which as it were pilots them to the very spot. The honey being its favourite food, its own interest prompts it to be instrumental in robbing the hive, as some scraps are commonly left for its support.

* Probably a new species of badger.

The

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The morning and evening are its times of feeding, and it is then heard calling in a shrill tone, *cherr, cherr*, which the honey-hunters carefully attend to as the summons to the chase. From time to time they answer with a soft whistle, which the bird hearing, always continues its note. As soon as they are in sight of each other, the bird gradually flutters towards the place where the hive is situated, continually repeating its former call of *cherr, cherr*: nay, if it should happen to have gained a considerable way before the men (who may easily be hindered in the pursuit by bushes, rivers, and the like) it returns to them again, and redoubles its note, as if to reproach them with their inactivity. At last the bird is observed to hover for a few moments over a certain spot, and then silently retiring to a neighbouring bush or other resting-place, the hunters are sure of finding the bees nest in that identical spot, whether it be in a tree, or in the crevice of a rock, or (as is most commonly the case) in the earth. Whilst the hunters are busy in taking the honey, the bird is seen looking on attentively to what is going forward, and waiting for its share of the spoil. The bee-hunters never fail to leave a small portion for their conductor, but commonly take care not to leave so much as would satisfy its hunger. The bird's appetite being only whetted by this parsimony, it is obliged to commit a second treason, by discovering another bees-nest, in hopes of a better salary. It is further observed, that the nearer the bird approaches the hidden hive, the more frequently

it repeats its call, and seems more impatient.

I have had frequent opportunities of seeing this bird, and have been witness of the destruction of several republics of bees, by means of its treachery. I had however but two opportunities of shooting it, which I did to the great indignation of my Hottentots. From those specimens (both of which are supposed to be females) I have made the subsequent description. The inhabitants in general accuse the same bird of sometimes conducting its followers where wild beasts and venomous serpents have their places of abode: this however I never had an opportunity of ascertaining myself; but am apt to believe such cases to be accidental, when dangerous animals happen to be in the neighbourhood of a bees-nest.

Whilst I staid in the interior parts of Africa, a nest was shewn to me, which some peasants assured me was the nest of a Honey-guide. It was woven of slender filaments or fibres of bark, in the form of a bottle. The neck and opening hung downwards, and a string in an arched shape was suspended across the opening, fastened by the two ends, perhaps for the bird to perch upon.

Descriptio Cuculi Indicatoris.

ROSTRUM crassissimum, versus basin fuscum, apice luteum.

Angulus oris usque infra oculos extensus.

Nares postremæ ad basin rostrum, supremæ vicinæ ut carinulâ dorsali saltem separerentur, oblongæ,

oblongæ, marginæ promi-
nulo.

Pili aliquot ad basin rostri,
præcipue in mandibulâ in-
feriore.

Lingua plana, subsagittata.

Oculorum irides ferrugineo-griseæ.

Palpedræ nudæ, nigrae

Pe'des nigri, scansorii. Tibia' breves;

Ungues tenues, nigri.

Pileus lâte griseus e' pennis brevi-
bus lativiculis.

Gula, Jugulum, Pe'tus, sordidè al-
ba, cum aliquo virore vix nota-
bili in pectore.

Dorsum et Uropygium ferrugineo-
grisea.

Abdomen, Crissumque alba.

Femora tecta pennis albis, macula
longitudinali nigra notatis.

Alarum tetrices superiores omnes
griseo-fuscæ, exceptis summis
aliquot qua' flavis apicibus for-
mant maculam flavam in hume-
ris, exigua, et a plumis sca-
pularibus sâpe tectam.

Tetrices infra alam albidae,
harum supremæ ex albido
nigroque maculatae.

Remiges omnes supra fuscæ, pri-
marii octo, secundarii sex,
subtus cinereo-fuscæ.

Alula griseo-fuscæ.

Cauda cuneiformis, rectricibus duo-
decim: harum duæ intermediae
longiores angustiores, supra et
infra æruginoso-fuscæ; proximæ
duæ fuliginosæ, margine interi-
ore albidantes; duæ utrinque
bis proximæ, albæ, apice fuscæ,
et exterius ad basin macula
nigra notatae; extima utrinque
reliquis brevior, alba, apice fuscæ,
macula nigra, vix illa ad
basin.

Allæ complicatae caudæ partem quar-
tam attingunt.

Longitudo ab apice rostri ad extre-

mum caudæ circiter septem un-
cias pedis Anglicani explet.

Rostrum a basi superiore ad apicem
semunciale,

An Account of the late Earthquake;
by Dr. Percival of Manchester.

ON Sunday, the 14th of September, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, a severe shock of an earthquake was felt here, which extended itself through a circuit of more than 300 miles. The morning was unclouded and serene, the wind was easterly, but suddenly veered into the opposite quarter, about the time of the earthquake; and the air was temperately warm, without any sulphureous, or other offensive vapours.

The Summer has been cold and wet; but towards the end of August, the weather changed, and has continued dry and pleasant, with few intermissions to the present time September 26, 1777. The Aurora Borealis has not often appeared, and storms of thunder and lightning have been uncommonly rare. Two months ago, a water-sputto is said to have fallen near Huddersfield, a town in Yorkshire, between twenty and thirty miles distant from Manchester.

During the space of three weeks before the earthquake, vegetation was observed to be uncommonly vigorous. On the Saturday preceding it, an electrical machine collected more fire than it had ever been known to do before.

Different churches in this town seem to have been very differently affected by the shock. St. John's church

church was most, St. Paul's least agitated. The former is built of stone upon a dry rocky foundation; and the galleries are supported with pillars of cast iron. The latter is a brick building; has a clayey wet foundation, and a common sewer runs under it. Four leaden spouts also, which convey rain from the roof, appear to pass into the ground. I say appear to pass, because at the bottom they are covered with wood, and the clergyman of the church has not yet ascertained the fact.

The bell of St. Mary's church was heard to ring during the shock. An electrical rod passes through the steeple, which may perhaps account for this peculiarity.

The shock was trifling at my country house at Hart-Hill, which has many high trees about it; whereas it was severely felt at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, not so circumstanced.

A noise was antecedent to the concussion, and gave the alarm to many persons, who were insensible of the shock. It was particularly loud in several houses which have electrical conductors.

Few travellers, either on horse-back or in carriages, perceived the earthquake. The passage boat upon the Duke of Bridgewater's canal was stopped in its course, as if it had struck upon a cable, or other obstacle. Many persons seemed to be electrified by the shock; and wandering rheumatic pains succeeded it.

A lady received a sudden stroke on her head, during the earthquake. She was standing in a closet, on the outside wall of which, opposite to her head, a leaden spout

terminated, so as to form an imperfect conductor.

I am informed by a gentleman, whose cattle graze in a large pasture near his house, that he observed them to be exceedingly agitated before the earthquake; and that previous to it, they all ran to their usual place of shelter in storms.

These facts cannot be explained by any supposition of fermentations or explosions in the bowels of the earth, unless they be considered as agents in the production and accumulation of the electrical fluid: and many of them seem to confirm the theory of Dr. Stuckeley and Signior Beccaria, concerning earthquakes. But in whatever manner such awful and tremendous events may be accounted for, the pious philosopher, when he contemplates them, extends his views beyond all secondary causes; and directing them to the great Author of the universe, regards the laws of nature only as the exertions of his divine energy.

* * * My friend, Dr. Priestley, to whom I have communicated the preceding observations, and who is much better acquainted with electricity than I am, seems to be fully satisfied that the late earthquake is not to be ascribed to any subterranean cause. And he is persuaded that he shall be able to produce similar phenomena, by means of a most powerful and magnificent electrical machine now in the possession of Lord Shelburne, from which he has seen sparks taken in the open air, at the distance of twenty inches.

THO. PERCIVAL.

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An Account of the Tenia, or long Tape-Worm, and of the Method of treating it, as practised at Morat in Switzerland.

THE Tenia, or long Tape-worm, on account of its extraordinary size and the capacity of reproduction, not only excites the most alarming symptoms in those whom it infests, but is also extremely difficult to expel. A method for effecting this purpose was a few years ago practised on the continent with so great success, by Madame Nouffer, that the king of France was induced to make the acquisition of it for the benefit of the public. Her method of cure consisted in the occasional use of a soup, a clyster, specific, and a purging bolus, which are thus described.

No. 1. The Soup.

Take a pint and a half of water, two or three ounces of good fresh butter, and two ounces of bread cut in thin slices, add to this salt enough to season it, and then boil it over the fire to the consistence of panada.

No. 2. The Clyster.

Take a small quantity of the leaves of mallows, and boil them in a sufficient quantity of water, mixing with it a little salt, and when strained off, add two ounces of olive oil.

No. 3. The Specific.

Take two or three drams of the root of the male fern, gathered in autumn, and reduced to a very fine powder, in four or six ounces of water distilled from fern, or the flowers of the lime tree. It will be right for the patient to drink two or three times of the same water, rinsing his glass with it, so that none of the powder may re-

main either in the glass or his mouth.

No. 4. The purgative Bolts.

Take of the panacea of mercury fourteen times sublimed, and select resin of scammony each ten grains; of fresh and good gamboge fix or seven grains; reduce each of these substances separately into powder; and then mix them with some conserve into a bolus.

With respect to the use of those remedies, we meet with the following information.

Madame Nouffer requires of her patients no particular preparation till the day before they are to take the remedy. That day they are to avoid all aliment after dinner, till about seven or eight o'clock at night, when they are to take the soup, No. 1; about a quarter of an hour after this, she gives them a biscuit and a glass of white wine, either pure or mixed with water; she even gives water alone to those who have not been accustomed to wine. If the patient has not been to stool that day, or is naturally constive, (which is not usual however with patients in this way) Madame Nouffer directs the use of the clyster No. 2, after which the patient is to go to bed.

Early the next morning, about eight or nine hours after the supper of the preceding evening, the patient takes the specific No. 3, in bed, and to avoid the nausea which this medicine sometimes occasions, it will be right for him to chew lemon or something else that is agreeable to him, or he may wash his mouth with any thing he likes; but he must be careful not to swallow any thing. He may likewise smell to vinegar, to check the sickness; but if, notwithstanding all his efforts, the nausea continues,

tissues, and he is obliged to throw up the specific, it will be right for him to take a fresh dose of it, as soon as the sickness is gone off, and then he should try to go to sleep. About two hours after this, he must get up, and take the purging bolus No. 4. at one or two different times, washing it down with one or two dishes of weak green tea, and walking afterwards about his chamber.—When the bolus begins to operate, the patient is desired to take a dish of the same tea occasionally, until the worm is expelled; then, and not before, Madame Nouffer gives him broth or soup, and he is directed to dine as is usual after taking physic. After dinner he may either lay down or walk, taking care to conduct himself discreetly, to eat but little supper, and to avoid every thing that is not easy of digestion.

The cure is then compleat, but it is not always effected with the same quickness in every subject. He who has not kept down the whole bolus, or who is not sufficiently purged by it, ought to take, four hours after it, from two to eight drachms of Epsom salt dissolved in boiling water. The dose of this salt may be varied according to the temperament and other circumstances of the patient.

If the worm should not come away in a bundle, but in the form of a thread (which particularly happens when the worm is involved in much tenacious mucus), the patient must continue to sit upon the close-stool without attempting to draw it away, drinking at the same time warm weak tea: sometimes this alone is not sufficient, and the patient is obliged to take another dose of purging salt, but without

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varying his position till the worm is wholly expelled.

It is unusual for patients who have kept down both the specific and purging dose, not to discharge the worm before dinner time. This however sometimes happens when the dead worm remains in large bundles in the intestines, so that the faeces becoming more limpid towards the end of the purging, pass by it without drawing it with them. The patient may in this case eat his dinner; and it has been observed that the food, joined to the use of a clyster, has brought about the expulsion of the worm.

Sometimes the worm is brought away by the action of the specific alone, before the patient has taken the purging bolus; when this happens, Madame Nouffer only gives two thirds of it, or substitutes the salt in its stead.

Patients must not be alarmed by any sensation of heat or uneasiness they may feel during the action of the remedy, either before or after a copious evacuation, or just as they are about to void the worm. These sensations are transitory, and go off of their own accord, or by the assistance of the vapour of vinegar drawn in at the nose.

They who have vomited both the specific and bolus, or who have kept down only a part of them, sometimes do not void the worm that day. Madame Nouffer therefore directs them to take again that night the soup No. 1. the wine and biscuit, and, if circumstances require it, the clyster No. 2. if the worm does not come away during the night, she gives them early the next morning another dose of the specific, and two hours

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afterwards, six drachms or an ounce of purging salt, repeating the whole process of the preceding day, excepting the bolus, which she suppresses.

She observes, that very hot weather diminishes in some degree the action of her remedy, she therefore prefers the month of September for administering it; but as she has not been always able to chuse the season, and has been sometimes obliged to undertake the care of patients in the hottest days of summer, she then gave her specific very early in the morning; and with this precaution she saw no difference in its effects.

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A Description of the Highlands of Scotland, and Remarks on the Second Sight of the Inhabitants. By Dr. Beattie.

THE Highlands of Scotland are a picturesque, but in general a melancholy country. Long tracts of mountainous desert, covered with dark heath, and often obscured by misty weather; narrow valleys, thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices, resounding with the fall of torrents; a soil so rugged and a climate so dreary, as in many parts to admit neither the amusements of pasturage, nor the labours of agriculture; the mournful dashing of waves along the friths and lakes that intersect the country; the portentous noises which every change of the wind, and every increase and diminution of the waters is apt to raise in a lonely region full of echoes and rocks and caverns; the grotesque and ghastly appearance of such a landscape by the light of the moon:

objects like these diffuse a gloom over the fancy, which may be compatible enough with occasional and social merriment, but cannot fail to tincture the thoughts of a native in the hour of silence and solitude. If these people notwithstanding their reformation in religion, and more frequent intercourse with strangers, do still retain many of their old superstitions, we need not doubt but in former times they must have been much more enslaved to the horrors of imagination, when beset with the bugbears of Popery, and the darkness of Paganism. Most of their superstitions are of a melancholy cast. That second sight wherewith some of them are still supposed to be haunted, is considered by themselves as a misfortune, on account of the many dreadful images it is said to obtrude upon the fancy. I have been told that the inhabitants of some of the Alpine regions do likewise lay claim to a sort of second sight. Nor is it wonderful, that persons of lively imagination, immersed in deep solitude, and surrounded with the stupendous scenery of clouds, precipices and torrents, should dream, even when they think themselves awake, of those few striking ideas with which their lonely lives are diversified; of corpses, funeral processions and other subjects of terror; or of marriages, and the arrival of strangers, and such like matters of more agreeable curiosity.

Let it be observed also that the ancient Highlanders of Scotland had hardly any other way of supporting themselves, than by hunting, fishing, or war; professions that are continually exposed to fatal accidents.—And hence, no doubt

doubt additional horrors would often haunt their solitude, and a deeper gloom overshadow the imagination even of the hardiest native.

I do not find sufficient evidence for the reality of *second sight*, or at least of what is commonly understood by that term. A treatise on the subject was published in the year 1762, in which many tales were told of persons whom the author believed to have been favoured, or haunted, with these illuminations; but most of the tales were trifling and ridiculous; and the whole work betrayed, on the part of the compiler, such extreme credulity, as could not fail to prejudice many readers against his system.

That any of these visionaries are liable to be swayed in their declarations by sinister views, I will not say; though a gentleman of character assured me, that one of them offered to sell him this unaccountable talent for half a crown. But this I think may be said with confidence, that none but ignorant people pretend to be gifted in this way. And in them it may be nothing more, perhaps, than short fits of sudden sleep or drowsiness, attended with lively dreams, and arising from some bodily disorder, the effect of idleness, low spirits, or a gloomy imagination. For it is admitted even by the most credulous Highlanders, that as knowledge and industry are propagated in their country, the *second sight* disappears in proportion; and nobody ever laid claim to this faculty, who was much employed in the intercourse of social life. Nor is it at all extraordinary, that one should have the appearance of be-

ing awake, and should even think one's self so, during these fits of dozing; or that they should come on suddenly, and while one is engaged in some business. The same thing happens to persons much fatigued, or long kept awake, who frequently fall asleep for a moment, or for a longer space, while they are standing, or walking, or riding on horseback. Add but a lively dream to this slumber, and (which is the frequent effect of disease) take away the consciousness of having been asleep, and a superstitious man, who is always hearing and believing tales of *second sight*, may easily mistake his dream for a waking vision; which, however, is soon forgotten, when no subsequent occurrence recalls it to his memory; but which, if it shall be thought to resemble any future event, exalts the *poor dreamer* into a Highland prophet. This conceit makes him more recluse, and more melancholy than ever; and so feeds his disease, and multiplies his visions; which, if they are not dissipated by business or society, may continue to haunt him as long as he lives, and which, in their progress through the neighbourhood, receive some new tincture of the marvellous, from every mouth that promotes their circulation. As to the prophetic nature of this *second sight*, it cannot be admitted at all. That the Deity should work a miracle, in order to give intimation of the frivolous things that these tales are made up of, the arrival of a stranger, the nailing of a coffin, or the colour of a suit of clothes; and that these intimations should be given for no end, and to those persons only who are idle and solitary, who speak

speak Erse, or who live among mountains and deserts, is like nothing in nature or providence that we are acquainted with; and must therefore, unless it were confirmed by satisfactory proof (which is not the case) be rejected as absurd and incredible.

The visions, such as they are, may reasonably enough be ascribed to a distempered fancy. And that in them, as well as in our ordinary dreams, certain appearances should, on some rare occasions, resemble certain events, is to be expected from the laws of chance; and seems to have in it nothing more marvellous or supernatural than that the parrot who deals out his scurillities at random, should sometimes happen to salute the passenger by his right appellation.

settle, by the prospect of their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those in which they met with a disappointment of the fanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vast quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry, and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompence of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

During several years, the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545, by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from

Of the Mines in Mexico and Peru.

From Dr. Robertson's History of America.

OF all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men, who are either unaccustomed to the regular affiduity with which the culture of the earth, and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or so enterprizing and rapacious, as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to

from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures, astonished mankind, accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals, from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered, to the present time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in consideration of the treasure which has been extracted from the mines without paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth, amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds sterling.

The mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers a new vein is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim

before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the customary duty to the king, for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure; not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with astonishing ardour. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give them up to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of *searchers*. These are commonly persons of desperate fortunes, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner, and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain,

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certain, and that the expence must be trifling ; they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed ; a small sum is advanced by each co-partner ; the mine is opened ; the *searcher* is entrusted with the sole direction of every operation ; unforeseen difficulties occur ; new demands of money are made ; but amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enters this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return ; his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit, visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else.

Such is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in restraining its subjects from such pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. " Projects of mining (says a good judge of the political conduct of nations) instead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who desired to increase

the capital of his nation, would least chuse to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such, in reality, is the absurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord." But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depopulate, and by the sanction of its approbation augments that inconsiderate credulity, which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation, which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is so much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards settled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now to difficult

difficult to lead them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased; the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind.

Observations on the Formation of Ice-islands; and on the Existence of a Southern Continent. Extracted from Cook's Voyage.

I HAD now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical sea, I had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little more to be done even in that part. Thus I flatter myself, that the intention of the voyage has, in every respect, been fully answered; the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored; and a final end put to the searching after a southern continent, which has, at times, ingrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers, for near two centuries past, and been a favourite theory amongst the geographers of all ages.

That there may be a continent, or large tract of land, near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have seen a part of it. The excessive cold, the many islands and vast floats of ice,

all tend to prove that there must be land to the south; and for my persuasion that this southern land must lie, or extend, farthest to the north, opposite to the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, I have already assigned some reasons; to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in these seas, than in the southern Pacific ocean under the same parallels of latitude.

In this last ocean, the mercury in the thermometer seldom fell so low as the freezing point, till we were in 60° and upwards; whereas in the others, it fell as low in the latitude of 54° . This was certainly owing to there being a greater quantity of ice, and to its extending farther to the north, in these two seas than in the South Pacific; and if ice be first formed at, or near land, of which I have no doubt, it will follow that the land also extends farther north.

The formation or coagulation of ice-islands has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly investigated. Some have supposed them to be formed by the freezing of the water at the mouths of large rivers, or great cataracts, where they accumulate till they are broken off by their own weight. My observations will not allow me to acquiesce in this opinion; because we never found any of the ice which we took up incorporated with earth, or any of its produce, as I think it must have been, had it been coagulated in land waters. It is a doubt with me, whether there be any rivers in these countries. It is certain, that we saw not a river, or stream of water, on all the coast of Georgia, nor on any of the southern lands. Nor did

we ever see a stream of water run from any of the ice-islands. How are we then to suppose that there are large rivers? The vallies are covered, many fathoms deep, with everlasting snow; and, at the sea, they terminate in icy cliffs of vast height. It is here where the ice-islands are formed; not from streams of water, but from consolidated snow and sleet, which is, almost continually, falling or drifting down from the mountains, especially in the winter, when the frost must be intense. During that season, the ice cliffs must so accumulate as to fill up all the bays, before they ever so large. This is a fact which cannot be doubted, as we have seen it so in summer. These cliffs accumulate by continual falls of snow, and what drifts from the mountains, till they are no longer able to support their own weight; and then large pieces break off, which we call ice-islands. Such as have a flat even surface, must be of the ice formed in the bays, and before the flat vallies; the others, which have a tapering unequal surface, must be formed on, or under, the side of a coast composed of pointed rocks and precipices, or some such uneven surface. For we cannot suppose that snow alone, as it falls, can form, on a plain surface, such as the sea, such a variety of high peaks and hills, as we saw on many of the ice-isles. It is certainly more reasonable to believe that they are formed on a coast whose surface is something similar to theirs. I have observed that all the ice-islands of any extent, and before they begin to break to pieces, are terminated by perpendicular cliffs of clear ice or frozen snow, always on one or

more sides, but most generally all round. Many, and those of the largest size, which had a hilly and spiral surface, shewed a perpendicular cliff or side from the summit of the highest peak down to its base. This to me was a convincing proof, that these, as well as the flat isles, must have broken off from substances like themselves; that is, from some large tract of ice.

When I consider the vast quantity of ice we saw, and the vicinity of the places, to the pole where it is formed, and where the degrees of longitude are very small, I am led to believe that these ice cliffs extend a good way into the sea, in some parts, especially in such as are sheltered from the violence of the winds. It may even be doubted if ever the wind is violent in the very high latitudes. And that the sea will freeze over, or the snow that falls upon it, which amounts to the same thing, we have instances in the northern hemisphere. The Baltic, the Gulph of Saint Laurence, the Straits of Belle-Isle, and many other equally large seas, are frequently frozen over in winter. Nor is this at all extraordinary; for we have found the degree of cold at the surface of the sea, even in summer, to be two degrees below the freezing point; consequently nothing kept it from freezing but the salts it contains, and the agitation of its surface. Whenever this last ceaseth in winter, when the frost is set in, and there comes a fall of snow, it will freeze on the surface as it falls, and in a few days, or perhaps in one night, form such a sheet of ice as will not be easily broken up.

Thus

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Thus a foundation will be laid for it to accumulate to any thickness by falls of snow, without its being at all necessary for the sea water to freeze. It may be, by this means, these vast floats of low ice we find in the spring of the year are formed, and which, after they break up, are carried by the currents to the north. For, from all the observations I have been able to make, the currents every where, in the high latitudes, set to the north, or to the N. E. or N. W.; but we have very seldom found them considerable.

If this imperfect account of the formation of these extraordinary floating islands of ice, which is written wholly from my own observations, does not convey some useful hints to an abler pen, it will, however, convey some idea of the lands where they are formed. Lands doomed by nature to perpetual frigidity; never to feel the warmth of the sun's rays; whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe. Such are the lands we have discovered; what then may we expect those to be, which lie still farther to the south? For we may reasonably suppose that we have seen the best, as lying most to the north. If any one should have resolution and perseverance to clear up this point by proceeding farther than I have done, I shall not envy him the honour of the discovery; but I will be bold to say, that the world will not be benefited by it.

I had, at this time, some thoughts of revisiting the place where the French discovery is said to lie. But then I considered, that, if they had really made this discovery, the end would be as fully answered as if I

had done it myself. We know it can only be an island; and if we judge from the degree of cold we found in that latitude, it cannot be a fertile one. Besides, this would have kept me two months longer at sea, and in a tempestuous latitude, which we were not in a condition to struggle with. Our sails and rigging were so much worn, that something was giving way every hour; and we had nothing left, either to repair or to replace them. Our provisions were in a state of decay, and consequently afforded little nourishment, and we had been a long time without refreshments. My people, indeed, were yet healthy, and would have cheerfully gone wherever I had thought proper to lead them; but I dreaded the fury laying hold of them, at a time when we had nothing left to remove it. I must say farther, that it would have been cruel in me to have continued the fatigues and hardships they were continually exposed to, longer than was absolutely necessary. Their behaviour, throughout the whole voyage, merited every indulgence which it was in my power to give them. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they shewed themselves capable of surmounting every difficulty and danger which came in their way, and never once looked either upon the one or the other, as being at all heightened by our separation from our consort the Adventure.

All these considerations induced me to lay aside looking for the French discoveries, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope; with a resolution, however, of looking for the Isles of Denia and Marfe-

veen,

veen, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 40' S.$, and about 4° of longitude to the east of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. With this view I steered N. E. with a hard gale at N. W. and thick weather; and on the 25th, at noon, we saw the last ice-island, being at this time in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 52' S.$ longitude $26^{\circ} 31' E.$.

Account of several Water Spouts observed in the South Seas by Mr. Forster.

IN the afternoon, about four o'clock, we were nearly opposite Cape Stephens, and had little or no wind. We observed thick clouds to the S. W. about that time, and saw that it rained on all the southern parts of that cape. On a sudden a whitish spot appeared on the sea in that quarter, and a column arose out of it, looking like a glass tube; another seemed to come down from the clouds to meet this, and they made a coalition, forming what is commonly called a water-spout. A little while after we took notice of three other columns, which were formed in the same manner as the first. The nearest of all these was about three miles distant, and its apparent diameter, as far as we could guess, might be about seventy fathom at the base. We found our thermometer at $56\frac{1}{2}$ when this phenomenon first took its rise. The nature of water-spouts and their causes being hitherto very little known, we were extremely attentive to mark every little circumstance attendant on this appearance. Their base, where the water of the sea was vio-

lently agitated, and rose in a spiral form in vapours, was a broad spot, which looked bright and yellowish when illuminated by the sun. The column was of a cylindrical form, rather increasing in width towards the upper extremity. These columns moved forward on the surface of the sea, and the clouds not following them with equal rapidity, they assumed a bent or incurv'd shape, and frequently appeared crossing each other, evidently proceeding in different directions; from whence we concluded, that it being calm, each of these water-spouts caused a wind of its own. At last they broke one after another, being probably too much distended by the difference between their motion and that of the clouds. In proportion as the clouds came nearer to us, the sea appeared more and more covered with short broken waves, and the wind continually veered all round the compass, without fixing in any point. We soon saw a spot on the sea, within two hundred fathom of us, in a violent agitation. The water, in a space of fifty or sixty fathoms, moved towards the centre, and there rising into vapour, by the force of the whirling motion, ascended in a spiral form towards the clouds. Some hailstones fell on board about this time, and the clouds looked exceedingly black and towering above us. Directly over the whirlpool, if I may so call the agitated spot on the sea, a cloud gradually tapered into a long slender tube, which seemed to descend to meet the rising spiral, and soon united with it into a strait column of a cylindrical form. We could distinctly observe the water hurled upwards with the greatest violence

in a spiral, and it appeared that it left a hollow space in the centre; so that we concluded the water only formed a hollow tube, instead of a solid column. We were strongly confirmed in this belief by the colour, which was exactly like any hollow glass-tube. After some time the last water-spout was incurvated and broke like the others, with this difference, that its disjunction was attended with a flash of lightning, but no explosion was heard. Our situation during all this time was very dangerous and alarming; a phenomenon which carried so much terrific majesty in it, and connected as it were the sea with the clouds, made our oldest mariners uneasy and at a loss how to behave; for most of them, though they had viewed water-spouts at a distance, yet had never been so beset with them as we were; and all without exception had heard dreadful accounts of their pernicious effects, when they happened to break over a ship. We prepared indeed for the worst, by cluing up our topsails; but it was the general opinion that our masts and yards must have gone to wreck if we had been drawn into the vortex. It was hinted that firing a gun had commonly succeeded in breaking water-spouts, by the strong vibration it causes in the air; and accordingly a four pounder was ordered to be got ready, but our people being, as usual, very dilatory about it, the danger was past before we could try this experiment. How far electricity may be considered as the cause of this phenomenon, we could not determine with any precision; so much however seems certain, that it has some connection with it, from the flash

of lightning, which was plainly observed at the bursting of the last column. The whole time, from their first appearance to the dissolution of the last, was about three quarters of an hour. It was five o'clock when the latter happened, and the thermometer then stood at 54° or $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees lower, than when they began to make their appearance. The depth of water we had under us was thirty-six fathom. The place we were in was analogous to most places where water-spouts have been observed, inasmuch as it was in a narrow sea or strait. Dr. Shaw and Thevenot saw them in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulph; and they are common in the West Indies, the Straits of Malacca, and the Chinese sea. Upon the whole, we were not fortunate enough to make any remarkable discoveries in regard to this phenomenon; all our observations only tend to confirm the facts already noticed by others, and which are so largely commented upon by the learned Dr. Benjamin Franklin, F. R. S. His ingenious hypothesis, that whirlwinds and water-spouts have a common origin, has not been invalidated by our observations. We refer our philosophical readers to his papers, as containing the most complete and satisfactory account of water-spouts.

Singular Case of a Boy struck with Horror at an Execution in France.

JAMES DEREAU, apprentice to an engraver, aged fourteen years, born at Fontainebleau, lived in the street d'Enfer in Paris, near the *Pont Rouge*, with his master the Sieur

Sieur Montabon, who occupied an apartment, two chambers of which look towards the Grève.

This youth was in one of those chambers, with one Leroux, his companion, May, 6, the day of the execution of des Rues: his master, mistress, and some of their friends, were in the other chamber.

At the moment of the criminal's leaving the Town house, Dereau, apprized by his companions, felt an extraordinary emotion; this agitation was prodigiously increased when this unfortunate wretch was thrown into the fire. Dereau was instantly seized with a violent headache, and a great suffocation and uneasiness. In the night he was disturbed by frightful dreams; the object that had struck him remained strongly impressed on his brain. Next day his disorder and uneasiness increased; on the 9th he was brought to the Hospital of Charity: he continued in the same situation for above a month. He had also a fever, all his motions were convulsive, his looks were expressive of fright; the least noise, the approach of those who took care of him, seemed to inspire him with horror. He uttered incessantly, by day and night, deep and bitter cries; he forcibly kept his eyes shut; he refused all food and medicines; he was extremely weak and emaciated: at length he had a cramp, which lasted forty-eight hours. This alarming attack yielded to the application of blisters; but at the same time his belly swelled. This new symptom was successfully combated by bark glisters, and from that time the violence of the disorder abated. The boy began to open his eyes, and ventured to look at the objects

round him; his cries were less frequent; his disposition, naturally gentle and weak, made him tractable. He had two abscesses formed near the loins; they were opened, and soon healed. He left the hospital Aug. 1, having recovered his flesh and all his senses. Nothing remains but a little oppression and difficulty of expressing himself, and a voice almost lost; instead of which he asserts that his pronunciation was clear, and his voice sonorous. This remarkable disorder is not the only one occasioned by the wretched des Rues: a woman, ill before, it is true, was so affected by the particulars of his villainy, that she thought herself suspected of being his accomplice; and this impression deprived this poor creature of her senses, so that she threw herself out at window from a third story, but did not lose her life by the fall.

Account of the Mildew, considered as the principal Cause of Epidemic Diseases among the Cattle; with Directions concerning the Manner of treating these Diseases.

M. J. S. Segar, the author of a treatise upon this subject, observes that the mildew, which he considers as a kind of rust, is of such a sharp and corrosive nature that it raises blisters on the feet of the shepherds, who go bare-foot, and even consumes the hoofs of the cattle. He suspects that it has more or less the quality of arsenic, though he does not pretend to affirm this positively. Its pernicious influence, according to him, is rendered still more powerful by a variety of circumstances, such as sending the cattle

cattle into the fields too early in the spring, their drinking water mixed with ice, or but lately thawed, their being kept in stables that are too close and filthy, and are not sufficiently aired. The mildew, producing the disease, is that which dries and burns the grass and leaves. It falls usually in the morning, particularly after a thunder-storm. Its poisonous quality, (which does not continue above twenty-four hours, never operates, but when it has been swallowed immediately after its falling. The disorder it occasions attacks the stomach, is accompanied with pimples on the tongue, with loss of appetite, with the desiccation of the aliments in the stomach, with a cough and a difficulty of respiration. As a preservative, the author prescribes purging in spring and in winter. The medicine he advises is composed of thirty grains of sulphur of antimony and sixty grains of resin of jalap. He is against vomiting, and every thing that is of a heating nature.

Account of a poisonous Fish found in the South Seas, by Capt. Cook.

THIS fish was of the genus by Linnaeus named *tetraodon*. It resembled in shape the sun-fish, and had a large, long, ugly head. During the stay of the Resolution at the island of New Caledonia; the captain's clerk had purchased it from one of the natives, who had killed it with a spear. Captain Cook having no suspicion of its being of a poisonous nature, ordered it to be dressed for supper, but fortunately the operations of drawing and describing it took up

so much time, that the liver and roe only were served up that evening, and the remainder preserved for the next day. As the liver was large and oily, though without any particular bad taste, the captain and the two Mr. Forsters only tasted it. About three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Forster awaking found himself extremely giddy, and his hands and feet entirely, as it were, benumbed. He got up, and was scarcely able to stand; and Captain Cook and the younger Mr. Forster, upon being awakened, found themselves in the same situation. The symptoms were somewhat alarming. Their limbs were benumbed, and without sensation, so that they could not distinguish between light and heavy bodies; the blood had left their cheeks, their lips became livid, and a great degree of languor and oppression had taken place. Emetics were administered to them by the surgeon, Mr. Patton, and afterwards sudorifics. These medicines gave them great relief, and in a few days they were all restored to health without any bad consequences remaining. Some dogs which had seized upon the remains of the liver were taken extremely ill, and a pig which had eaten the entrails of the fish died soon after, being swelled to an unusual size. The day after the fish was purchased, some of the natives came on board. At sight of the fish, which was hung under the half-deck, they made signs that it occasioned pains in the stomach, drowsiness, and death; and when it was offered them they refused it with the strongest marks of aversion.—The fish was preserved by Mr. Forster in spirits of wine, and brought over to England.

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*On the Food or Nutriment of Plants,
extracted from the Notes of Doctor
Hunter's Edition of Evelyn's
Sylva.*

IT is of the utmost consequence to determine what is the food of plants. Upon that question philosophers have widely differed. From a number of experiments, accurately conducted, I am led to believe that all vegetables, from the hyssop upon the wall to the cedar of Lebanon, receive their principal nourishment from oily particles incorporated with water, by means of an alkaline salt or absorbent earth. Till oil is made miscible, it is unable to enter the radical vessels of vegetables; and, on that account, providence has bountifully supplied all natural soils with chalky or other absorbent particles. I say natural soils, for those which have been assisted by art are full of materials for that purpose; such as lime, marl, soap-ashes, and the volatile alkaline salt of putrid dunghills. It may be asked, whence do natural soils receive their oily particles? I answer, the air supplies them. During the summer months, the atmosphere is full of putrid exhalations arising from the steam of dunghills, the perspiration of animals, and smoke. Every showers bring down these oleaginous particles for the nourishment of plants.

The ingenious Mr. Tull, and others, have contended for earth's being the food of plants. If so, all soils equally tilled would prove equally prolific. The increased fertility of a well pulverised soil induced him to imagine that the plow could so minutely divide the particles of earth, as to fit them

for entering into the roots of plants. An open soil, if not too light in its own nature, will always produce plentiful crops. It readily receives the air, rains, and dews into its bosom, and at the same time gives the roots of plants a free passage in quest of food. This is the true reason why land well tilled is so remarkably fruitful.—Water is thought, by some, to be the food of vegetables, when in reality it is only the vehicle of nourishment. Water is an heterogenous fluid, and is no where to be found pure. It always contains a solution of animal or vegetable substances. These constitute the nourishment of plants, and the element in which they are minutely suspended, acts only as a vehicle, in guiding them through the fine vessels of the vegetable body. The hyacinth, and other bulbous roots, are known to perfect their flowers in pure water. Hence superficial observers have drawn an argument in favour of water being the food of vegetables. But the truth is, the roots, stem, and flowers of such plants are nourished by the mucilaginous juices of the bulb, diluted by the surrounding water. This mucilage is just sufficient to perfect the flower—and no more. Such a bulb neither forms seeds, nor sends forth offsets. At the end of the season, it appears weak, shrivelled, and exhausted, and is rendered unfit to produce flowers the succeeding year. A root of the same kind, that has been fed by the oily and mucilaginous juices of the earth, essentially differs in every particular. It has a plump appearance, is full of mucilage—with off-sets upon its sides. All rich soils, in a state of nature, contain oil; and

in those lands which have been under the plow for some years, it is found in proportion to the quantity of putrid dung that had been laid upon them, making an allowance for the crops they have sustained.—To set this matter in a clearer light, let us attend to the effects of manures of an oily nature, and we shall soon be satisfied that oil, however modified, is one of the chief things concerned in vegetation. Rape-dust, when laid upon land, is a speedy and certain manure, though an expensive one, and will generally answer best on a limestone land, or where the soil has been moderately limed. This species of manure is much esteemed by the farmer. It contains the food of plants ready prepared; but as it is not capable of loosening the soil by any fermentation, the lands upon which it is laid ought to be in excellent tilth. At present, that useful article of husbandry is much diminished in goodness, owing to the improved methods of extracting the oil from the rape. Heat and pressure are employed in a double degree.—Farmers that live in the neighbourhood of large towns use abundance of soot. It is an oily manure, but different from the former, containing alkaline salt in its own nature, calculated as well for opening the soil, as for rendering the oily parts miscible with water. It is observed that pigeons dung is a rich and hasty manure. These animals feed chiefly upon grains and oily seeds; it must therefore be expected that their dung should contain a large proportion of oil. The dung of stable-kept horses is also a strong manure, and should not be used until it has undergone the *putrid ferment*, in

order to mix and assimilate its oily, watery, and saline parts. Beans, oats, and hay, contain much oil. The dung of horses, that are kept upon green herbage, is of a weaker kind, containing much less oil. Swine's dung is of a saponaceous and oily nature, and perhaps is the richest of the animal manures. When made into a compost, and applied with judgment, it is excellent for arable lands. The dung of ruminant animals, as cows and sheep, is preferable to that of horses at grafts, owing to the quantity of animal juices mixed with their food in chewing. And here I beg leave to remark in general, that the fatter the animal, *ceteris paribus*, the richer the dung. Human ordure is full of oil and a volatile alkaline salt. By itself, it is too strong a manure for any land; it should therefore be made into a compost before it is used. The dung of carnivorous animals is plentifully stored with oil. Animals that feed upon seeds and grains come next, and after them follow those which subsist upon grass only. To suit these different manures to their proper soils, requires the greatest judgment of the farmer, as what may be proper for one soil, may be highly detrimental to another.

In order to strengthen my argument in favour of oil being the principal food of plants, I must beg leave to observe, that all vegetables, whose seeds are of an oily nature, are found to be remarkable impoverishers of the soil, as hemp, rape, and flax; for which reason, the best manures for lands worn out by these crops, are such as have a good deal of oil in their composition; but then they must be laid on with lime, chalk, marl, or soap-

soap-ashes, so as to render the oily particles miscible with water.—The book of nature may be displayed, to shew that oily particles constitute the nourishment of plants in their embryo state; and, by a fair inference, we may suppose that something of the same nature is continued to them as they advance in growth. The oily seeds, as rape, hemp, lime, and turnip, consist of two lobes, which, when spread upon the surface, form the seminal leaves. In them the whole oil of the seed is contained. The moisture of the atmosphere penetrates the cuticle of the leaves, and, mixing with the oil constitutes an emulsion for the nourishment of the plant. The sweetnes of this balmy fluid invites the fly, against which no sufficient remedy has, as yet, been discovered. The oleaginous liquor being consumed, the seminal leaves decay, having performed the office of a mother to her tender infant. To persons unacquainted with the analogy between plants and animals, this reflection will appear strange. Nothing, however, is more demonstrable.—The leguminous and farinaceous plants keep their placentia, or seminal leaves, within the earth; in which situation they supply the tender germ with oily nutriment, until its roots are grown sufficiently strong to penetrate the soil.

It is usual to talk of the salts of the earth; but chymistry has not been able to discover any salts in land which has not been manured, though oil may be readily obtained from every soil, the very sandy ones excepted. Marl, though a rich manure, has no salts. It is thought to contain a small portion

of oleaginous matter, and an absorbent earth, of a nature similar to limestone, with a large quantity of clay intermixed. Lime mixed with clay comes nearest to the nature of marl of any factitious body that we know of, and may be used as such, where it can be had without much expence. By increasing the quantity of clay, it will make an excellent compost for a light sandy soil; but to make the ground fertile, woollen rags, rotten dung, or any oily manure, should be incorporated with it some time before it is laid on.—It is a received opinion, that lime enriches the land it is laid upon, by means of supplying a salt fit for the nourishment of plants; but by all the experiments that have been made upon lime, it is found to contain no kind of salt. Its operation therefore should be considered in a different light; by the fermentation that it induces, the earth is opened and divided, and, by its absorbent and alkaline quality, it unites the oily and watery parts of the soil. It also seems to have the property of collecting the acid of the air, which it readily forms into a neutral salt, of great use in vegetation. From viewing lime in this light, it is probable that it tends to rob the soil of its oily particles, and in time will render it barren, unless we take care to support it with rotten dung, or other manures of an oily nature. As light sandy soils contain but a small portion of oleaginous particles, we should be extremely cautious not to overdo them with lime; unless we can at the same time assist them liberally with rotten dung, woollen rags, shavings of horn, and other manures of an animal kind. Its great excellence,

excellence, however, upon a sandy soil, is by mechanically binding the loose particles, and thereby preventing the liquid parts of the manure from escaping out of the reach of the radical fibres of the plants. Upon clay the effect of lime is different; for by means of the gentle fermentation that it produces, the unsubdued soil is opened and divided; the manures laid on readily come into contact with every part of it; and the fibres of the plants have full liberty to spread themselves. It is generally said, that lime answers better upon sand than clay. This observation will undoubtedly hold good as long as the farmer continues to lime his clay lands in a scanty manner. Let him treble the quantity, and he will then be convinced that lime is better for clay than sand. It may be justly answered, that the profits will not admit of the expence. I agree. But then it must be understood that it is the application, and not the nature of the lime, that should be called in question. Clay, well limed, will fall in water, and ferment with acids. Its very nature is changed. Under such agreeable circumstances, the air, rains, and dews are freely admitted, and the soil is enabled to retain the nourishment that each of them brings. In consequence of a fermentation raised in the soil, the fixed air is set at liberty, which, in a wonderful manner, promotes vegetation. It is the nature of lime to attract oils and dissolve vegetable bodies. Upon these principles we may account for the wonderful effects of lime in the improvement of black moor-land. Moor-earth consists of dissolved, and half-dissolved, vegetable sub-

stances. It is full of oil. Lime assimilates the one and dissolves the other. Such lands, not originally worth four-pence per acre, may be made, by paring, burning, and liming, to produce plentiful crops of turnips, which may be followed with oats, barley, or grass-seeds, according to the inclination of the owner. These observations, however, are rather foreign to the present argument, to which I shall now return.

To the universal principle, oil, we must add another of great efficacy, though very little understood; I mean the nitrous acid of the air. That the air does contain the rudiments of nitre, is demonstrable from the manner of making saltpetre in the different parts of the world. The air contains no such salt as perfect nitre; it is a factitious salt, and is made by the nitrous acid falling upon a proper matrix. The makers of nitre form that matrix of the rubbish of old houses, fat earth, and any fixed alkaline salt. The universal acid, as it is called, is attracted by these materials, and forms true nitre, which is rendered pure by means of crystallization, and in that form it is brought to us. In very hot countries the natural earth forms a matrix for nitre, which makes the operation very short. It is observed that nitre is most plentifully formed in winter, when the wind is northerly: hence we may understand the true reason why farmers and nurserymen lay up their lands in high ridges during the winter months. The good effects of that operation are wholly attributed to the mechanical action of the frost upon the ground. Light soils, as well as the tough ones,

may be exposed in high ridges, but with some limitation, in order to imitate the mud walls in Germany, which are found by experience, to collect considerable quantities of nitre during the winter. After saying so much in praise of nitre, it will be expected that I should produce some proofs of its efficacy, when used as manure. I must confess that experiments do not give us any such proofs. Perhaps too large a quantity has been used; or rather, it could not be restored to the earth with its particles, so minutely divided, as when it remained united with the soil, by means of the chymistry of nature. I shall therefore consider this nitrous acid, or, as philosophers call it, the *acidum vagum*, in the light of a vivifying principle, with whose operation we are not yet fully acquainted.—A curious observer will remark, that there subsists a strong analogy between plants and animals. Oil and water seem to make up the nourishment of both. Earth enters very little into the composition of either. It is known that animals take in a great many earthly particles at the mouth, but they are soon discharged by urine and stool. Vegetables take in the smallest portion imaginable of earth; and the reason is, they have no way to discharge it. It is highly probable, that the radical fibres of plants take up their nourishment from the earth, in the same manner that the lacteal vessels absorb the nutriment from the intestines; and as the oily and watery parts of our food are perfectly united into a milky liquor, by means of the spittle, pancreatic juice, and bile, before they enter the lacteals, we

have all the reason imaginable to keep up the analogy, and suppose that the oleaginous and watery parts of the soil are also incorporated, previous to their being taken up by the absorbing vessels of the plant. To form a perfect judgment of this, we must reflect that every soil, in a state of nature, has in itself a quantity of absorbent earth, sufficient to incorporate its inherent oil and water; but when we load it with fat manures, it becomes essentially necessary to bestow upon it, at the same time, something to assimilate the parts. Lime, soap-ashes, kelp, marl, and all the alkaline substances, perform that office. In order to render this operation visible to the senses: Dissolve one drachm of Russia potash in four ounces of water; then add one spoonful of oil. Shake the mixture, and it will instantly become an uniform mass of a whitish colour, adapted to all the purposes of vegetation. This easy and familiar experiment is a just representation of what happens after the operation of Burn-baking, and consequently may be considered as a confirmation of the hypothesis advanced.—Let us attend to the process. The sward being reduced to ashes, a fixed alkaline salt is produced. The moisture of the atmosphere soon reduces that salt into a fluid state, which, mixing with the soil, brings about an union of the oily and watery parts, in the manner demonstrated by the experiment. When the under stratum consists of a rich vegetable mould, the effects of Burn-baking will be lasting. But when the soil happens to be thin and poor, the first crop frequently suffers before it arrives at maturity. The farmer, therefore,

fore, who is at the expence of paring and burning a thin soil, should bestow upon it a portion of rotten dung, or shambles manure, before the ashes are spread, in order to supply the deficiency of oily particles. In consequence of this prudent management, the crop will be supported during its growth, and the land will be preserved in health and vigour.—Hitherto I have considered plants as nourished by their roots. I shall now take a view of them as nourished by their leaves. An attention to this part of the vegetable system is essentially necessary. Vegetables that have a succulent leaf, such as vetches, pease, beans, and buck-wheat, draw a great part of their nourishment from the air, and on that account impoverish the soil less than wheat, oats, barley, or rye, the leaves of which are of a firmer texture. Rape and hemp are oil-bearing plants, and, consequently, impoverishers of the soil; but the former less so than the latter, owing to the greater succulence of its leaf. The leaves of all kinds of grain are succulent for a time, during which period the plants take little from the earth; but as soon as the ear begins to be formed, they lose their softness, and diminish in their attractive power. The radical fibres are then more vigorously employed in extracting the oily particles of the earth, for the nourishment of the seed.

*On the Climate of America; from
Dr. Robertson's History.*

WHAT most distinguishes America from other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the differ-

ent laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine precisely the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by measuring its distance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in some degree, by its elevation above the sea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the soil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumstances. The influence of these however, is, from various causes, less considerable in the greater part of the ancient continent; and from knowing the position of any country there, we can pronounce with more certainty what will be the warmth of its climate, and the nature of its productions.

The maxims which are founded upon observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. There, cold predominates. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of that which should be temperate by its position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual frost, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. As we advance to those parts of America which lie in the same parallel with provinces of Asia and Africa, blessed with an uniform enjoyment of such genial warmth as is most friendly to life and vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter, though during a short period, often reigns with extreme severity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we shall find the cold

prevalent in the New World extending itself also to this region of the globe, and mitigating the excess of its fervour. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence. Along the eastern coast of America, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. If from the southern tropic we continue our progress to the extremity of the American continent, we meet with frozen seas, and countries horrid, barren, and scarcely habitable for cold, sooner than in the north.

Various causes combine in rendering the climate of America so extremely different from that of the ancient continent. Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that it advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. The latter have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same high latitudes. But in America the land stretches from the river St. Lawrence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The

wind, in passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates, and is not entirely mitigated until it reaches the Gulph of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-westerly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold, no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe.

Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invincible direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient continent it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is, accordingly, the region of the earth which feels the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this same wind which brings such an accession of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water,

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water, and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coasts of Brasil, and Guiana, rendering these countries, though among the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains, covered with impenetrable forests, oroccupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Tierra Firme westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea, in others, by their extraordinary humidity, and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the Torrid Zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

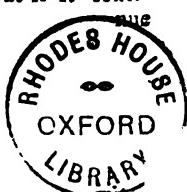
The causes of the extraordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the Antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the

northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the large rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influence was ascribed, having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea, new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole.

Accosta is the first philosopher, as far as I know, who endeavoured to account for the different degrees of heat in the old and new continents, by the agency of the winds which blow in each. Hist. Moral. &c. lib. ii. & iii. M. de Buffon adopts this theory, and has not only improved it by new observations, but has employed his amazing powers of descriptive eloquence in embellishing and placing it in the most striking light. Some remarks may be added, which tend to illustrate more fully a doctrine of much importance in every inquiry concerning the temperature of various climates.

When a cold wind blows over land, it must in its passage rob the surface of some of its heat. By means of this, the coldness of the wind is abated. But if it con-

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one night about the end of November she got her dressings off, and lay with the stump exposed to the cold air; in the morning I found the stump black and dry. I dressed it with warm soft digestives, and covered them with the *Theriaca Londinensis*: but could not get any discharge from it, the mortification having again taken place; and reached in a few days the thick part, or middle of the foot. The smell becoming again intolerable, the fermenting cataplasms were applied as before; and all the livid appearance, which spread a hand's breadth above the ankle, was also covered with them; and in a few days I was thoroughly satisfied the mortification was again stopped; though her appetite was greatly decayed, and her strength much exhausted. The cataplasms were continued till the beginning of March 1771, when the dead parts separated about the middle of the metatarsal bones, almost as even as if they had been taken off with a saw, and were removed with the dressings without the loss of a tea-spoon-full of blood. From this time the sore healed kindly, though remarkably slow; she began to recover her appetite and health, which she still retains.

Since the above case, I have seen the good effects of fixed air, applied nearly in the same manner, (adding sometimes a little *cort. Peruv.* or *tinct. Thebaic.* to the cataplasms) in a beginning mortification on the leg of an old gentleman, attended with swelling and blackness about his foot and ankle; with a livid appearance running up the side of his leg, and

many large vesications upon the foot, which never grew any larger, nor more in number, after the fermenting cataplasms were applied; but healed, or dried up, soon; the swelling abated, and the blackness disappeared in a few days; and in a fortnight he was able to walk about, and still continues well.

I have also used the fermentable cataplasms, with some advantage, to fetid foul ulcers, where I have suspected the absorption of the fetid matter to be prejudicial to health.

Query, Is not fixed air a weak acid?—If so, it is not surprizing that it should resist putrefaction, as all other acids have been long known to do; but its greater fluidity enabling it to penetrate further into soft bodies, and its causticity being so small, renders it both more efficacious, and more convenient for counteracting putrefaction in living bodies.

The acid nature of this fluid appears from its uniting with *caustic calcareous earth*, and producing those crystals called dogtooth spar.

With *caustic fixed alkalies*, it crystallizes, and produces *mild fixed alkalies*.

With *caustic volatile alkalies*, it crystallizes, and produces *mild volatile alkalies*: and from all these bodies it is dispossessed by stronger acids.—It further appears to be an acid, from its dissolving the iron in chalybeate waters.

I beg leave to add, that this fixed or fixable air (if a weak acid) is the most universal acid in nature, as not only all limestone, chalk, marble, and marl, are replete with it; but it makes up a great part of

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of the composition of all animal, and vegetable bodies, and floats in great abundance in the atmosphere: as appears from the experiments of procuring fixable air from all these bodies, by fermentation, or by the addition of stronger acids, by burning charcoal, and lastly from the scum which is almost instantly

produced on lime water exposed to the air, which is a re-production of limestone. I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN POWER

Polesworth.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Cautions against the Burial of Persons supposed Dead.

AS the following address relates to a subject in which every individual is interested, the writer wishes to render the knowledge of it as general as possible.

The custom of laying out the bodies of the persons supposed to be dead as soon as respiration ceases, and the interment of them before the signs of putrefaction appear, has been frequently opposed by men of learning and humanity in this and other countries. Mons. Bruhier, in particular, a physician of great eminence in Paris, published a piece, about thirty years ago, intitled, "The Uncertainty of the Signs of Death," in which he clearly proved, from the testimonies of various authors, and the attestations of unexceptionable witnesses, that many persons who have been buried alive, and were providentially discovered in that state, had been rescued from the grave, and enjoyed the pleasures of society for several years after.

But, notwithstanding the numerous and well-authenticated facts of this kind, the custom above-mentioned remains in full force.

* Alluding to the motto given by the Humane Society,
" Lateat Scintillula forsan."

As soon as the *semblance of death* appears, the chamber of the sick is deserted by friends, relatives, and physicians; and the *apparently dead*, though frequently *living* body, is committed to the management of an ignorant and unfeeling nurse, whose care extends no farther than laying the limbs straight, and securing her accustomed perquisites. The bed-cloaths are immediately removed, and the body is exposed to the air, which, when cold, must extinguish the little spark of life that may remain, and which, by a different treatment, might have been kindled into flame *.

I am willing, however, to hope, that, since it has of late been so frequently demonstrated, that the vital principle may exist, where the characteristics of death, except putrefaction, are present, the rational part of the community are, at length, disposed to pay some attention to this subject.

With that hope I shall venture to particularize a few of the cases in which this *fallacious appearance* is most like to happen, and point out the mode of treatment, which, according to the best of my judgment, should be respectively adopted.

In apoplectic and fainting fits,

and

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and in those arising from any violent agitation of mind, and also when opium or spirituous liquors have been taken in too great a quantity *, there is reason to believe that the appearance of death has been frequently mistaken for the reality. In these cases, the means recommended by the *Humane Society for the Recovery of drowned Persons* should be persevered in for several hours, and bleeding, which in similar circumstances has sometimes proved pernicious, should be used with great caution.

In the two latter instances it will be highly expedient, with a view of counteracting the soporific effects of opium and spirits, to convey into the stomach, by a proper tube, a solution of tartar emetic, and by various other means to excite vomiting.

From the number of children carried off by convulsions, and the certainty, arising from undoubted facts, that some who have, in ap-

pearance, died from that cause, have been recovered †, there is the greatest reason for concluding, that many, in consequence of this disease, have been prematurely numbered among the dead; and that the fond parent, by neglecting the means of recalling life, has often been the guiltless executioner of her own offspring.

To prevent the commission of such dreadful mistakes, no child, whose life has been apparently extinguished by convulsions, should be *consigned* to the grave till the means of recovery above recommended in apoplexies, &c. have been tried; and, if possible, under the direction of some skilful practitioner of medicine, who may vary them as circumstances shall require.

When fevers arise in weak habits, or when the cure of them has been principally attempted by means of depletion, the consequent debility is often very great, and the patient

* I should think myself extremely culpable, if I neglected this opportunity of cautioning parents and nurses against the free use of Godfrey's Cordial. It is a strong solution of opium, and I am persuaded that the sleep it produces has proved the sleep of death to thousands of children. When this poisonous cordial has been given in a dangerous dose, and a discovery of it is made before the power of swallowing is lost, it will be adviseable to give the child a tea-spoonful of ipecacuan wine every quarter of an hour, till the contents of the stomach are discharged.

† A remarkable fact of this kind may be found in the Ephemerid Medico-Phys. Germ. Oct. the substance of which is as follows:—A girl, about seven years of age, who had been for some weeks before troubled with a bad cough, was suddenly seized with a fit; a physician was immediately sent for, who, finding that the heart and lungs had ceased to perform their functions, that her lips and cheeks were pale, and her temples sunk, concluded that life was irrecoverably lost. For the satisfaction, however, of her afflicted parents, a clyster was administered, and her wrists were chafed with spirituous water; but no sign of life appearing, the soles of the feet were ordered to be rubbed with strong brine; and the friction was continued without intermission three quarters of an hour; at the end of which time she began to breathe. The friction was then increased; two or three deep inspirations followed; and in a short time the child, who was supposed to be dead by the physician, as well as the bystanders, was, to the surprise of both, and the great joy of her parents, restored to life and health.

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sometimes sinks into a state which bears so close an affinity to that of death, that I am afraid it has too often deceived the bystanders, and induced them to send for the undertaker when they should have had recourse to the succours of medicine.

In such cases, volatiles, *eau de Juce* for example, should be applied to the nose, rubbed on the temples, and sprinkled often about the bed; hot flannels, moistened with a strong solution of camphorated spirit, may likewise be applied over the breast, and renewed every quarter of an hour; and as soon as the patient is able to swallow, a tea-spoonful of the strongest cordial should be given every five minutes.

The same methods may also be used with propriety in the small-pox when the pustules sink, and death apparently ensues; and likewise in any other acute diseases, when the vital functions are suspended from a similar cause.

Even in old age, when life seems to have been gradually drawing to a close, the *appearances of death* are often fallacious.

"Not many years since, a lady in Cornwall, more than eighty years of age, who had been a considerable time declining, took to her bed, and in a few days seemingly expired in the morning. As she had often desired not to be buried till she had been two days dead, her request was to have been regularly complied with by her relations. All that saw her, looked upon her as dead, and the report was current through the whole place; nay, a gentleman of the town actually wrote to his friend in the island of Scilly, that she was deceased. But one of those who were

paying the last kind office of humanity to her remains perceived some warmth about the middle of the back, and acquainting her friends with it, they applied a mirror to her mouth; but, after repeated trials, could not observe it in the least stained; her under-jaw was likewise fallen, as the common phrase is; and, in short, she had every appearance of a dead person. All this time she had not been stripped or dressed, but the windows were opened, as is usual in the chambers of the deceased. In the evening the heat seemed to increase, and at length she was perceived to breathe."—See Lond. Chron. vol. iv. p. 465.

It was the intention of the writer to publish a work upon this subject, but as his various avocations will not permit him to carry that design into execution, he thought it his duty to throw out the above hints; and if they should be the means of preventing one person from being laid out, or, what is more horrible, buried alive, it will afford the writer a pleasure of the noblest kind, that arising from the consciousness of doing good to his fellow-creatures.

Palgrave-Place. W. HAWES.

P. S. If that regard be paid to the above address which the subject of it seems to demand, and any life or lives be saved in consequence of the hints that I have thrown out, the communication of any such instances of success will be esteemed a particular favour; as it will afford me the most solid pleasure, and be a satisfactory evidence, that a man who labours to promote the interests of humanity will be attended to by the public.

The following Case, amongst a Variety of others, which have fallen under the immediate Inspection of Mr. Harmant, a celebrated Physician at Nancy, furnishes us with a strong Proof of the Necessity of the Caution recommended above, with so much Humanity and Judgment, by Mr. Hawes.

DECEMBER 23, 1764. I was sent for by *M. de Potier*, Knight of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, &c. at Nancy, to hasten with the utmost expedition to his mansion, to attend his cook, who was dangerously ill. It was about eight o'clock in the morning when the messenger came to my house; but as I was not at home, they had recourse to another physician. This gentleman judging, from the appearance of the patient, that it was an apoplectic fit, he ordered the remedies usual in such cases, but without any effect. Clysters of tobacco, with coloquintida, made not the least impression. They concluded that the patient was absolutely dead, and from that moment every remedy was discontinued.

It was not before two o'clock in the afternoon that I was informed either of the invitation in the morning, or of the state of the patient. I ran to his assistance. As I was entering the doors, the other physician happened to meet me, told me the cook was dead, and that every kind of aid had been administered in vain.

This account did not abate my desires to succour the unfortunate object. I went into the room where the supposed corpse, yet in bed, was exposed to the sight of a multitude of spectators, all of

whom seemed affected with the event.

They were already preparing for his funeral. I immediately examined his body with the strictest attention; I found his face livid, and a little swollen; the eyes half open, bright, prominent; the mouth closed, teeth fixed, the neck enlarged, the belly very much swoln: there was neither pulse nor respiration.

By these different symptoms I concluded immediately that they were the effect of the vapour of lighted charcoal. I made enquiry upon this subject of all the domestics. The kitchen girl informed me, that he had retired to his chamber about eleven o'clock the preceding evening, in good health; that she had carried up, by his order, a brasier, with charcoal; that finding he did not make his appearance in the kitchen at the usual hour, she concluded that he was still asleep; but perceiving that it grew late, she went into the room in order to awaken him, and then she found him in the situation in which I had seen him.

This account confirming my conjectures, I prepared to administer assistance. I ordered him to be immediately taken out of the bed and out of the chamber, and had him placed naked upon a seat in a court by the side of a fountain. After he was properly fixed, I began with throwing cold water in his face by glassfuls. I desired several of the assistants to follow my example, but they complied with reluctance, being prepossessed that the man was dead, and that my attempts were fruitless.

More than an hour elapsed before the patient had discovered any signs

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signs of sensibility. The attendants began to despair, and to animate their courage, I assured them that in a short time they would perceive their error. This assurance, joined to my entreaties, made them renew the application of the water; they threw it with greater force, and more frequently than before, which soon produced a slight hiccough.

This first symptom having struck them like a resurrection, the noise thereof was soon spread throughout the mansion, and several persons of distinction ran to the place; I ordered the administration of cold water to be continued in their presence, frequently, and by glassfuls. The hiccoughs became stronger and more frequent, and I perceived that the teeth began to relax.

I had ordered cylinders of liquorice root to be prepared. I introduced some with the utmost difficulty between the teeth, to hinder them from fixing again; and we soon perceived the efforts of the air attempting to enter the chest, and of the chest endeavouring to distend and contract itself.

I ordered Spanish snuff also to be blown into the nostrils with a view to excite sneezings, tho' without this effect; but the attendants perceived him to move his head, and give manifest signs of sensation; he moved also his right hand and fingers, as if he wished to raise them to his nose. This new indication of his *Resurrection* gave the highest satisfaction to the company.

The projection of water was continued with vigour, and the frequency of the hiccoughs increased

ed proportionably. This remedy excited a slight vomiting of nauseous matter. I had already spent three compleat hours in attempting the recovery, and had advanced no further than to the symptoms mentioned above; but they portended a perfect cure. This I intimated to the attendants, and persevered in the application of the cold water.

The continuance of this simple remedy at length procured a vomiting of frothy matter, resembling soap suds, to which succeeded the most violent efforts of the chest to relieve itself. The body of the patient began to be greatly agitated, and to raise itself. All the members, and particularly the fingers and toes, became violently contracted. In a word, he uttered a cry which I had prefaged to be the most certain sign of returning life. I redoubled at the same time the projection of the water, and this renewal produced a fresh discharge of saponaceous matter, with new attempts to respire. The movements of the body redoubled with such agitation, that they seemed to indicate the pain which the patient suffered from so long a continuance of our method of treatment.

I was persuaded, by the most urgent entreaties, to convey the patient from the open court, where we all experienced the severest cold, into a warmer place. At first I opposed their entreaties, but was at length obliged to yield to the requests of his relations. He was conveyed into the kitchen; but what I had feared and predicted, came to pass. The patient was no sooner conveyed thither, than

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he relapsed into his former state of insensibility. We were obliged to open the windows and doors immediately, in order to obtain the greatest degree of cold possible, and renew the projection of water, which we fortunately found at hand. Three hours more were employed in this exercise; and between eight and nine o'clock in the evening the subject began to cry out with violence, and was seized with a universal trembling.

I now conducted myself as in the former cases, and ordered him to be put to bed.

I visited him about half past ten o'clock in the evening, I found him perfectly sensible, but his belly was distended, and his body was seized with shiverings at intervals. I ordered a glycer to be applied, and a ptisan of chicken broth with nitre, to be given him, and also the vulnerary mixture, with the liquor mineralis Hoffmanni. These medicines having appeased the latter symptoms, I learned the next morning that he had passed a good night. The pulse was become more regular, and the pain in the head less, as also the shiverings, and there only remained a sensation of fatigue, and a small distension of the abdomen, occasioned by the wind.

The fourth day our patient finding himself radically cured by the continuance of proper remedies, determined to go to the foot of the altar, and return thanks to God for preserving him from being interred alive; a miserable event, which would indubitably have taken place, had it not been for the application of this efficacious remedy!

The following Case, translated from the French, and inserted in the Reports of the Humane Society, cannot be too extensively published, as it proves the great Danger, and even Inhumanity, of immediately abandoning new-born Infants when apparently dead, instead of assiduously persevering in the Trial of every Method that may restore them to Life.

A PUPIL in Midwifry in Manheim, being sent for to Lampertheim on Good Friday last, to a woman in labour, found her in a very weak state in consequence of an haemorrhage of 15 days continuance. He delivered her of a boy perfectly formed, but who, though all the means usual in such cases were tried, gave no signs of life. Fortunately the practitioner recollects, that when he had separated the funis umbilicalis, its artery was filled with blood, from which he concluded, that the death of the child was not occasioned by the mother's haemorrhage; for when that is the case, the umbilical artery is generally empty and flaccid. This consideration encouraged him to try the following experiment.

Having placed the child in a bath of warm wine, he applied his mouth to that of the patient, and blew into it, closing the nostrils with the right hand, that the breath might be impelled into the trachea, while, with his left hand, he rubbed the abdomen; by these means producing a kind of artificial respiration. He continued this operation during the space of half an hour, without perceiving any effect, except that the colour of

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the body became more animated. This slight prospect of success made him perfid in his endeavours. After ten minutes the infant suddenly breathed in a convulsive manner, and uttered a plaintive cry, but without repeating these symptoms. He now observed a slight pulsation in the *funis umbilicalis*, but without any perceptible motion of the thorax. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, he continued to blow into the mouth of the child, who soon gave repeated sighs, and in a little time the patient's compleat recovery was the reward of these assiduous attempts, in which the gentleman had persevered during three quarters of an hour.*

Of smoky Houses, occasioned by Faults in other Parts of the Building, altogether independent of the Structure of the Chimney itself.

TH E first and most common defect is a too great closeness of the room. Smoke

is impelled up the chimney by the pressure of the air entering at the fire-place, and rising upwards after being rarified by the heat of the fire; but if fresh air is not admitted into the apartments in sufficient quantities, to supply the consumption by the fire, the room will be quickly exhausted, and the air in it become as light as the external air at the top of the chimney, so that the smoke will as readily be dispersed into the chamber as through the chimney.

In this case, if any door or window is opened, so as to admit plenty of free air, the smoke will be quickly dispersed, and the proper circulation established. The same effect will be produced, by making a small hole in some of the sides of the room: but unless this be done with some judgment, it may frequently add to the disease, as it may concur with some of the other causes of smoky houses, to be afterwards mentioned.

A better method of remedying this evil would be, to have a small hole made in the wall at the back

* We have inserted in the Reports of the year 1774, page 70, two cases of a similar nature, merely as instances of the success which will sometimes attend our assiduous use of suitable methods in the case of still-born children. For the same ends we will also subjoin the following case communicated to us by Dr. Houlston:

A friend of mine, Mr. Wright Gleave, surgeon, in Liverpool, delivered the wife of Mr. Thomas Clarke, salt-boiler there, of a son, August 21, 1776. This woman had a deformed pelvis, and had not been delivered of her other children (except one at seven months) without the help of instruments. She now had a laborious lingering time; but at the end of two days, was delivered naturally. The child's head was much elongated. It had neither respiration, pulsation, nor motion; and was judged by all the by-standers to be dead. It remained thus ten minutes at least, though Mr. Gleave had very judiciously employed immediately frictions on the chest, temples, soles of the feet, &c. change of posture, and inflation of the lungs. After these had been persevered in near a quarter of an hour, some pulsation of the heart was perceived; soon after, some motion, and then a general convulsion came on, which lasted near ten minutes; after which the child cried, and recovered perfectly.

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of the chimney, and immediately underneath it: or a small perforation made in the wall in any other convenient manner; the one end of which should communicate with the external air, and the other communicate with the chamber in any place near the grate, and as low down as possible, through which a constant supply of air would be administered to the fire, without the smallest inconvenience or trouble.

If this were practised, doors and windows might with safety be made much closer than usual, and our apartments rendered equally warm and comfortable, with a much smaller quantity of fuel than we use at present. For as the fire, in the ordinary mode of constructing chambers, is kept alive by a constant succession of cold air from the doors, windows, and other crannies of the room, rushing towards the chimney in all directions, the air of the room, which, if not cooled by this means, would be quickly heated to a great degree, is constantly kept cold, in spite of the strong heat of a blazing fire; which, at the same time that it scorches the parts of our body that are most exposed to it, does not warm the parts that are turned from it; and we experience at the same time a burning heat and piercing cold, which is often productive of the most disagreeable effects. But if the fire were supplied with air in the manner above-mentioned, there would be less air drawn in through the crannies of the room, so that what was within would be soon warmed, and continue long so, even with a small degree of heat,

However improper this might be for people in perfect health, it might surely be of great use for

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those who are in a weakly habit of body; especially if care were taken to carry off the foul air, by having a small tube leading from the upper part of the room to the top of the house, through which the air that had been rendered noxious by the smoke of candles, or perspiration, would be conveyed away, and a succession of fresh air admitted from the tube near the fire-place to supply that want.

If any one should think of adopting this species of refinement, it is proper he should be warned of the inconveniences that may attend it, as well from the benefits that may result from it. I shall therefore be excused for pointing these out on this occasion with some degree of precision.

Perhaps nothing contributes so much towards preserving the health of sedentary and recluse persons, as the fires that are usually burnt in our apartments; as they perform the part of a perpetual ventilator, which helps to carry off the foul air, that is continually generating by the breath of the company, and burning of the candles; which would soon be accumulated in such quantities as to become extremely noxious; were it not for the aid that this affords us in cold climates.—On this account open fires, which are much more cheerful, are also more conducive to health, than concealed stoves, which are employed in some cold countries.—We ought therefore to adhere to our own old fashion, and not be in too much haste to imitate our frugal neighbours in this particular.

For the same reason I would by no means advise, that the method above described of feeding the fire with fresh air, should be adopted

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without proper precautions. For should our doors and windows be made very close, and these pipes for admitting air be left open, the fresh air would be so readily admitted by that means, as to keep the air of the room *in æquilibrio* with the external atmosphere, so that little or none would be pressed in through the crannies at which it at present enters; and the perpetual ventilation would thus be stopped,—and the foul air be continually retained in the room; which might thus indeed be heated at a much smaller expence; and more equally, than at present, but it would be at the same time less healthful to the inhabitants.

It would, therefore, by no means be safe to introduce the cool air by this contrivance, without at the same time opening a vent-hole in the top of the room, by which the foul air might be carried out of the apartment. This might be done by means of a small tube opening into the room, either in or near the cieling; which might either be carried to the top of the building, or be made to communicate with the external air by a small perforation through the wall at the roof of the room, by means of either of which a proper circulation would be established, and the foul air be carried off.

For the fire would no sooner have warmed any particles of air within the room, than these would be greatly expanded, and rise immediately upwards, so as to fill the higher parts of the room with rarefied air;—and as other particles would be successively heated and rarefied in their turn, by their expansive force they would press upon the sides of the apartment in

every place, so as to force the lightest particles through the opening left for that purpose in the top of the room, by which means the foulest air would be gradually drawn off, without descending again into the lower regions, to the annoyance of the company.

By attending to these circumstances, it will appear sufficiently obvious, that a room which has such a ventilator within itself in the roof, will be more sweet and wholesome than one in the ordinary fashion.—For although the fire ventilates the under part of the room well enough; yet such particles of air as are rarified by its action at such a distance from it, as to be buoyed upwards beyond the reach of the chimney, when they once rise above the top of the mantle will be carried directly to the top of the room, where they must remain clogged with the foul vapours; having no outlet through which they can issue forth to the open air.

To cure this evil, a species of ventilator has been lately contrived, by fitting a small circular wheel of metal into one of the upper panes of the highest window;—which is certainly of some utility, unless where it is attended with other inconveniences, which now require to be pointed out.

If a vent-hole is made in the roof of the room, through which the rarefied air may be readily emitted, it must follow, that as the air within the room is gradually heated, and thus carried off, some cool fresh air must insinuate itself into the room to supply that deficiency, as well as to keep the fire alive; but if there is no vent for the heated air in the room but through

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through the pipe of the chimney, there will be less danger that the smoke will be drawn from it into the apartments, than if there be another opening made for carrying off that heated air;—so that anything of this sort must have a tendency to diminish the draught of the chimney, and may on some occasions produce smoke, where it would not have appeared without it.

Every opening, therefore, of the sort here mentioned, ought to be so contrived, as to admit of being shut or opened at pleasure, so as that a remedy may be at hand for this disease whenever it may become troublesome.—But the wheel-ventilators above alluded to do not admit of this, and are on this account imperfect.

There is no necessity for having that opening very large on any occasion, but it ought to be so formed as to admit of being easily contracted without being wholly shut; which might be best effected by having the mouth of it covered with a sliding shutter, like that on the end of a telescope, which might be closed or opened to any degree at pleasure.

But if this pipe in the upper part of the room will have some tendency *in any case* to produce smoke, it will be rather in greater danger of occasioning this, if the fresh air is admitted to the fire by the pipes above described, than in the ordinary way.—For as the room, as well as the chimney, must in this case be in a great measure supplied with fresh air from these tubes, there would be some danger, that in issuing into the room it might draw some smoke along with it.—This danger, however, it must be

acknowledged, is but very small, next to nothing,—as all the fresh air that would flow from these into the room would issue at the under part next the hearth, where there should be no smoke.—What should go once through the grate, could never be drawn from the chimney, unless by extreme imprudence in allowing too great an opening in the roof of the room.

It would be better, however, on all occasions to obviate this inconvenience, small as it is, by the following contrivance, which would render our apartments more sweet, wholesome,—equally warm in every part, and more agreeable upon the whole, than any other.

Let another opening be made in the ceiling of the room, having a communication with a small pipe that should lead from thence either to the outside of the wall, or to any other part of the building that might be judged more convenient; where it should be bent, and conducted downwards, till it reached the ground; where it should be left open, to communicate with the external air.—In this situation the cool external air would be forced in at the lower opening of the tube, and made to ascend into the apartment, in proportion to the quantity that escaped towards the higher regions by means of the ventilator.—And as that weighty air would no sooner enter the room than it would tend towards the floor by its own natural gravity, it would gradually mix with the heated air in its descent,—become in some measure warmed by that means, and equally dispersed through the room, so as slowly and imperceptibly to reach the candles and the company in the room,

and supply them with a sufficient quantity of fresh and wholesome air, without the inconveniences to which the company are subjected by the usual way of admitting fresh air. For, if it enters near the floor of the apartment, it is hurried along in a rapid undivided stream towards to the fire-place, and striking upon the legs and inferior parts of the body, affects them with a strong sensation of cold. To overcome the effects of this, large fires must be kept; by which other parts of the body are warmed to an extraordinary degree, which is productive of most of those disorders that are pernicious to the young, and often prove fatal to the old, during the winter season, in these cold regions.

Thus might our apartments be kept constantly, and moderately, and equally warm, at a moderate expence, without endangering our health on the one hand, by respiring a confined, stagnant, and putrid air; or, on the other hand by subjecting ourselves to such danger of catching colds, consumptions, and rheumatic complaints, by being exposed to such exceedingly unequal degrees of heat and cold, as are unavoidable where our apartments are so open as to admit a ready passage to the external air during the winter season.

The reader will easily perceive, that all that has been here said, has a reference only to those apartments in cold climates and rigorous weather, where fire to warm them becomes necessary.—In warmer regions, or during the summer season, there can be no objection to the wheel ventilator in the window.—It is a simple contrivance, and a safe and effectual mean of preserv-

ing the air in our apartments sweet and wholesome at that season.

On the Usefulness of washing and rubbing the Stems of Trees; by Mr. Marsham.

I Had for several years intended to put in practice the celebrated Dr. Hales' advice of washing, with that of Mr. Evelyn of rubbing the stem of a tree, in order to increase its growth; but other avocations prevented me till the last spring: when, as soon as the buds began to swell, I washed my tree round from the ground to the beginning of the head; viz. between thirteen and fourteen feet in height. This was done first with water and a stiff shoe-brush, until the tree was quite cleared of the moss and dirt: then I only washed it with a coarse flannel. I repeated the washing three, four, or five times a week, during all the dry time of the spring, and the fore-part of the summer; but after the rains were frequent, I very seldom washed. The unwashed tree, whose growth I proposed to compare with it, was (at five feet from the ground) before the last year's increase, 3 ft. 7 in. $\frac{9}{16}$ ths; and in the autumn, after the year's growth was compleated, 3 ft. 9 in. $\frac{15}{16}$ ths; viz. increase 1 in. $\frac{9}{16}$ ths. The washed tree was last spring 3 ft. 7 in. $\frac{7}{16}$ ths, and in the autumn it was 3 ft. 9 in. $\frac{7}{16}$ ths; viz. increase 2 in. $\frac{7}{16}$ ths, that is one-tenth of an inch above double the increase of the unwashed tree. As the difference was so great, and as some unknown accident might have injured the growth of the unwashed tree, I added the year's increase

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crease of five other beeches of the same age (viz. all that I had measured), and found the aggregate increase of the six unwatered beeches to be 9 in. $\frac{1}{8}$ ths, which, divided by six, gives one inch and five-tenths and an half for the growth of each tree; so the gain by washing is nine-tenths and an half. To make the experiment fairly, I fixed on two of my largest beeches, sown in 1741, and transplanted into a grove in 1749. The washed tree had been, from the first year, the largest plant till the year 1767, when its rival became and continued the largest plant, until I began to wash the other: therefore I fixed on the less thriving tree as the fairest trial. The trees were nearly of the same height and shape, spreading a circle of about fifty feet diameter. I think it necessary to mention these circumstances; for I know by experience, that a short and spreading tree, having ample room, will increase twice or three times, and perhaps four times as much, as a tall small-headed tree of the same age, that stands near other trees. Thus my washed beech increased above six times as much as Mr. Drake's beautiful beech at Shardeloes, though that tree seemed in good health when I saw it in 1759 and 1766. But it increased only 2 in. $\frac{1}{8}$ ths in those seven years; which may perhaps be owing to its vast height, being seventy-four feet and a half to the boughs (as the late knight of the shire for Suffolk, Sir John Rous, told me that Mr. Drake had informed him) only six feet and four inches round, and having a small head, and little room to spread.

Stratton, Oct. 29, 1775.

Directions for making the best Composition for the Metals of reflecting Telescopes, by Mr. John Mudge.

THE perfection of the metal of which the speculum should be made consists in its hardness, whiteness, and compactness; for upon these properties the reflective powers and durability of the speculum depend. And first of the hardness and whiteness of the metal. There are various compositions recommended in Smith's Optics, all which have however their several defects. Three parts copper and one part and one-fourth of tin will make, he says, a very hard white metal; but it is liable to be porous. This, however, is an imperfection which I shall presently shew the method of preventing; but the permanent fault of it, and which I have myself experienced, is, that it is not hard enough. The speculum of a reflecting telescope ought to have the utmost possible hardness, compatible with its being operated upon by the tool.

It is to be observed, that ever so small a quantity of tin added to melted copper destroys its perfect malleability, and at the same time produces a metal whiter and harder than copper. As the quantity of tin is increased, suppose to a fifth or fourth part, the metal becomes whiter, still harder, and consequently more friable. If the quantity of tin be further increased to a third of the whole composition, it will then have its utmost whiteness; but will be rendered at the same time so exceedingly hard and brittle, that the finest washed emery upon lead or brass will not cut it without breaking up its surface;

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and the common blue stones used in grinding the speculum, will not touch it. Mr. Jackson (some time since dead) a mathematical instrument-maker, and a most excellent workman, told me, that the tin was increased to the above proportion in his metals; but that they were so exceedingly hard, that it cost him an infinite deal of pains, and a journey of two hundred miles, to find out a stone of sufficient hardness to cut it, and whose texture at the same time was fine enough not to injure its surface. I have seen several of his finished metals; they were indeed perfectly hard and white; but the kind of stone with which he ground them he kept a secret.

After many experiments with various proportions of tin and copper, by gradually increasing the former, I at last found that fourteen ounces and an half of grain-tin to two pounds of good Swedish copper, made a beautiful white and very hard metal; so hard indeed, that the stones would but barely cut it, and wafted emery on brads or tin but just grind the surface without breaking it up; whereas the proportion of tin being increased by the addition of only another half ounce, the former inconvenience immediately took place. This therefore is the maximum in point of hardness.

Thus much of the two first considerations, the hardness and whiteness of the metal; the next, and indeed the most essential, property is its compactness, or its being without pores.

This composition (though complete in the former respects) was, as well as Dr. Smith's, subject every now and then to be porous;

sometimes, indeed, I succeeded in casting a single metal, or perhaps two or three, without this imperfection; at other times, and most frequently indeed, they were attended with this defect, without my being at all able to form a probable conjecture at the cause of my success or disappointment. The pores were so very small that they were not discoverable when the metal had received a good face and figure upon the hones, nor till the last and highest polish had been given; and then it frequently appeared as if dusted over with millions of microscopic pores, which were exceedingly prejudicial in two respects; for first, they became in time a lodgment for a moisture which tarnished the surface; and secondly, on polishing the speculum, the putty necessarily rounded off the edges of the pores, so as to spoil a great part of the metal, by the loss of as much light and sharpness in the image as there were defective points of reflection in the metal.

Besides the trouble of a great number of experiments, in order to get rid of this mischief, and to ascertain the cause to which it was owing, there was this additional inconvenience attending it, viz. that the fault was not discovered, as was observed before, till a great deal of trouble had been taken in grinding and even polishing the metal, the whole of which was rendered useless by the mortifying discovery of this effect.

I was extricated at last from this difficulty, and in some measure by accident. Having one day made a great number of experiments, and having melted down all the good copper I had or could procure;

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cure; though puzzled and fatigued, yet not caring to give it up, I recollect that I had some metal which was reserved out of curiosity, and was a part of one of the bells of St. Andrew's which had been re-cast. Expecting, however, very little from this gross and uncertain composition, I was nevertheless determined to see what could be made of it by enriching the composition with a little fresh tin. Accordingly casting a metal with it, it turned out perfectly free from pores, and in every respect as fine a metal as ever I saw.

I could not at first conceive to what this success was owing; but at last I hit upon the real cause of that defect, which had given me so much embarrassment and trouble during a course of near a hundred experiments, and in consequence thereof fell upon a method which ever after prevented it.

I had hitherto always melted the copper first, and when it was sufficiently fused, I used to add the proportional quantity of tin; and as soon as the two were mixed, and the scoria taken off, the metal was poured into the moulds. I began to consider that putty was calcined tin, and strongly suspected, that the excessive heat which the copper necessarily undergoes before fusion, was sufficient to reduce part of the tin to this state of calcination, which therefore might fly off from the composition in the form of putty, at the time the metal was poured into the flasks.

Upon this idea, after I had furnished myself with some more Swedish copper and grain-tin (both which I had always before used) I melted the copper, and having

added the tin as usual to it, cast the whole into an ingot: this was, as I expected, porous. I then melted it again, and as in this mixed state it did not acquire half the heat which was before necessary to melt the copper alone, so it was not sufficient to calcine the tin; the speculum was then perfectly close, and free from this fault; nor did I ever after, in a single instance, meet with the above-mentioned imperfection.

All that is necessary, therefore, to be done to procure a metal which shall be white, as hard as it can be wrought, and perfectly compact, is to melt two pounds of Swedish copper, and when so melted, to add fourteen ounces and a half of grain-tin to it; then, having taken off the scoria, to cast it into an ingot. This metal must be a second time melted to cast the speculum; but as it will fuse in this compound state with a small heat, and therefore will not calcine the tin into putty, it should be poured off as soon as it is melted, giving it no more heat than is absolutely necessary. It is to be observed, however, that the same metal, by frequent melting, loses something of its hardness and whiteness: when this is the case, it becomes necessary to enrich the metal by the addition of a little tin, perhaps in the proportion of half an ounce to a pound. And indeed when the metal is first made, if instead of adding the fourteen ounces and a half of tin to the two pounds of melted copper, about one ounce of the tin were to be reserved and added to it in the succeeding melting, before it is cast off into the moulds, the composition would be the more beau-

tiful, and the grain of it much finer: this I know by experience to be the case.

The best method for giving the melted metal a good surface is this: the moment before it is poured off, throw into the crucible a spoonful of charcoal-dust; immediately after which the metal must be stirred with a wooden spatula, and poured into the moulds.

I wish I may not be considered as tedious in the above detail; but as this business caused me a great deal of trouble, I was willing to give some account of the means by which I was freed from this difficulty ever after. Perhaps, indeed, the whole of this process may be unnecessary, as many years since, I communicated this composition, and I believe at the same time the method of preventing the pores, to the late Mr. Peter Collinson, a member of the Royal Society; and likewise two or three years since, at the desire of my brother, to Mr. Michell. Although it be possible, therefore, that this method is generally known, yet, as I have frequently of late seen specula with this defect, and observed metals of some of Mr. Short's telescopes which are not quite so perfect as could be wished (though they are all exquisitely figured) I was willing by this publication wholly to remove any future embarrassment of this sort, and to furnish workmen with an excellent composition for their metals. And would the Royal Society be pleased to honour the process with a place in their records, I know of no other method so proper to give this, as well as the following information, a general notoriety.

The metal being cast, there will

be no occasion for the complicated apparatus directed by Dr. Smith, for grinding and polishing it. Four tools are all that are necessary, viz. the rough grinder to work off the rough face of the metal; a brass convex grinder, on which the metal is to receive its spherical figure; a bed of hones, which is to perfect that figure, and to give the metal a fine smooth face; and a concave tool or bruise, with which both the brass grinder, and the hones are to be formed. A polisher may be considered as an additional tool; but as the brass grinder is used for this purpose, and its pitchy surface is expeditiously, and without difficulty formed by the bruise, the apparatus is therefore not enlarged.

On the Use of Oak Leaves in Hot-Houses in Preference to Tanners Rake, by W. Speechly, Gardener to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

I presume that the leaves of the oak abound with the same quality as the bark of the tree, therefore the sooner they are raked up after they fall from the trees, the better, as that quality will naturally decrease during the time they are exposed to the weather. After being raked into heaps they should immediately be carried to some place near the hot-houses, where they must lie to couch. I generally fence them round with charcoal-hurdles, or any thing else to keep them from being blown about the garden in windy weather. In this place we tread them well, and water them in case they happen to have been brought in dry. We make

make the heap six or seven feet in thickness, covering it over with old mats, or any thing else, to prevent the upper leaves from being blown away. In a few days the heap will come to a strong heat. For the first year or two that I used these leaves, I did not continue them in the heat longer than ten days or a fortnight; but in this I discovered a considerable inconvenience, as they settled so much when got into the hot-house as soon to require a supply. Taught by experience, I now let them remain in the heap for five or six weeks, by which time they are properly prepared for the hot-houses. In getting them into the pine-pits, if they appear dry, we water them again, trampling them in layers exceedingly well till the pits are quite full. We then cover the whole with tan to the thickness of two inches, and tread it well till the surface become smooth and even. On this we place the pine-pots in the manner they are to stand, beginning with the middle row first, and filling up the spaces between the pots with tan. In like manner we proceed to the next row till the whole be finished; and this operation is performed in the same manner as when tan *only* is used.

After this the leaves require no farther trouble the whole season through, as they will retain a constant and regular heat for twelve months without either stirring or turning; and if I may form a judgment from their appearance when taken out, (being always entire and perfect) it is probable they would continue their heat through a second year; but as an annual supply of leaves is easily obtained,

such a trial is hardly worth the trouble of making.

After this the pines will have no occasion to be moved but at the stated times of their management, viz. at the shifting them in their pots, &c. when at each time a little fresh tan should be added to make up the deficiency arising from the settling of the beds; but this will be inconsiderable, as the leaves do not settle much after their long *couching*. During the two first years of my practice I did not use any tan, but plunged the pine-pots into the leaves, and just covered the surface of the beds, when finished, with a little saw-dust, to give it a neatness. This method was attended with one inconvenience; for by the caking of the leaves they shrunk from the sides of the pots, whereby they became exposed to the air, and at the same time the heat of the beds was permitted to escape.

Many powerful reasons may be given why oak leaves (for I have not tried any other kinds) are preferable to tanners bark.

First, They always heat regularly; for during the whole time that I have used them, which is near seven years, I never once knew of their heating with violence; and this is so frequently the case with tan, that I affirm, and indeed it is well known to every person conversant in the management of the hot-house, that pines suffer more from this one circumstance, than from all the other accidents put together, insects excepted. When this accident happens near the time of their fruiting, the effect is soon seen in the fruit, which always comes ill shaped and exceedingly small. Sometimes there will be

be little or no fruit at all; therefore gardeners who make use of tan only for their pines, should be most particularly careful to avoid an over-heat at that critical season—the time of bearing fruit.

Secondly, The heat of oak leaves is constant; whereas tan-viers bark generally turns cold in a very short time after its furious heat is gone off. This obliges the gardener to give the tan frequent turnings in order to promote its heating. These frequent turnings (not to mention the expence) are attended with the worst consequences; for by the continual moving of the pots backwards and forwards, the pines are exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, whereby their growth is considerably retarded; whereas when leaves are used, the pines will have no occasion to be moved but at the times of potting, &c.—The pines have one particular advantage in this undisturbed situation; their roots grow through the bottoms of the pots and mat amongst the leaves in a surprizing manner. From the vigour of the plants, when in this situation, it is highly probable that the leaves, even in this state, afford them an uncommon and agreeable nourishment.

Thirdly, There is a saving in point of expence, which is no inconsiderable object in places where tan cannot be had but from a great distance, as is the case here, the article of carriage amounting to ten shillings for each waggon-load. Indeed, this was the principal reason that first induced me to make trial of leaves.

My last ground of preference, is the consideration that decayed

leaves make good manure; whereas rotten tan is experimentally found to be of no value. I have often tried it both on sand and clay, also on wet and dry lands, and never could discover, in any of my experiments, that it deserved the name of a manure; whereas decayed leaves are the richest, and of all others, the most suitable for a garden. But this must only be understood of leaves after they have undergone their fermentation, which reduces them to a true vegetable mould, in which we experimentally know that the food of plants is contained—but whether that food be oil, mucilage, or salt, or a combination of all three, I leave to philosophers to determine. This black mould is, of all others, the most proper to mix with compost earth, and I use it in general for pines, and almost for every thing that grows in pots. For flowers it is most excellent. The remainder of this vegetable mould may be employed in manuring the quarters of the kitchen-garden, for which purpose it is highly useful.

Leaves mixed with dung make excellent hot-beds—and I find that beds compounded in this manner preserve their heat much longer than when made entirely with dung. In both cases the application of leaves will be a considerable saving of dung, a circumstance very agreeable, as it will be the means of preventing the contests frequently observed in large families, between the superintendent of the gardens and the directors of the husbandry.

Welbeck,
Feb. 20, 1776. W. SPEECHLY.

Useful

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*Useful Hints for learning to Swim.
By Benjamin Franklin, LL.D.
F. R. S. In a Letter to a Friend.*

Dear Sir,

I CANNOT be of opinion with you, that it is too late in life for you to learn to swim; the river near the bottom of your garden, affords a most convenient place for the purpose. And, as your new employment requires your being often on the water, of which you have such a dread, I think you would do well to make the trial; nothing being so likely to remove those apprehensions, as the consciousness of an ability to swim to the shore in case of an accident, or of supporting yourself in the water till a boat could come to take you up.

I do not know how far corks or bladders may be useful in learning to swim, having never seen much trial of them. Possibly they may be of service in supporting the body while you are learning what is called the stroke, or that manner of drawing in and striking out the hands and feet that is necessary to produce progressive motion. But you will be no swimmer till you can place some confidence in the power of the water to support you; I would therefore advise the acquiring that confidence in the first place, especially as I have known several who, by a little of the practice necessary for that purpose, have insensibly acquired the stroke, taught as it were by nature.

The practice I mean is this: choosing a place where the water deepens gradually, walk coolly into it till it is up to your breast, then turn round your face to the

shore, and throw an egg into the water, between you and the shore; it will sink to the bottom, and be easily seen there, as your water is clear. It must lie in the water so deep, as that you cannot reach it to take it up but by diving for it. To encourage yourself in order to do this, reflect that your progress will be from deeper to shallower water, and that at any time you may, by bringing your legs under you, and standing on the bottom, raise your head far above the water. Then plunge under it with your eyes open, throwing yourself towards the egg, and endeavouring, by the action of your hands and feet against the water, to get forward till within reach of it. In this attempt you will find that the water buoys you up against your inclination; that it is not so easy a thing to sink as you imagined; that you cannot, but by active force, get down to the egg. Thus you feel the power of the water to support you, and learn to confide in that power; while your endeavours to overcome it, and to reach the egg, teach you the manner of acting on the water with your feet and hands, which action is afterwards used in swimming to support your head higher above water, or to go forward through it.

I would the more earnestly press you to the trial of this method, because, though I think I satisfied you that your body is lighter than water, and that you might float in it a long time with your mouth free for breathing, if you would put yourself in a proper posture, and would be still, and forbear struggling, yet, till you have obtained this experimental confidence in the water, I cannot depend on your

your having the necessary presence of mind to recollect that posture, and the directions I gave you relating to it. The surprise may put all out of your mind. For, though we value ourselves on being reasonable knowing creatures, reason and knowledge seem, on such occasions, to be of little use to us; and the brutes, to whom we allow scarce a glimmering of either, appear to have the advantage of us.

I will, however, take this opportunity of repeating those particulars to you, which I mentioned in our last conversation, as, by perusing them at your leisure, you may possibly imprint them so in your memory, as on occasion to be of some use to you.

First, that, though the legs, arms, and head of a human body, being solid parts, are specifically somewhat heavier than fresh water, yet the trunk, particularly the upper part, from its hollowness, is so much lighter than water, as that the whole of the body, taken together, is too light to sink wholly under water, but some part will remain above, until the lungs become filled with water; which happens from drawing water into them instead of air, when a person, in the fright, attempts breathing, while the mouth and nostrils are under water.

2dly, That the legs and arms are specifically lighter than salt-water, and will be supported by it; so that a human body would not sink in salt-water, though the lungs were filled as above, but from the greater specific gravity of the head.

3dly, That therefore a person throwing himself on his back in

salt-water, and extending his arms, may easily lie so as to keep his mouth and nostrils free for breathing; and, by a small motion of his hands, may prevent turning, if he should perceive any tendency to it.

4thly, That, in fresh water, if a man throws himself on his back, near the surface, he cannot long continue in that situation, but by a proper action of his hands on the water. If he uses no such action, the legs and lower part of the body will gradually sink till he comes into an upright position, in which he will continue suspended, the hollow of the breast keeping the head uppermost.

5thly, But if in this erect position the head is kept upright above the shoulders, as when we stand on the ground, the immersion will, by the weight of that part of the head that is out of water, reach above the mouth and nostrils, perhaps a little above the eyes, so that a man cannot long remain suspended in water with his head in that position.

6thly, The body continued suspended as before, and upright, if the head be leaned quite back, so that the face looks upwards, all the back part of the head being then under water, and its weight consequently in a great measure supported by it, the face will remain above water quite free for breathing, will rise an inch higher every inspiration, and sink as much every expiration, but never so low as that the water may come over the mouth.

7thly, If therefore a person, unacquainted with swimming, and falling accidentally into the water, could have presence of mind sufficient

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cient to avoid struggling and plunging, and to let the body take this natural position, he might continue long safe from drowning, till perhaps help would come. For, as to the cloaths, their additional weight, while immersed, is very inconsiderable, the water supporting it; though, when he comes out of the water, he would find them very heavy indeed.

But, as I laid before, I would not advise you or any one to depend on having this presence of mind on such an occasion, but learn fairly to swim, as I wish all men were taught to do in their youth; they would, on many occurrences, be the safer for having

that skill, and on many more the happier, as freer from painful apprehensions of danger, to say nothing of the enjoyment in so delightful and wholesome an exercise. Soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use either in surprizing an enemy, or saving themselves. And, if I had now boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which, once learnt, is never forgotten. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

ANTIQUITIES.

A N T I Q U I T I E S.

An Account of the Events produced in England, by the Grant of the Kingdom of Sicily, to Prince Edmund, Second Son of King Henry the Third. By Thomas Astle, Esq.

THE grant of the kingdom of Sicily by Pope Innocent the Fourth to Prince Edmund, will be found upon enquiry to have produced the greatest events in their consequences, that ever appeared in the annals of England. Amongst others, the association of the barons against King Henry the Third; the appointing conservators of the peace in the several counties; and the settling the democratical part of our constitution upon a permanent basis, by Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, whilst the king was his prisoner.

As the king's wars with his barons have not been generally attributed to his connections with Sicily, and foreign historians being almost silent upon this head, I flatter myself that an account of this transaction may be acceptable to the society.

The emperor Frederick, who died in 1250, by his will shared his kingdoms amongst his children. He gave the Isle of Sicily to his son Henry, whom he had by his third wife Isabella of Eng-

land, sister to King Henry the Third. But the Emperor Conrade the Fourth, his successor, being at war with Pope Innocent the Fourth, that Pontiff attempted to seize upon Sicily: and, apprehending that this attempt might be attended with great expence, he endeavoured to persuade Richard Earl of Cornwall, third brother to King Henry the Third, to accept of the crown of Sicily; flattering himself, that the earl's immense wealth would enable him to support his military operations: but Richard, being a prince of great economy, declined the offer. The Pope afterwards offered the crown of the Two Sicilies to King Henry the Third, who refused the present; being unwilling to deprive his nephew Henry of his kingdom. However, Conrade, having put his brother Henry to death, and made himself master of Sicily, was in the year 1253 poisoned, as is supposed, by his bastard-brother Manfred, who usurped the throne of that kingdom. Hereupon Pope Innocent the IVth, improving the opportunity, made himself master of Naples; but Conradine, the son of the late emperor, continuing the war, the Pope found himself unable to maintain the army which he had sent to Naples. In this exigency he applied once more to

the

the king of England, and offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund ; observing, that as his nephew Henry was dead, there was no further room for his scruples.

Henry was weak enough to accept the offer, and not only sent the Pope all the money which he could borrow or extort from his subjects, but was also so indiscreet, as to engage for the payment of all the sums which the Pope might borrow for the placing Prince Edmund upon the throne of Sicily. The Pope, the better to carry on his designs, and to amuse and please the king, who was become exceedingly fond of this Sicilian connection, sent over into England Albert his notary, with instructions to grant the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund and his heirs.

The Pontiff, finding that Henry was so compleatly fallen into his snare, spared not the king's purse, and drew away his money so fast, that his ordinary revenue could not possibly answer the expence. This put him upon various methods of obtaining money from his people, which rendered him exceedingly odious to them ; but he was so infatuated with the hopes of acquiring a kingdom for his son, that he disregarded their complaints. Notwithstanding Pope Innocent was very sensible, that it was out of the king's power to perform his engagements, he assisted him with his apostolical authority in borrowing and squeezing money from the clergy as well as from the laity ; and when Henry was unable to satisfy his demands, the Pope threatened to give the crown of Sicily to some other prince;

but, his forces being defeated by those of Mansfred between Troya and Foggia in the year 1254, he soon after died, as it is said, of vexation. His successor Alexander the Fourth, at a great expence, carried on the war against Mansfred, who, having defeated the forces of his Holiness near Nocera, was crowned king of the Two Sicilies.

Pope Alexander practised the same arts as his predecessor upon the king of England, who, being ignorant of what had happened in Italy, was made the dupe of this designing Pontiff. And he, the better to conceal his intended impositions upon Henry, sent the bishop of Bononia to London with a bull, confirming his predecessor's grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, upon the following conditions, viz.

That Edmund should perform liege homage to the Pope.

That Sicily should be no longer divided ; but that the two parts should be under the government of one and the same king.

That the king should make the Pope every year an acknowledgement of two thousand ounces of *puro gold*.

That he should send three hundred horse for three months to serve the church in case of need.

That the churches of Sicily should enjoy their liberties, and that the Pope should quietly possess his rights to those churches.

That Edmund and his successors, when they paid their homage, should swear that they would never consent to be chosen emperors, on pain of losing their crown, and being excommunicated.

That the church should keep posse-

possession of the Dutchy of Benevento.

That Edmund, when he came to the age of fifteen, should perform his homage in person; and until then the king his father should pay it for him. (The form of the homage is inserted in the instrument.)

That it should be at the Pope's choice, whether he would have homage paid him by Edmund and his successors in person or by proxy. And,

That Edmund should confirm and maintain the grants made by his predecessors to the family of Hoemburch.

Besides the above conditions, there were many other conventions and instruments for putting Edmund into possession of the kingdom; several of which may be found in the Foedera; and many more are extant upon the patent, clause, and charter rolls.

About the end of October, 1255, the ceremony of investiture was performed at London by the bishop of Bononia, in the presence of the king and a numerous assembly of great men, by the symbol of a ring which the Pope had sent for that purpose. The poor king wept for joy at this ceremony, and sent the Pope immediately afterwards fifty thousand marks, and bound himself to send two hundred thousand more within a stated time; upon which account, the Pope granted the king the tenths of the revenues of the clergy.

Although the king's flatterers congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiser people who were grieved to see their sovereign so great a dupe to the Pope; and perceived that

all the ready-money in the kingdom was not sufficient to bring about the undertaking in which he was embarked. In short, this Sicilian connection was become exceedingly unpopular, and the business grew more and more alarming. However, Henry being pressed by the Pope, was obliged to call a parliament, for supplies; and he, to avoid opposition, omitted sending writs to the refractory barons. In this parliament, the king introduced his son cloathed in the Apulian habit, and made a speech, wherein he demanded large supplies for placing him upon the throne of Sicily; but the barons, being sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the Pope, determined not to lavish the treasure of the kingdom upon such a chimerical project, absolutely refused to comply with the king's demands; and assigned the following reasons for their refusal:

1. The great distance of that kingdom from England.

2. The difficulties of securing a free passage through the territories of powers at enmity with the king of England, and perhaps favourers of his adversary.

3. Manfred's being in possession of Labor (*Laboris*) and other places, through which the communication between the several parts of the kingdom is usually carried on.

4. The strength of the prince (Manfred) in the kingdom.

5. The alliance actually subsisting between that prince, the natives of Apulia, and the inhabitants of the adjacent countries.

6. Manfred's being in possession of most of the cities, castles, and fortresses, of the kingdom.

7. The

7. The great riches which that prince daily received from thence.

8. The immense expence already incurred by the king without any advantages gained in return.

9. The excessive sums requisite for discharging the debts then due, as also for defraying the expences of Prince Edmund's journey, and settling him in quiet possession of the kingdom; all which would amount to more money than the whole kingdom of England could produce.

10. The destruction and impoverishment of England, which must be the consequence of the several and frequent iters or circuits of the justices, and of a variety of extortions, seizures, and other oppressions.

11. The scantiness of the king's and his son's treasure, and the poverty of the English as well clergy as laity.

12. The troubles prevailing in Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland.

13. The hostile invasion of England by the Welch, in order to drive out the natives by force of arms.

14. The diminution of the power of England in respect to its counsellors, wealth, and people, which the departure of the Earl of Cornwall must occasion.

15. The encouragement it would give to the King of France, and other neighbouring princes, but more especially to such as formerly possessed lands in England, to attack that kingdom, so soon as the affairs of Sicily had drained it of men, counsellors, arms, and money.

16. The resolutions they had taken not only to refuse giving

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their assent to the king's taking upon himself the burthen of this busines, lest it should be surmized that they consented to his being betrayed or delivered into the hands of his enemies; but totally to decline being concerned in the busines aforesaid jointly with the king; and that as well for the before-mentioned reasons, as on account of the immoderate and uncertain expence wherewith it must be attended, and which could not be raised.

Lastly, The difficult and heavy terms required in case the busines should be undertaken, and which might occasion the king's loss of his right to that kingdom after infinite trouble and expence in order to obtain it.

In this extremity the King and the Pope united in oppressing the people; the king issued a proclamation, commanding all that were worth 15*l. per annum* in land to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a certain sum: he also took a tallage of 500 marks from the citizens of London, and his Holiness sent Rustand his legate into England to extort money; for which purpose he summoned an assembly of the bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the Pope's and the King's pleasure. The demands of the legate were so exorbitant, that they were received by the assembly with the greatest surprize and indignation. The Bishop of Worcester declared roundly, that he would lose his life rather than comply. The Bishop of London said, that if the mitre was taken off his head, he would clap on an helmet in its place. The legate was no less violent; and, in the end, the bishops and abbots being

being threatened with excommunication, were obliged to submit. It seems, however, that some of the prelates did not comply with the Pope's demands; for, on the 10th of the kalends of October, 1256, he issued a bull, whereby he excommunicated all the prelates who had not paid their tenths. Nor did his Holiness stop here; for he borrowed from several Italian merchants, in King Henry's name, 135,540 marks; and, to discharge these debts, he caused obligatory notes to be drawn upon the bishops and abbots in England, which they at first refused to pay, but, after several struggles, they agreed to repay these sums; and by a bull, dated the 5th of the kalends of October, 1256, ordered a subsidy to be levied upon the clergy of Scotland for the payment of the debt contracted by King Henry for the affairs of Sicily.

Upon the 20th of the nones of October, the Pope issued a bull, allowing the king six months time for the payment of the debt to him; and ordered the king to send an army into Sicily upon pain of excommunication and interdict. In short, the demands of the Pope were insatiable, and he pressed the king continually to send him money and troops to Italy; both of which, the parliament convened for that purpose, absolutely refused; and returned for answer to the king's demands, that he had unadvisedly accepted the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope without the counsel of his nobles, despising their deliberation and wisdom; that he ought to have been instructed by the example of his brother, who had rejected the offer; that

many difficulties would attend the conquest of a country so great a distance from England; that the sincerity of the Pope was much to be doubted; that the Apulians were a most treacherous people, who poisoned their relations; and concluded by declaring, that they neither could nor would longer bear with such extortions and oppressions. At length the king adjourned the parliament to Oxford; and agreed, that the government should be reformed and put into the hands of twenty-four commissioners, who formed the six famous articles, called the Provisions or Statutes of Oxford. The barons, before they broke up, agreed upon an oath of association, whereby they obliged themselves to maintain these provisions with their lives and fortunes; and the city of London soon afterwards entered into the association. The king, being deprived of great part of his power by these provisions, was absolved by Pope Urban the Fourth from his oath which he had taken to observe these statutes; whereupon he declared to the parliament at London, that he would not be longer bound by them. He took possession of the Tower, and dismissed by proclamation all the officers who had been appointed by the twenty-four commissioners, and nominated others in their room. The barons, after several fruitless attempts for an accommodation, had recourse to arms. The Earl of Leicester, who was at the head of the confederates, having taken the king prisoner at the battle of Lewes, obliged him to issue such mandates as he thought proper. All the officers of the crown and of the household were named by the

the earl; and the whole authority, as well as arms, of the state, were lodged in his hands. He instituted in each county officers, to whom were given the title of conservators of the peace, and invested them with new and arbitrary powers. In the body of each commission appointing the conservators of the peace, there was a precept to every of them, to send four knights of each county, to be chosen by the assent of the county, for the *whole county*, to meet the king at London upon the octaves of the Holy Trinity then next ensuing. These commissions bear date the 4th of June, 48 Henry III. A. D. 1258. The parliament met accordingly, and approved of the new plan of government formed by the barons.

Leicester, being in the zenith of his power, caused writs to be issued in the king's name, for a new parliament to meet at London on the octaves of St. Hilary. To this parliament only twenty-three of the temporal barons which were of his party, and a great number of ecclesiastics, who were devoted to his interest, were summoned; and, the better to increase and turn to advantage his popularity, he caused general writs to be sent to the sheriff of each county, to return two knights for each shire, and for each borough two burgesses, to sit in parliament.

It has been asserted by Dr. Brady, Mr. Hume, Mr. Whitaker, and others, that this was the first time that the cities and boroughs sent deputies to represent them in parliament; which opinions have been controverted by Mr. Petit, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Hody, and the late Lord Lyttelton. But, without

entering into this contest, it may be remarked, that, since the time of the Earl of Leicester's administration, the right of the citizens and burgesses to sit in parliament hath never been questioned; although the commons were not regularly summoned to parliament for many years afterwards.

It may not be improper to observe, that Pope Urban the Fourth, by his bull, dated 5 *kali*. Aug. 1263, revoked the grant of Sicily to Prince Edmund; and his successor, Pope Clement the Fourth, granted the same to Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis King of France. Upon the 6th of June, 1265, the king, whilst he was in Leicester's power, issued a commission to several persons therein named, to renounce the kingdom of Sicily in the name and on the behalf of him and his son Edmund; and Leicester afterwards caused that renunciation to be notified to the Pope by a letter from the king. Indeed, that Earl was obliged in honour to take these steps, as he and several of his adherents had bound themselves by an oath not to make peace with the king until he had renounced his pretensions to the kingdom of Sicily. But Prince Edmund had ample amends for the loss of that kingdom; for upon the 4th of August, 1265, his brother, Prince Edward, having defeated Leicester and his adherents at the battle of Evesham, the immense estates of that Earl, together with those of Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, John of Monmouth, and others, were given to Prince Edmund, who was created Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, and Campaigne. These vast possessions laid the foundation of

the future greatness of the house of Lancaster; the power and influence of which increased to such a height, that Henry of Bolingbrook, being too powerful for a subject, deposed his cousin german King Richard II. and mounted the throne of this kingdom. And thus, in the person of Prince Edmund, were originally founded the great contentions which long subsisted between the two houses of York and Lancaster.

The Ceremonial of making the King's Bed. By Mr. Brooke, of the Herald's College, F. S. A.

THIS account is extracted from an original manuscript, elegantly written, beautifully illuminated, and richly bound, which was some time in the library of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl marshal of England, to whom it came by descent from Thomas the great duke of Norfolk, beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; who married Mary daughter and coheir of Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, lord-chamberlain to King Henry the VIIIth. It contains the whole duty of the lord-chamberlain, and of the officers in his department, is the original copy kept for the information of that earl, and had been compiled by order of, and approved by the king himself in council.

Herald's College, J. C. BROOKE, R. C.
Jan. 15, 1776.

"The olde ordre of makynge the kynges bedd, not to be used nor done, but as hys grace well

comauand and appoyate from tyme to tyme hereafter.

Furste a groome or a page to take a torche & to goo to the wardenrobe of the kynges bedd, & bryng theym of the wardenrobe with the kynges stoff unto the chambr for makynge of the same bedde. — Where as ought to be a gentylman-usher, iij yomen of the chambr for to make the same bedde. The groome to stande at the beddes feete with his torche.

— They of the wardenrobe openyng the kynges stoff of hys bedde upon a fayre sheete bytween the sayde groome & the beddes fote, iij yomen or two at the leste in every syde of the bedde. The gentylman usher and parte comauandyng theym what they shalldoo. — A yoman with a dagger to searche the strawe of the kynges bedde that there be none untreuth therin. — And this yoman to caste up the bedde of downe upon that, & oon of theym to tomble over yt for the serche thereof. Then they to bete and tuſte the sayde bedde, and to laye oon then the bolster without touchyng of the bedde, where as it ought to lye. Then they of the wardenrobe to delver theym a fustyan takyng the faye thereof. All theys yomen to laye theyg hands thereoon at eones, that they touch not the bedde, till yt be layed as it shalde be by the comauendement of the Uſſher. — And so the furste sheete in lyke wyſe, and then to trusſe in both sheete & fustyan rownde about the bedde of downe. The wardenroper to delver the ſecond ſheete unto two yomen, they to croſſe it over theyre arme, and to ſtryke the bedde as the Uſſher ſhall more playnly ſheweun to theym. Then every

every yoman layeing hande upon the sheete to lay the same sheete upon the bedde. And so the other fustyan upon or ij with suché covéryng as shall content the kynge. Thus deon the ij yomen next to the bedde to laye down agene the overmore fustyan, the yomen of the wardenre belyverynge theym a pane sheete, the sayde yoman therewythall to cover the sayde bedde: and so then to laye down the overmost sheete from the beddes heed. And then the said ij yomen to laye all the overmost clothes of a quarter of the bedde. Then the wardenre to belyver unto theym such pyllowes as shall please the kynge. The sayd yoman to laye theym upon the bolster and the heed sheete with whych the sayde yoman shall cover the sayde pyllowes. And so to trusse the endes of the sayde sheete under every ende of the bolster. And then the sayde wardenre to belyver unto rhēm ij lytle small pyllowes wherwythall the squyres for the bodye or gentylman ushēr shall give the sayde to the wardenre, and to the yoman whiche have layde on hande upon the sayde bedde. And then the sayd ij yomen to laye upon the sayde bedde toward the bolster as yt was before. They makynge a croffe and kissyng yt where there handes were. Then ij yomen next to the feete to make the fees, as the ushēr shall teche theym. And so then every of theym sticke up the aungell about the bedde, and to lette downe the corsteyns of the sayde bedde or sparver.

Item, a squyer for the bodye or gentylman ushēr aught to sett the kynges sword at hys beddes hedde.

Item, a squyer for the bodye aught to charge a secret groome or

page to have the kepynge of the sayde bedde with a lyght unto the tyme the kyng be disposed to goo to yt.

Item, a groome or page aught to take a torche whyle the bedde ys yn making to feche a loof of brede, a pott wthy ale, a pott wthy wine, for theym that maketh the bedde, and every man.

Item, the gentylman-ushēr aught to forbide that no manner of man dō sett eny dyslhe uppon the kyng's bedde for fere of hurtynge of the kyng's ryche counterpoynyt that lyeth thereupon. And that the sayde ushēr take goode heede, that noo man wyppe or rubbe their hands uppon none arras of the kynges, wherby they myght bee hurted, in the chambr where the kyng, ys specially, and in all other.'

In a former Volume we gave our Readers an Account of the Objections made by an anonymous Writer to Mr. Bryant's Explanation of the celebrated Apamean Medal, together with Mr. Bryant's Answer. As the Ground of that Dispute is now considerably changed by the Authenticity of the Medal itself being questioned, the following Observations by the learned President of the Society of Antiquarians may not be unacceptable to our Readers.

THE very learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant having directed the attention of the public to the Apamean medal, I hope it will not be thought an unacceptable or a useless attempt, to clear up some points relative to that coin; and to enquire into the proofs of its authenticity, that the learned may

be better enabled to judge of the opinions which have been formed upon it.

This medaillon was struck at Apamea in Phrygia, during the reign of the elder Philip, and first communicated to the public by Ottavio Falconeri, a skilful Italian medalist, as we may infer from the learned Spanheim's dedicating to him his book, *De usu et praestantia Numismatum*. Falconeri's treatise on this coin was first printed at Rome in 1668, afterwards added to the second edition of Seguin's *Numismata*, Paris 1684, and a third time reprinted in the tenth volume of Gronovius's Greek Antiquities.

He professes to have seen no less than three different specimens of this coin: one in the Grand Duke's gallery at Florence; a second in the cabinet of Cardinal Ottoboni; and a third in the collection of Prince Chigi. From the first of these, as the most perfect, he took his drawing, and formed his dissertation; wherein he positively asserts, and appeals to Seguin, Gothofred, and others, as joint witnesses, that the letters ΝΩΕ are expressed *not obscurely* on the ark, in the reverse; but that in the Ottoboni coin the N only is visible; and in Prince Chigi's all three letters are effaced.

He endeavours to illustrate this medaillon by one of Sept. Severus, struck also at Apamea, and engraved from a drawing sent him by Monfr. Seguin. The figures and emblems on the reverse of both coins are nearly similar; the principal difference consisting in the names and titles of the persons, and in the letters inscribed on the ark; which in Severus's coin he

took to be ΝΗΤΩΝ, in that of Philip ΝΩΕ. From these figures and emblems, but more especially from the ark, and the name of the Patriarch supposed to be inscribed on it, Falconeri seems to have thought that both these reverses alluded to the Noachic deluge.

This opinion remained for some time uncontested in print, but uncredited by all skilful medalists, at a time when medals were not so well understood nor so critically examined as they are at present: and, indeed, the first subsequent examination of the Ottoboni coin, which was made in 1697, proved unsavourable, for the legend on the ark appeared to be more perfect than Falconeri had represented it, and the letters were found to be ΝΕΩΚ, not N with an obliteration of two letters, as he had stated the matter, and much less ΝΩΕ, as on the Medicean coin. In consequence of this Monsr. Vaillant, who published his book of Greek coins a few years after, admits the Ottoboni medal into his catalogue with the legend ΝΕΩΚ, which he renders *Neocororum*, and is followed in that reading and interpretation by all the subsequent medalists.

From his quoting the Ottoboni instead of the Florentine coin for this reverse, among the medals of Philip, it may be supposed either that he doubted the authenticity of the latter, or at least thought the former a more responsible coin.

This disagreement in the legend of the two medals materially affected Falconeri's opinion, by depriving him of the patriarch's name, on which the strength of his argument depended. And, indeed, if both coins had been genuine,

stine, and the difference was supposed to arise only from a mistake in the mint-master, the error would more justly have been imputed to the Medicean coin, from the improbability of its bearing the name of Noah; whereas the word NEOK on the other coin, expressed a title commonly borne by the Asiatic cities, and frequently expressed on their medals.

It happens unfortunately, that the coin on which Falconeri's dissertation is founded, has been proved to be spurious. Professor Gori, the keeper of the Grand Duke's collection, whose skill in medals, and particularly in those under his care, gives the greatest weight to his opinion, pronounces it to be a cast coin, describes its imperfections, and points out the particular appearance of its surface, common to all such counterfeit coins, by saying, *Porulis et ramentis scatet*: unwilling, however, to discredit either the Duke's cabinet, or Falconeri's judgment, he suggests that this counterfeit piece was substituted by fraud in the place of the genuine coin described by the author. But if this is fact, may we not ask, What is become of that genuine coin? Was it stolen, that the fraudulent possessor might keep it for ever secluded from human inspection, and confine the enjoyment of it to his own sole view? Would he not rather have been tempted to dispose of it to some of those royal and magnificent collectors, who are known to spare no expence in the purchase of such valuable uniques? But no genuine coin of this impression, with a fair legend on the ark, is to be found in any other public collection; at least as far as we are

informed by the publishers of medals. There is one of them indeed in the King of France's cabinet; but the Abbé Barthelemy, who is a very learned and skilful medalist, expresses his doubts, even almost to a disbelief, of the authenticity of that coin. His words are: "The medaillon of Philip, with the same type, is preferred in the king's cabinet; it is perfectly like to that Falconeri has engraved, but the two or three letters on the ark are entirely defaced. I have never been satisfied with this medal; the first glance of it is very unfavourable, and our suspicions increase in proportion as we examine it with more attention." There is another of these medals in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, which is all that the present situation of that cabinet will permit us to say of it; but I hope it will not be thought a bold, or disrespectful conjecture, to suppose that whenever that collection shall be submitted to public view, that medaillon will prove to be *ejusdem farinae* with that of Florence; and I am the more justified in this opinion, from the opportunities which I have had of examining three different specimens of the same coin, all possessed by gentlemen of great worth, and most approved skill in the science. The first, which may boast with that at Florence, of being in the most entire preservation, belongs to the Rev. Mr. Crofts; the figures and legend are perfect, and the dark brown pattern, so often seen on genuine coins, is well imitated. Mr. Duane possessed another of these pieces, cast (as it should seem) in the same mould; the metal is yet more yellow, and it pretends not to those external marks

of antiquity which appear on Mr. Croft's coin. The third is in Dr. Hunter's cabinet, and (either on purpose, or by accident) has been broken into three or four parts, but is joined and holden together in a rim of brafs. It bears the most exact resemblance to the other two, except in point of preservation. The worthy possessors of the medals, who so obligingly favoured me with a sight of them, will not be displeased, I hope, with my declaring from the most thorough conviction (and possibly not differing from them in opinion), that all three coins are spurious, and seem to have been cast in the same mould.

From these facts it should follow, that the Ottoboni and Chigi medaillons are the only genuine pieces extant of Philip *with this reverse*. Of the latter we know nothing except the name: but the former has stood the examination of medalists, is supported by the authority of Vaillant, and may have given birth to the several spurious coins which perhaps were cast in imitation of it. For, whatever may be the real history represented on this medaillon, the ark swimming on the waters, the two persons in it, the dove with the branch, and the word ΝΕΩΚ on the ark, so little different from ΝΩΕ, might have suggested the first hint, and have been the great inducement to the falsifiers of coins to give importance and rarity to a genuine medaillon of this impression, by changing the word ΝΕΩΚ into ΝΩΕ. Alterations more bold and difficult have been frequently practised to impose upon collectors; and the deceit of changing a few letters only on a genuine coin, is much

more excusable than fabricating a false one, especially if it is formed without an archetype, and has no other foundation but the fancy of the maker. The Italians, who are very conversant in this kind of manufacture, consider it as a venial sin, and the Abbé Venuti, speaking of the Florentine coin, supposes the word ΝΩΕ to have been formed on this, and on all the other genuine medals of this impression, by an operation which he calls *polishing the coin*, as if repairing and falsifying were synonymous terms. The passage, however, to which I refer, confirms what has been before advanced concerning the legend of this medal.

Though this was manifestly the most easy and natural method of new modelling the coin in question, yet it is somewhat remarkable, that no genuine medal of Philip so altered exists in any collection. Possibly its extreme rarity may have prevented the fabricators from trying this experiment on it; for the fraud appears to have been uniformly carried on (as is evident from the above-mentioned specimens), by casting new medals, not by repairing old ones; so that on the whole we may subscribe to Gori's opinion with which he concludes his dissertation on this coin:

“ Profecto neminem fore arbitror, qui turbatis corruptisque hoc loci numismatis credere velit, in arcâ scridum nomen ΝΩΕ.”

It is rather unfortunate, that one of Falconeri's engravings should represent a false medal, and the other misrepresent a true one; for we may allow the genuineness of Se-verus's coin, which is now in the French

French king's cabinet on the united authority of Mons. Vaillant and the Abbé Barthelemy. It is, however, surprizing that Seguin's drawing of that coin should represent the word on the ark to be ΝΗΤΩΝ, and that Vaillant should read it ΝΕΩΚ as on the Ottoboni coin; but it is still more extraordinary, that Seguin should correct his first error by a second; and acknowledge in the preface to Falconeri's dissertation, that on a more accurate inspection of the coin, he found the word on the ark to be ΝΩΕ, not ΝΗΤΩΝ, as he had before represented it; the two first letters of ΝΩΕ, he says, were manifestly apparent, and the last not obscurely discernible. But can any credit be given to two such contradictory accounts? and how can either of them be received against the more established authority of Vaillant, and all the other subsequent medalists?

From the resemblance in the figures and emblems on the medallions of Severus and Philip, it is natural to infer that the word inscribed on the ark was the same in both; and so it appears by the Seguin and Ottoboni coins. On the other hand, the word ΝΩΕ is not to be found on any except the spurious one at Florence, and those which have been fabricated in the same manner. The true reading, therefore, being restored in the word ΝΕΩΚ, the city where the coin was struck, as well as the history represented on the coin, are materially affected by the change. These two syllables will then be the initials of ΝΕΩΚΟ_Ρ, instead of terminating the word μαγΝΗΤΩΝ, and consequently the city of Magnesia will lose all its right to this medal. Apamea will enjoy it solely,

and the union or *ομοιωσις* between those two cities, spoken of by Venuti and other writers, will vanish. It will be no less fruitless to search for those ideal personages who are supposed, by a very learned and ingenious author, to be here pointed out under the title of ΑΡΤΙΜΑΓΝΗΤΕΣ, and the legend without force or alteration will stand thus:

ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ.
Γ. ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ ΝΕΩ;

thus rendered by Mons. Vaillant,
“ Sub Artema Agonotheta tertium
Apamensium Neocororum.”

This explanation is the more natural, as the name of Artemas occurs on a coin of Caracalla, struck also at Apamea,

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΑΙΓΑΛΕΙΣ
ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ.

There is also a prætor called Artemas, or Artemagus, on a coin of Herennia Etruscilla, struck at Magnesia ad Sipylum (a different city from that ad Macandrum), which is mentioned by Vaillant and Harduin, who read the legend thus,

ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ
ΣΙΠΥΛΟΤ.

Harduin supposes this to have been the same person who was prætor of Apamea: “ *Quem & Apamensium Phrygiae prætorem fuisse suo loco vidimus.*” Probably the word *Αρτεμαγ* may be a contraction of the proper name Artemagus, or Artemagoras; otherwise the Ι must be a numeral, and the legend will be Artema tertium, as on the other coin; but besides the distance of those cities from each other, it seems a very improbable supposition, that the same man should be recorded as prætor, and

up in the same period of his office in both cities. This point, however, is not material to the present question. But it has been objected with regard to the word ΝΕΩΚ, thzt Apamea does not appear, by any coin or other record, to have enjoyed the Necorate, though the city of Magnesia did, as is evident from a medal of Maximus quoted by Harduin.

ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.

This objection, however, being merely negative, may not be thought conclusive; for, if the legends on these medallions of Severus and Philip are really genuine, they will be sufficient to establish this fact.

What has been already said relates only to the authenticity, condition, and legend of the medals in question; but the most material, and indeed the most difficult part of the enquiry, is the import of these emblematical figures on their reverse, and the history intended to be represented by them. The public has already before them three different opinions on this subject. That which arose from Falconeri's dissertation, and is adopted by Mr. Bryant, which supposes this reverse to allude to the Noachic deluge: that of Vaillant, and other subsequent medalists, who make it to be descriptive of Deucalion's flood: and the third opinion is that of Father Harduin, which differs from both these, and, as usual, is singular in its kind; for he tells us, that the ark floating among the waters represents the situation of Apamea between the rivers Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas; that the figures within and

without the ark denote the Emperor and Empress; their up-lifted hands, and the dove with the branch, are emblems of the peace and tranquillity procured for Asia in general, and for this city in particular, by Severus's conquest over the Parthians. It may be sufficient merely to mention this last, which seems to want both date and conclusion.

The first of these hypotheses, as I have before observed, was very materially affected by the acknowledged spuriousness of the Florentine coin. The supposed name of the patriarch being rejected, and the true legend restored, the figures and emblems are left to tell their own story, whether it relate to the flood of Noah, to that of Deucalion, or to any other event of a different nature and period.

It is confessedly difficult to suppose, that a fact in the Mosaical history should be represented and described on a coin of the lower empire, struck in a city of Asia, where neither the inhabitants nor the mint-masters can well be supposed to have been either Jews or Christians. Had they been so, they could not have undertaken to record this event in so public a manner, without the permission of the emperor: and should it be further supposed, that Philip was a convert to christianity, which those learned writers, Mons. Tillemont, and Huet, have attempted to prove, yet even this would not solve the difficulty, because the same reason could not be applicable to the similar reverse on the coin of Severus, who was confessedly a heathen, and a violent persecutor of the christians.

It would certainly give great weight

weight to this opinion, if some characteristical mark could be pointed out on the coin peculiar to the scriptural history of the flood, and not applicable to that of Deucalion. And such at first sight appear to be the two birds, one represented sitting on the ark, the other flying towards it with a branch in its claws; provided that the former be supposed a raven, and the latter a dove; because both are mentioned as having been sent out by Noah to discover whether the waters were abated; but on the other hand, it cannot be asserted, that the former is intended for a raven; and if it were, medalists have found an allusion from the blackness of that bird to the ancient name of Apamea, which according to Pliny was first called Celænæ, and according to Stephanus Κελαινα. The eagle also (for so Harduin thinks it to be) was an emblem of this city, and appears on its medals, and the bird on the wing resembles an eagle on Severus's medaillon, though in Philip's it is more like a dove. But these two birds are equivocal emblems, for according to Plutarch the dove attended Deucalion, and was a token to him of the encreasing tempest by his return to the ark, and of fair weather when he came back no more; and Abydenus, as quoted by Eusebius in relation to that deluge, speaks of *birds* in the plural as thrice sent out by Sisuthrus. The branch, indeed, is not taken notice of by any profane historian, and the Mosaical account represents only a leaf in the bird's mouth.

The tradition of the Deucalionic flood being supposed more recent, and better preserved in the minds

of the heathen, by forming a remarkable æra in their history of the world, was a more probable object of their attention; especially when it is considered, that many such allusions to different parts of profane history are to be found on their coins; but the representation of Noah's flood would be a single instance of scripture history recorded on a heathen medal.

It is with the greatest diffidence that I presume to doubt any opinion advanced by that most learned and ingenious author, whose Analysis of Antient Mythology has enriched the public with such a treasure of learning; and who, with a goodness of heart equal to the extent of his abilities, has applied them to illustrate many important truths revealed in sacred history. As he wanted not various and abundant proofs of this event, he may well be justified in illustrating his other arguments by the mention of the Apamean coin of Philip; but as his reasoning, so far as the letters on the ark are concerned, was founded on the supposed authenticity of this coin, for which he ought not to be made answerable; the case may possibly now appear to him in a different light; at least he will only draw his conclusions from the number, attitude, &c. of the figures on the reverse: and, though the words ΝΕΩ and ΝΩΣ, under the conduct of his able pen, may be taught to speak the same language, yet the addition of a final K seems to determine the word to a different meaning; and instead of conveying the name of a deity, or a patriarch, points out a title or office belonging to the city where the medal was struck.

This

This objection may be thought of more consequence than a disquisition concerning the form of the ark, as represented on the medal, whether it be intended to represent a square or quinquelateral vessel; whether it be open at top, or covered with a flat or angular roof. Mr. Bryant's representation undoubtedly differs from those in the Museum Florentinum, the French king's cabinet, and the Numismata Pembrochiana, wherein they are all faithfully represented from the original engravings; but he cannot be charged with any considerable deviation from Falconeri's engraving, which probably was his archetype. The difference consists chiefly in this, that the descending line, which is drawn in Mr. Bryant's plate from the back of the ark, and is lost behind the second figure, forms a larger angle with the side or end line of the ark, than it does in Falconeri's, and therefore conveys the idea of an angular roof; whereas that line in Falconeri approaches so near to a perpendicular, that it may seem to the eye rather as the end in perspective of an open boat or vessel, whose sides are of equal height. It is evident, however, from Falconeri's description of the coin, that the transverse line resting on what he calls the *duo tigilli erecti*, was understood by him to represent a covering over the heads of the figures; and therefore it seems immaterial whether that roof was flat or angular: nor, indeed, can any satisfactory conclusion be drawn from the delineation of the spurious coin of Philip, nor even from the three different representations of the genuine medaillon of Severus, which, in some in-

stances, vary from each other. I would extend this observation even to the coin itself, whereon the accuracy or skill of a mint-master cannot much be depended on, according to whose ideas and miserable perspective, the same figure might represent an open or a covered building, a boat or an ark, a suggestum or a temple; especially on the coins minted during the latter part of the empire, in the Asiatic provinces.

Nor does it seem material to enquire into the size of the ark, or the number of persons represented without or within it; for it was not the intention, much less was it within the capacity of the mint-master, to include such a variety of facts or personages within the narrow compass of a single reverse. It was thought sufficient, if he could mark the historical fact by one or two leading and well known circumstances; so that if the Noachic deluge had been the object of his work, he could not have described all the persons contained in that vessel; much less could he have found room for the variety of animals preserved in it. The restoration of mankind, whether by Noah's or Deucalion's flood, was justly depicted in the persons of a male and female, whom history has pointed out as the parents of the postdiluvian world. They are represented in one part of the reverse in an ark floating on the waters, in another part as just landed from it, with uplifted hands, in thankfulness to the deity for their preservation. The repetition of the figures, far from being an objection to either of those histories, seems rather to give an additional illustration to the coin, and to ascertain

ascertain the fact, by exhibiting the two persons in different situations. This liberty is sometimes taken in historical paintings, and the same figure appears in various parts of the picture.

But whether the sacred or profane history of the deluge was the object of this reverse, the word inscribed on the ark will be of very little use in explaining the figures. For, according to Vaillant, the word ΝΕΩΚ must be substituted instead of ΝΩΕ. The Abbé Barthélémy thinks that authority is wanting for both, and that neither of the words can be fairly traced on any of the genuine medals with this reverse; so that, ΝΩΕ appearing only on the spurious medaillon of Philip, it will be to no purpose to contend for it, either as the name of the patriarch, or, according to Mr. Barrington, as the dual of the pronoun ΕΓΩ, put into the mouths of Deucalion and Pyrrha, to express their situation, and alluding to that passage in Ovid's *Metam.* lib. i.

"*Nas duo turba sumus.*"

For it is apprehended that this pronoun is *always* spelt with an I, and therefore, until some authority can be produced, either from MSS. or printed books, of its being written with an E, neither the spelling nor the meaning here given, can be justified from the Greek language.

It is also well known to all those who are conversant with medals, that they hardly ever speak a language like this. The office of the mint-masters was of a public and serious nature. They were employed in representing the ceremon-

ies of religion, and the events of history, in the plainest and most intelligible manner, for the public information; and, though they might be tolerable mythologists, yet they could have nothing to do with poetry. It may be just matter of doubt, whether the name or writings of Ovid were known to the Apameans, situated at 500 miles distance from Tomis, the place of that poet's residence. It may be thought still less probable, that they should be so familiarised to his works as to allude to them on so remarkable an event by the application of a single pronoun, which did not convey so much information as might be learned from the number and attitude of the figures themselves; but this, being only matter of opinion, must be referred to the judgment of the reader.

But is there no other event to which these medals might refer? were there no religious or historical facts relative to Apamea, the circumstances of which may not have been transmitted to posterity, though they were well known at that time to the Apameans? Is any thing more frequent on the medals of the Asiatic cities than the representation of their local deities, temples, images, altars, and ceremonies of worship? Why may not the building represent a temple dedicated to some marine or river deities, situated, as the coin represents it, at the confluence of, or upon the Apamean river, with the images of those deities in the temple? and may not the figures standing near the temple represent Worshippers, Priests, Editui or Νεωροι, especially as one of them is veiled like a priest,

and

and their right-hands are lifted up in the posture of adoration or thanksgiving? May not this have been a celebrated temple, for which games were instituted in the ceremonial of their worship, under the presidency of an *Ayωκοθέα*; and to which, on such a supposition, the title of *Νεωκόρος* might be applicable. But, as nothing can be produced from history, from the state of these medals, or from their legends, to determine precisely the fact to which they allude, there is still ample room left for further conjecture; the principal object of this paper having been to shew the different state of the medals under consideration, to distinguish the spurious from the genuine coins, and rather to shew what consequences cannot be drawn, than to establish any certain ones, on so difficult a subject. But whatever these may be, it seems necessary that they should be deduced from the figures and legend on the Contour only, which are allowed by the best medalists to be genuine.

On the Antiquity of Cock Fighting.

MEN have long availed themselves of the *antipathy* one cock shews to another, and have encouraged that natural hatred with arts that disgrace human reason.—The origin of this sport is said to be derived from the Athenians on the following occasion: When Themistocles was marching his army against the Persians, he by the way espying two cocks fighting, caused his army to behold

them, and made the following speech to them: “Behold, these do not fight for their household gods, for the monuments of their ancestors, nor for glory, nor for liberty, nor for the safety of their children, but only because the one will not give way unto the other.” This so encouraged the Grecians, that they fought strenuously, and obtained the victory over the Persians; upon which cock-fighting was by a particular law ordained to be annually practised by the Athenians.

Though the ancient Greeks piqued themselves on their politeness, calling all other nations *barbarous*, yet Mr. Pegge has proved clearly in a Treatise published in the third volume of the *Archæologia*, that they were the authors of this cruel and inhuman mode of diversion.—The inhabitants of Delos were great lovers of this sport; and Tanagra, a city of Boeotia, the Isle of Rhodes, Chalcis in Eubœa, and the country of Media, were famous for their generous and magnanimous race of chickens.—It appears they had some method of preparing the birds for battle. Cock-fighting was an institution partly religious, and partly political at Athens, and was continued there for the purpose of improving the seeds of valour in the minds of their youths—But it was afterwards abused and perverted, both there and in other parts of Greece, to a common pastime and amusement, without any *moral*, *political*, or *religious* intention; and as it is now followed and practised amongst us.—It appears that the Romans, who borrowed this, with many other things, from Greece, used

used quails* as well as cocks for fighting.—The first cause of contention between the two brothers, Bassianus and Geta, sons of the Emperor Septimius Severus, happened, according to Herodian, in their youth, about fighting their quails and cocks †.—Cocks and quails, fitted for the purpose of engaging one another to the last gasp, for diversion, are frequently compared in the Roman writers †, and with much propriety, to Gladiators. The fathers of the church inveigh with great warmth against the spectacles of the *Arena*—the wanton shedding of human blood in sport—One would have thought that with this, cock-fighting would also have been discarded, under the mild and humane genius of Christianity—But it was reserved for this enlightened era to practise it with new and aggravating circumstances of cruelty—The Shrove Tuesday massacre of this useful and spirited creature, is now indeed in a declining way; but that monstrous barbarity, the battle-royal and Welsh-main still continue to be in full force amongst us.—A striking disgrace to the manly character of Britons!

It is probable that cock-fighting was first introduced into this island by the Romans.—The bird itself was here before Cæsar's arrival.

William Fitz - Stephen, who wrote the life of Becket, in the

reign of Henry II. is the first of our writers that mentions cocking, describing it as the sport of schoolboys on Shrove Tuesday. The theatre (the cockpit) it seems was the school, and the master was the comptroller and director of the sport.—From this time, at least, the diversion, however absurd, and even impious, was continued amongst us: It was followed, though disapproved and prohibited by Edward III.—Also in the reign of Henry VIII. and A. D. 1569. It has been by some called a royal diversion; and every one knows the cockpit at Whitehall was erected by a crowned head, for the more magnificent celebrating of the sport. It was prohibited however by one of Oliver's acts, March 31, 1654.

Origin of the Name of Old Nick.

NOBODY has accounted for the Devil's having the name of *Old Nick*. Keyler *de Dea Neptunia*, p. 33. and *Antiq. Septentr.* p. 261, mentions a deity of the waters worshipped by the ancient Germans and Danes under the name of *Nocca* or *Nicken*, styled in the Edda *Nikur*, which he derives from the German *nugen*, answering to the Latin *negare*. Wormius, *Mon. Dan.* p. 17, says the

* Hence Marcus Aurelius, 1 sect. 6. says, “I learn from Diognetus,” ne rebus manibus studium impenderem, ne Coturnices ad pugnam altrem, neve rebus istiusmodi animum adjicerem.

† Interque se fratres dissidebant pueris primum certamine, edendis Coturnicum pugnis, Gallinaceorumque conflictibus, ac puerorum colluctationibus exorta discordia. Herodian. III. Sect. 33.

‡ Hence Pliny's expression, *Gallorum, seu Gladiatorum*, and that of Columella, *rixofarum Avium lanifa*—*Lanifa* being the proper term for the master of the Gladiators.

redness in the faces of drowned persons was ascribed to this deity's sucking their blood out at their nostrils. *Wasthovius*, *pref. ad Vit. Sandor.* and *Loccenius, Antiq. Sueo-Goth.* p. 17, call him *Necus*, and quote from a Belgo-Gallic Dictionary, *Neccer, Spiritus Aquaticus, and Necce, necare.* The Icelandic Dict. in *Hickes' Thef.* P. III. p. 85, renders *Nikur, belua aquatica.* Lastly, *Rudbekius, Atlant.* p. 1. c. 7. § 5; p. 192, & c. 30, p. 719, mentions a notion prevalent among his countrymen, that *Nekur*, who governed the sea, assumed the form of various animals, or of a horseman, or of a man in a boat. He supposes him the same with *Odin*; but the above authorities are sufficient to evince that he was the Northern *Neptune*, or some subordinate sea-god of a noxious disposition. *Wormius* queries whether a figure said to be seen, 1615, on the river *Lan*, and called *Waffer Nicks*, might not be of this kind. Probably it was a sea-monster of the species called *Mermen*, and by our Spenser, *Fairy-Queen.* II. 12, 14.

The grisly Wafferman

It is not unlikely, but the name of this evil spirit might, as Christianity prevailed in these northern nations, be transferred to the father of evil.

If it would not be thought punning on names, I would hazard another conjecture — St. *Nicholas* was the patron of mariners, consequently opponent to *Nicker*. How he came by this office does not appear. The Legend says, “*Ung jour que aucuns mariniers periſſoyent ſi le prirent ainsſi a larmes, Nicolas, ferviteur de Dieu, ſi les chafes font vrages que nous avons ouyez, ſi les*

ſprouue maſſtant. Et tantor un homme ſ'apparus au la ſemblance de luy, & leur dit, Veze moy, ſe ne m'appellez vous pas : & leur commenca a leur ayder en leur exploit : de la ne fet tantot la tempeſte eſſa. Et quant ils furent venus a ſon Eglife ilz je cogneurent ſans demonſtrir, & fi ne l'avoient onques veu. Et lors rendirent graces a Dieu & a luy de leur deliſſrance ; et il leur dit que ilz attribuaſſent a le misericorde de Dieu et a leur creance, et non pas a ſes merites. — Then follow other miracles, not peculiarly appropriated to him under this character. We have afterwards, indeed, another story of his delivering from an illusion of the Devil certain pilgrims qui allouent a ley & mage, which I understand to mean only by water, *Legende d'or.* fol. viii. See also *Blomefields Hist. of Norfolk.* II. p. 861.

PALÆOPHILUS.

Remarkable Instances of the Crafts.

CORRUPTIONS, by means of the figure we call a *Craft*, have had a great effect, I believe, in all languages; it is when the prefix adheres to the following word, which it often very easily and naturally does, in pronunciation, and afterwards is written or printed in that form. Thus the modern names of the city of *Athens*, are *Satinas* and *Satines*, from Ἀθῆναι; and that of *Constantinople* *Stamboul*, from σταμβούλ. Hence *adepol*, *mehercule*, &c. of the Romans; and, perhaps, our word *endeavour*, and *rendevous*, from the French *endeavour*, and *rendez vous*. Some attention, however, is necessary in the case, and some distinction

tinction should be made, for the *Crafts* is not concerned in all words that coalesce together, as *otherwise*, *always*, &c. which ought rather to be called compounds; for I esteem it no *Crafts* unless there be such a mixture or coalition of letters in the word as to make the word to seem different from itself, and to be obscured or deformed by it. Thus *Birlady*, a form of swearing by the blessed Virgin, much used formerly, and sometimes now, is a manifest jumble and corruption of *By our Lady*,

It appears, from this short account of things, that vulgar, hasty, and inaccurate pronunciation has been the principal cause of this figure; which has been more applied in our language than, I presume, is commonly thought; and therefore I am in hopes that a regard had unto it cannot fail of giving light unto the sense and etymology of very many of our English words. The figure has also operated very remarkably in some of our English surnames, as has been noted by our learned *Camden*, *Remains*, p. 122; we shall therefore insert those instances amongst the rest. I observe, lastly, before I proceed on my Alphabet, that it is surprising how prone the country-people of the North and midland parts of *England* are to the use of this grammatical figure, especially in respect of the article *The*, which in the shape of *T* or *Th* they will join to words which begin with a consonant, or with more than one; causing thereby much roughness and harshness, and even difficulty of pronunciation; *o'er th'bridge*, *o'er th'brig*, as they speak it, for *over the bridge*.

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Now, the prefixes, or other particles, which usually coalesce with the words they belong to, so as to alter or disguise them, are these: *A*, *An*, *At*, *Ap*, *By*, *Di*, *De*, *Do*, *I*, *In*, *It*, *Mine*, *Ne*, *O*, *Sainte*, *The*, *Two*, *Three*, and *To*. And these I propose to go through in their order.

A.—An Accomplice. The monkish historians perpetually use the word *Complices* in Latin; and *Complice* itself, as an English word, occurs in *Weaver*, *Fun. Monuments*, p. 266, and see *Johnson*. So that I suspect a *Crafts* here, and that it was first a *Complice*, corrupted afterwards to *Accomplice*, which in that case would require the article *an* to be prefixed. The word *accomplish* might facilitate the corruption with unthinking people.

An.—A Nayword. This is a common expression for a by-word or proverb, and is probably a *Crafts* of an *Aye-word*; that is, a word or saying, *always* and perpetually used, agreeable to the ancient use of *Aye*. If this be not the meaning and the original of it, it will be difficult to account for it.

A Narrow, id est, an Arrow, See Mr. Hearne ad *Gul. Neubrig.* p. lxxxv, lxxxvi. The prefix has here evidently grown and fastened itself to the noun.

Jacke Napes, which *Skelton* gives us, p. 160, seems to be *Jack an Apes*, as *Littleton* writes it; but I am doubtful about this, as *Nape* or *Knape* is the same as knave or servant. See *Gloss.* to *Douglas's Virgil*.

A Nogler. This is the name formerly given to those people who travelled the country with *Sheffield* wares; a practice now generally

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left off there, insomuch that the name itself is falling into oblivion, as the original of the word has long since done. I take the etymon to be this: what we call an *Higler* was once written an *Hagler*, and so you will find it in Dr. *Fulter's Worthies*, p. 278. Now, an *Hagler* is very easily turned into a *Nagler*, and with a open a *Nogler*. Dr. *Johnson* omits the *Higler*, and describes the *Hagler* as one that is tardy in bargaining, from to *boggle*. But it seems the *Higler* and the *Hagler* is the same person, and so this sense of the latter word is omitted by him.

A Newt. An Eft, or small lizard, of which *Newt* is the common name in *Derbyshire* and *Staffordshire*. *Plott. Hist. Staff.* p. 244. 251; and it is used by *Shaksp.* *Macbeth*, A. IV. Sc. i. “*Newt*, says Dr. *Johnson*, is supposed by *Skinner* to be contracted from an *Evet*,” and it certainly is so. The Saxon word is *eфete*; so that the gradation is an *Efete*, an *Evet*, a *Nevet*, a *Newt*, *v* consonant being turned into *u*, just as *v* in *Devil* is changed into *u* by those who pronounce it, as the vulgar often do, *Deul*.

A Needle, anciently written a *Neld*, which perhaps may by *Crafis* be an *Eld*, the same as an *Elo*, used by shoemakers.

Nawl, i.e. an Awl, implement of the cobler, used by *Beaum. & Fletcher*, VIII. p. 55.

A Noddy; quasi, by a *Crafis*, an *Oddy*; a singular or whimsical person.

A Nailbourn. This word is both so written and pronounced in *Kent*, and, answering to the *Vipseys* or *Gypsies* in *Yorkshire*, *Camd. Col.* 901,

or *Ray* on the *Deluge*, p. 95; means a torrent which flows only now and then, or once in a few years. Now, when these torrents broke out, they were supposed to betoken famines, sicknesses, and deaths, chiefly I presume sicknesses; whence I conjecture there is a *Crafis* in the case, a *Nailbourn* being in fact an *Ailbourn*, as the forerunner of *Ails* or diseases. It is written, however, *Eylebourn* by Dr. *Harris*, p. 240. 23. 411. and so *Pbilopit* gives it, p. 42. which perhaps may be a corruption of *Ailbourn*; but as these delitory torrents often abound with small eels, it is possible they might take their names from thence, quasi *Edbourns*. But there will still be a *Crafis* in *Nailbourn*.

At.—This particle coheres chiefly in such names of persons as are taken from situation: as, *Tasb*, which Mr. *Camden* thinks is contracted from *At Ab*. *Remains*, p. 123.

Twells. As we have the name of *Atwells*, or *Atwell*, one has certainly reason to think that *Twells* is a *Crafis* for *At Wells*.

Ab or *Ap*.—We have certain names now in *England*, brought originally, I suppose, from *Wales*, in which the *Ab* or *Ap* is become a part of the name that followed it. At first they were patronymics, though they are not so now. Thus *Pugh* is *ap Hug*; *Price* or *Brice*, *ap Rice*; *Pritchard*, *ap Richard*; *Prideaux*, *ap Rideaux*; *Bevan*, *ap Evan*; *Bowen*, *ap Owes*; *Powel*, *ap Heel*.

By.—*Bilive*, i. e. by *le Eve*; sometimes written *blice* and *blyvt*. *Gloss. to Chaucer*, v. *Blive*.

Di.—*Didapper*, the bird, quasi *Dive*.

Dive-Dapper; which is confirmed by its being called *Dab-Chick* in Kent.

Do.—*Don* and *doff*. i. e. to *do on*, and *do off*. See *Johnson in Veteribus*.

Ds.—In names of persons drawn from the places of their abode, or extraction; the French particle *De* will often coalesce with the name of the place; if it begin with a vowel. *Danvers, de* or *d'Anvers*; *Dartb*; *de* or *d'Aeth*, a town in *Hainault*; *Dashwood* may be supposed to be *de* or *d'Asbwood*; *Dawill, d'Eivill*; *Camden, Remains*, p. 122; *Doily, de Oily*, ibid. p. 111; *Dauney*, ibid. p. 122. *Aunay* is a plot of ground where alders grow; and, to name no more, *Devereux* is undoubtedly *d'Evereux*.

ECHS or EACH.—Hence *every chone*, *Skelton*, p. 192, i. e. *every echo one*; which we have now contracted to *every one*.

I.—This pronoun easily coalesces, as *I'm I'll, I'd*, i. e. *I would*. *Percy's Songs*, p. 81. *Ychulle, Percy*, III. p. xvii. i. e. *I shall, ye shall*.

IN.—*Itb* for *in the*; hence *ytb*, *Percy*, I. p. 6.

IT.—Hence *tis*.

MINE.—*My Neam, my Nont*; *Nuncle, Nont*. These words are used familiarly in the North by young people to the elder sort, though there be no alliance or relation between them. *Came* is the Saxon for uncle, and the possessive pronoun *mine* has grown to it. The second is from *mine Aunt* in like manner, as likewise *Nuncle* (see *Shakesp. Lear*, I. sc. 13.) and *Nont*.

NE.—This old negative very

readily coincided with words beginning with a vowel or a *w*.

Nis and *Nys*, i. e. *ne is*, or *is not*: *Skelton*, p. 92. *Nill*, for *ne will*; *nilt ne wilt*: *Fairfax, Chaucer*. Hence *will* or *nill*: *Invective against Wolsey*. So *nil'd* for *ne would*: *Mirror of Magistrates*, p. 487,

N'ot, and *nolt*, for *ne wot*, or *know not*; written in *Machabree*, folio 220, note. *Nolt* occurs in *Fairfax*, xviii. 50.

None is either *ne one* or *no one*.

Nère, i. e. *ne were*: *Fairfax*, xii. 81. v. 47; x. 61; *alibi*.

Nould, ne would: *Fairfax*.

Nought, ne ought; written also formerly *noght*.

Nam, Neam; *närt, ne art*; *nad, ne had*; *nift, ne wift*: all in *Chaucer*.

O.—*Ho!* I take to mean *Oye*.

OF.—*o'th'*; i. e. *of the*. Hence *ath the, Percy*, i. p. 6, where *the* abounds by the mistake of copyist; for p. 9. you have *atbe*, for *of the*, twice.

SAINT.—This word, prefixed to the names of certain holy men; or reputed to be so, either adhered, by means of its last letter *T*, to the name of such saint, or the whole of it was joined to it; especially in certain of our surnames borrowed from the names of saints. I shall specify, first, some cases where the last letter only adheres, which mostly happens where the name begins with a vowel. Thus the French *S. Agnan* or *Aignan* was pronounced by some in France *S. Tignain*: *H. Steph. Apolog. pour Herodote*, iii. p. 242. Edit. 1735.

A Tantony pig; so written in *Drake's Etymac.* p. 315; meaning a pig of St. Anthony.

Tawdry, i. e. *St. Awdrey*; “a

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term borrowed from those times when they tricked and bedecked the shrines and altars of the saints, as being at vye with each other on that occasion. The votaries of St. *Audrey* (an isle of Ely saint) exceeding all the rest in the dress and equipage of her altar, it grew into a byword upon any thing that was very gaudy, that it was all *taudry*, as much as to say, all St. *Audrey*;" *Canting Dict. v. Taudry.*

Talkmund. St. *Alkmund's* church at Derby is commonly called *Talkmund.*

San Telmo. The meteor called *St. Elmo*, in *Ulloa*, ii. p. 350, is written *San Telmo.*

St. Tatbam, St. *Atbam* or *Aitham*. *Memorial of Brit. Piety*, Append. p. 40.

St. Twinnel, i. e. St. *Winnoc*. *Ibid. p. 48.*

Tooley-street, *Tooley-bridge*, *Tooley corner*, all in Southwark, from St. *Olave*, pronounced *Olye*, as *Camden* gives it, *Remains*, p. 123.

St. Tooses. St. *Ofitbe's*, written *St. Tooses* in *Bailey's Life of Bp. Fisher*, p. 88. Mr. *Camden* observes, that *St. Oyfb* is turned into *Saint Towns*: *Remains*, *ibid.*

St. Tabbe. St. *Ebba* was the famous prioress of *Coldingham*, who chose to deform herself, with her nuns, rather than be abused by the insolent Danes. See *Camd. Remains*, l. c. also *Fuller*, *Worthies in Rutland*.

St. Thetba, or St. *Teath*. St. *Etha* was a Cornish Saint.

St. Tomer. This name we have in *Camden's Remains*; p. 151, for St. *Omer*, or de Sto *Awdomaro*.

St. Tole. St. *Adates's* church, or St. *Old's*, at *Oxford*, is vulgarly

called St. *Tole's. Pointer, Oxon. Acad. p. 109.*

Town. This surname, I imagine, may be corrupted of St. *Owen*, who occurs in *Camden*, p. 151.

I come now to those instances where the whole substance, as it were, of the word *Saint* is incorporated with the name, as is evident from many of our surnames taken from the names of saints. The French *San*, as in *Sampol*, *Sammer-sbanus*, &c. coheres thus in their language,

Samond: i. e. St. *Amand*, or de Sto. *Amando*.

Simberd. St. *Barbe*, or de Sta. *Barbara*. *Camd. p. 150.*

Sinclair. De Sta. *Clara*, or de Sto. *Claro*, as *Newcourt*, in *Repert. i. p. 224.* But q. if this be not an error.

Sanlix, *Sanlix*, *Singlis*. These are St. *Lis*, or de Sto *Lifo*, or *Sylvanetensis*, for which see *Camd. p. 150.*

Sentlo. St. *Lo*, or de Sto. *Lando*. *Camd. p. 151.*

Sentlow. This is different from the former, being interpreted de *Sancto Lupo*. *Camd. ibid.* *Lupus* is the name of a saint.

Sellinger. So they commonly pronounce this name; whereas the orthography is St. *Leger*, i. e. de Sto. *Leodegaro*. *Camd. p. 150.*

Semarton, St. *Martin*, or de Sto. *Martino*. *Camd. p. 151.*

Semarc. St. *Medard*. *Camd. p. 150.* But one would rather think St. *Marc*.

Seimper; *Sampole*. The first is the Scotch name, the second the French; both are St. *Paul*.

Seimpere. *Sampier*, or *Sempere*, St. *Peter*, or de Sto. *Petro*.

Semcur.

Sensur. De Sto. Mauro.

The.—Bydene. i. e. by the even, or by night. Romance of *Amys* and *Amylion*.

To tbends. To the ende. *Caxton, Myrrour, cap. 5.*

Taylot. Gloucestershire word; meaning an *bay-loft*. At first, no doubt, they said *in taylot*, for in the *bay-loft*; and then converted the whole into a substantive, calling a *bay loft* by that name.

Tuffold, or Tovel. This means an *bovel* in Derbyshire, where they first said *in tovel*, i. e. in the *bovel*; and then, by mistake, took *tovel* to be the substantive, for *bovel*.

Ton and Tother: as, do you take ton, and I'll take tother; meaning the one and the other. *The ton, Percy i. p. 7*, where either the or is abounds; and yet this is very commonly used, as is the *tother*, for which see *Percy*, p. 58.

Tierne cross, in *Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury*, p. 11, 169, is the iron cross.

Natbles. Not the less. See Dr. Johnson.

*To.—*By cutting off the *o*, this sign glues itself to many verbs in *Caxton*, and other authors; as *ta-bound, ta-complis, tarette it*, i. e. to impute it; *toffer, talodge bunge and thurste*, *Caxton*, in *Myrrour, cap. 5*, is to allay them.

*Two.—*This numeral will sometimes cohere with a noun, as *twinter*, a calf two winters or two years old. *Derbyshire*.

Tovel. This, in *Kent*, means two pecks, and consequently is a coalition of *two fat* or *wat*.

A Twibill. This is an implement that cuts both ways; and as Two is pronounced often *twa*, hence you have *twa-bill*, or *twi-bill*.

*The.—*A *Trevet* is an house-

hold implement of iron with three feet to stand before the fire, for the purpose of setting any thing upon to dry or warm, and takes its name from the said three feet. See *Tanner, Biblioth. in Nic. Trivet*.

*Toot.—*This word means to peep, or peep out. When pease in Derbyshire first appear, they are said to toot, i. e. to owl; and hence they have the participle *toot-ing*. Thus, I conceive that *tooting at Tunbridge-wells* means to out, in the way of inviting and bringing guests to their master's house.

POSTSCRIPT.

Trimon.—In the anonymous metrical history of the battle of Floddon-Field, lately published, it is observed, p. 32, that *St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Anarew*, never taught the Scottish prelates to go to war, but rather some later Popish saints, *Trimon of Qubytelborn, or Doffin of Rosi*; where, as *St. Ninian* was the great saint at *Candida Cafa*, or *Whitebern*, the Editor says, we should read *Ninian of Qubytelborn*. An emendation is undoubtedly necessary; this, however, is not a happy one. The *Scots*, it seems, call *Ninian, Ringen*, (see *Memorial of Brit. Piety*, p. 131,) whence I conjecture there is a *Crafts* here, and that the true correction is *Tringen*. If this be the truth, as I presume it is, it affords a pregnant instance of the usefulness of attending to the effects of the *Crafts*: but, indeed, of this, in point of etymology, we have seen many examples above.

*SMERWICK.—*There is something particular in this, as the first letter, instead of the last, in *Saint, coalesces*; for it means *St. Marywick*, in the county of *Kerry*, in *Irelanda*. *Campbell, Lives of Adm.* ii. p. 49.

Account

Account of several Gigantic Statues found in Easter Island, in the South Seas, by Captain Cook.

ON the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone-work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had stood four of those large statues, but they were all fallen down from two of them, and also one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in some measure defaced. Mr. Wales measured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and six feet broad over the shoulders. Each statue had on its head a large cylindric stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not by far the largest, was fifty-two inches high, and sixty-six in diameter. In some the upper corner of the cylinder, was taken off in a sort of concave quarter-round; but in others the cylinder was entire.

They observed that this side of the island was full of those gigantic statues so often mentioned; some placed in groupes on platforms of masonry; others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep; and these latter are, in general, much larger than the others. Having measured one, which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-seven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breast or shoulders; and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing: its shade, a little past two o'clock, being sufficient to shelter all the party, consisting of near thirty persons, from the rays of the sun. Here they stopped to dine; after which they repaired to a hill, from

whence they saw all the east and north shores of the isle, on which they could not see either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in; nor the least signs of fresh water. What the natives brought them here was real salt-water; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it, so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature! On this account they were obliged to return to the last mentioned well; where, after having quenched their thirst, they directed their route across the island towards the ship, as it was now four o'clock.

In a small hollow, on the highest part of the island, they met with several such cylinders as are placed on the heads of the statues. Some of these appeared larger than any they had seen before; but it was now too late to stop to measure any of them. Mr. Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence these stones had formerly been dug; and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reasonable conjecture; and have no doubt that it has been so.

The gigantic statues, before mentioned, are not, in my opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at least, I saw nothing that could induce me to think so. On the contrary, I rather suppose that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families. I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of the platforms, just covered with stones. Some of these platforms of masonry are

thirty

thirty or forty feet long, twelve or sixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height; which last in some measure depends on the nature of the ground. For they are generally at the brink of the bank facing the sea, so that this face may be ten or twelve feet, or more high, and the other may not be above three or four. They are built, or rather faced, with hewn stones of a very large size; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly close; and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner. The side-walls are not perpendicular, but inclining a little inwards, in the same manner that breast-works, &c. are built in Europe: yet had not all this care, pains, and sagacity, been able to preserve these curious structures from the ravages of all-devouring time.

The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on these platforms, which serve as foundations. They are, as near as we could judge, about half length, ending in a sort of stump at the bottom, on which they stand. The workmanship is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the nose and chin in particular; but the ears are long beyond proportion; and as to the bodies, there is hardly any thing like a human figure about them.

I had an opportunity of examining only two or three of these statues, which are near the landing-place; and they were of a grey stone, seemingly of the same sort as that with which the platforms

were built. But some of the gentlemen, who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion that the stone of which they were made, was different from any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious. We could hardly conceive how these islanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindric stones, before mentioned, upon their heads. The only method I can conceive, is by raising the upper end by little and little, supporting it by stones as it is raised, and building about it till they got it erect; thus a sort of mount or scaffolding would be made, upon which they might roll the cylinder, and place it upon the head of the statue; and then the stones might be removed from about it. But if the stones are factitious, the statues might have been put together on the place, in their present position, and the cylinder put on by building a mount round them as above mentioned. But, let them have been made and set up, by this or any other method, they must have been a work of immense time, and sufficiently shew the ingenuity and perseverance of the islanders in the age in which they were built; for the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of those which are going to decay. They give different names to them, such as Gotomoara, Marapate, Canaro, Goway-toogoo, Matta Matta, &c. &c.; to which they sometimes prefix the word Moi; and sometimes annex Areek.

kee. The latter signifies chief; and the former, burying, or sleeping-place, as well as we could understand.

Besides the monuments of antiquity, which were pretty numerous, and no where but on or near the sea-coast, there were many little heaps of stones, piled up in different places, along the coast. Two or three of the uppermost stones in each pile were generally white; perhaps always so, when the pile is complete. It will hardly be doubted that these piles of stone had a meaning. Probably they might mark the place where people had been buried, and serve instead of the large statues.

not improbable supposition, that the subject itself was exhausted, and that nothing remained but an improvement in practice on that foundation which the ancient writers, by their theory, had so well laid. But whatever may have been the cause, it is certain, that after the establishment of christianity the cultivation of music became the concern of the church: to this the christians were probably excited by the example of the Jews, among whom music made a considerable part of divine worship, and the countenance given to it in the writings of St. Paul. Nor is it to be wondered at by those who consider the effects of music, its influence on the passions, and its power to inspire sentiments of the most devout and affecting kind, if it easily found admittance into the worship of the primitive christians: as to the state of it in the three first centuries, we are very much at a loss; yet it should seem from the information of St. Augustine, that in his time it had arrived at some degree of perfection; possibly it had been cultivating, both in the Eastern and Western empire, from the first propagation of christianity. The great number of men who were drawn off from secular pursuits by their religious profession, amidst the barbarism of the times, thought themselves laudably employed in the study of a science which was found to be subservient to religion: while some were engaged in the oppugning heretical opinions, others were taken up in composing forms of devotions, framing liturgies; and others in adapting suitable melodies to such psalms and hymns as had been received into the service of the church,

*On the first Introduction of Music into the Service of the Church.
From Sir J. Hawkins's General History of Music.*

IT has already been observed, that the science of harmony was anciently a subject of philosophical enquiry; and it is manifest, from the account herein before given of them and their writings, that the Greeks treated it as a subject of very abstract speculation, and that they neither attended to the physical properties of sound, nor concerned themselves with the practice of music, whether vocal or instrumental. Ptolemy was one of the last of the Greek harmonicians; and from his time it may be observed, that the cultivation of music became the care of a set of men, who, then at least, made no pretensions to the character of philosophers. This may be accounted for either by the decline of philosophy about this period, or by the

church, and which made a very considerable part of the divine offices : all which is the more probable, as the progress of human learning was then in a great measure at a stand.

But as the introduction of music into the service of the church seems to be a new æra, it is necessary to be a little more particular, and relate the opinions of the most authentic writers, as well as to the reception it at first met with, as its subsequent progres among the converts to christianity. If among the accounts to be given of these matters, some should carry the appearance of improbability, or should even verge towards the regions of fable, let it be remembered, that very little credit would be due to history, were the writer to suppress every relation against the credibility whereof there lay an objection. History does not propose to transmit barely matters of real fact, or opinions absolutely irrefragable ; falsehood and error may very innocently be propagated, nay the general belief of falsehood, or the existence of any erroneous opinion, may be considered as facts ; and then it becomes the duty of an historian to relate them. Whoever is conversant with the ecclesiastical historians must allow that the superstition of some, and the enthusiasm of others of them, have somewhat abated the reverence due to their testimony. But notwithstanding this, the characters of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius, for veracity and good intelligence, stand so high in the opinion of all sober and impartial men, that it is impossible to withhold our assent from the far greater part of what they have written on this subject.

The advocates for the high antiquity of church-music urge the authority of St. Paul in its favour, who, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, charges them to speak to themselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord ; and who exhorts the Colossians to teach and admonish one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. Cardinal Bona is one of these ; and he scruples not to assert, on the authority of these two passages, that songs and hymns were, from the very establishment of the church, sung in the assemblies of the faithful. Johannes Damascenus goes farther back ; and relates, that at the funeral of the Blessed Virgin, which was celebrated at Gethsemana, the apostles, assisted by angels, continued singing her requiem for three whole days incessantly. The same author, speaking of the ancient hymn called the Trisagion, dates its original from a miracle that was performed in the time of Proclus, the archbishop : his account is, that the people of Constantinople being terrified with some portentous signs that had appeared, made solemn processions and applications, to the Almighty, beseeching him to avert the calamities that seemed to threaten their city, in the midst whereof a boy was caught from among them, and taken up to heaven ; who, upon his return, related, that he had been taught by angels to sing the hymn in Greek,

Ayios o God, ayios toxupos, ayios elevatos,
Amenoys mias.

Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us.

The truth of this relation is questioned by some, who yet credit a vision

wision of St. Ignatius ; of which Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, gives the following account : " St. Ignatius, the third bishop of Antioch, in Syria, after the apostle Peter, who also conversed familiarly with the apostles, saw the blessed spirits above singing hymns to the Sacred Trinity alternately, which method of singing, says the same historian, Ignatius taught to his church ; and this, together with an account of the miracle which gave rise to it, was communicated to all the churches of the East." Nicephorus, St. Chrysostom, Amalarius, and sundry others, acquiesce in this account of the origin of antiphonal singing : as do our countrymen, Hooker, Hammond, Beveridge, and Dr. Comber.

By the Apostolical Constitutions, said to have been, if not compiled by the apostles themselves, at least collected by Clement, a disciple of theirs, the order of divine worship is prescribed ; wherein it is expressly required, that after the reading the two lessons, one of the presbyters should sing a psalm or hymn of David ; and that the people should join in singing at the end of each verse. It would be too little to say of this collection, that the authority of it is doubted, since it is agreed, that it did not appear in the world till the fourth century : and the opinions of authors are, that either it is so interpolated as to deserve no credit, or that the whole of it is an absolute forgery.

Hitherto, then, the high antiquity of church-music stands on no better a foundation than tradition, backed with written evidence of such a kind as to have scarce a pretence to authenticity : there are, however, accounts to be met with

among the writers of ecclesiastical history, that go near to fix it at about the middle of the fourth century.

Having determined the commencement of music in the christian worship, the historian next mentions the particular persons under whose protection it was cultivated with the greatest zeal and success. Those were, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose ; the latter of whom instituted that method of singing, which from him has been denominated the *Cantus Ambrosianus*, or *Ambrosian Chant*. Sir John Hawkins observes, in respect of this name, that it appears not to have specified any determined series of notes, but was only invented to express in general a method of singing agreeable to some rule prescribed or taught by that father. It is however supposed to have had a reference to the modes of the ancients, at least to those of Ptolemy, which our author has proved, in a preceding part of the History, to have been exactly coincident with the seven species of the diapason ; though St. Ambrose conceiving all above four to be superfluous, reduced them to that number, in which he retained, but under other denominations, the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Myxolydian modes. The design of the reverend patriarch, as our author farther remarks, was to introduce a kind of melody founded on the rules of art, and yet so plain and simple in its nature, that the whole congregation might sing it.

Among the improvements of music subsequent to this period, our author mentions in terms of peculiar distinction those made about

about the end of the sixth century, by St. Gregory the Great, the first pope of that name; a man, as he justly observes, not more remarkable for his virtues than for his learning and profound skill in the science of music. The first improvement made by this venerable pontiff was the invention of that kind of notation by the Roman letters, which is used at the present time. But he is chiefly celebrated for having increased the number of tones from four to eight, and for the institution of what is called the Gregorian Chant, or plain song. Of the reformation which he effected in the music of the church, our author has selected an account from Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontifical de St. Gregoire*.

Sir John Hawkins observes, that

it was in the cathedral church of Canterbury that the choral service was first introduced into England; to which place, and the churches of Kent, it was confined till the arrival of Theodore, when it afterwards spread over the whole kingdom.

An anecdote mentioned by our author respecting the primitive simplicity of Putta, bishop of Rochester, deserves to be mentioned. Being driven from his see by Ethelred king of the Mercians, in 677, he retired to Scroulfe, the bishop of Mercia, where obtaining a small cure, and a portion of ground, he remained in that country, totally unsolicitous for the restitution of his former dignity, and even went about, teaching choral music wherever he could find entertainment.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The following is one of those Letters which, some Time ago, engaged the Attention of the Public so much under the Name of Gangarelli. It contains a short and succinct Description of Italy.—The principal Objects are strongly and judiciously marked, and the Whole is written in a lively and spirited Manner.

To the Abbé Ferghen,

MONS, ABBÉ,

YOU cannot do better to divert yourself from your troubles and embarrassment than to visit Italy. Every well-informed man owes an homage to this country, so deservedly boasted of; and it will give me inexpressible satisfaction to see you here.

The first object that strikes you will be the great bulwarks given us by Nature, in the Alps and Apennines, which separate us from France, and have occasioned our being styled Tramontanes by that nation. They are a majestic range of mountains, which serve as a frame to the magnificent picture within them.

Torrents, rivulets, and rivers, without reckoning the seas, are objects which present the most curious and interesting points of view to foreigners, and especially to painters. Nothing can be more

agreeable than the most fertile soil in the finest climate, every where intersected with streams of running water, and every where peopled with villages, or ornamented with superb cities.—Such a country is Italy!

If agriculture was held in equal esteem with architecture: if the country was not divided into such a number of governments, all of different forms, and almost all weak, and of little extent; misery would not be found by the side of magnificence, and industry without activity; but unfortunately we are more engaged in the embellishment of cities, than in the culture of the country; and uncultivated lands every where reproach the idleness of the people.

If you begin your route at Venice, you will see a city very singular from its situation;—it resembles a great ship, resting upon the waters, and which cannot be approached but by boats.

The singularity of its situation is not the only thing that will surprise you.—The inhabitants in masque for four or five months in the year;—the laws of a despotic government, which allow the greatest liberty in their amusements; the rights of a sovereign without authority; the customs of a people who dread even his sha-

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dow, and yet enjoy the greatest tranquillity; form inconsistencies, which in a very extraordinary manner must affect foreigners. There is scarcely a Venetian who is not eloquent;—collections have been made of the *bon mots* of their Gon-doliers, replete with true attic falt.

Ferrera displays a vast and beautiful solitude within its walls, almost as silent as the tomb of Ariosto, who was buried there.

Bologna presents another kind of picture; there the sciences are familiar, even to the sex*; who appear with dignity in the schools and academies, and have trophies frequently erected to them. A thousand different paintings will gratify your mind and eyes, and the conversation of the inhabitants will delight you.

You will then pass through a multitude of small towns, in the space of more than a hundred leagues, each of which has its theatre, its cafin (*a rendezvous for the nobility*), a man of learning, or some poet, who employ themselves according to their taste or their leisure.

You will visit Loretto, made famous by the great concourse of pilgrims from other countries, and the treasures with which the church is magnificently enriched.

You will then descry Rome, which may be seen a thousand years, and always with new pleasure. The city, situated upon seven hills, which the ancients called the Seven Mistresses of the World, seems from thence to command the

universe, and boldly to say to mankind, that she is the queen and the capital.

You will call to mind the ancient Romans, the remembrance of whom can never be effaced, on casting an eye on the famous Tiber, which has been so often mentioned, and which has been so frequently swelled by their own blood, and that of their enemies.

You will be in extacy at the sight of St. Peter's, which artis fay is the wonder of the world; being infinitely superior to the St. Sophia at Constantinople, St. Paul's at London, or even the Temple of Solomon.

It is a structure which extends itself as you survey it, where the whole seems to be immense, while every member of it appears to preserve its due proportion. The paintings are exquisite, the mona-mental sculptures breathe, and you will imagine that you see the New Jerusalem come down from Heaven, which St. John speaks of in the Revelations.

You will find, both in the great and in the detail of the Vatican, which was erected on the ruins of false oracles, beauties of every kind that will tire your eyes, while they at the same time charm you. Here Raphael and Michael Angelo, sometimes in a sublime, sometimes in a pathetic manner, have displayed the master-pieces of their genius, by expressing in the most lively language the whole energy of their souls; and here the science and genius of all the writers

* This expression is not distinguished in the original by a gender; for there is a certain peculiar politeness in the Italian and French languages, that whenever the word *sex* is used absolutely and irrelatively, it is always to be understood of the *females*.

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in the world are deposited, in the multitude of works which compose that rich and immense library.

Churches, palaces, public squares, pyramids, obelisks, pillars, galleries, grand fronts of buildings, theatres, fountains, gardens, views, all, all will declare to you that you are at Rome; and every thing will attach you to it, as to the city, which of all others has been the most universally admired. You will not, indeed, meet with that French élégance which prefers the beautiful to the sublime; but you will be amply recompensed by those striking views that every instant must excite your admiration.

Lastly, in all the figures of painting or of sculpture, both ancient and modern, you will see a new creation; and almost think it animated. The Academy of Painting, filled with French students, will shew you some who are destined to become great masters in their profession, and who by coming to study here do honour to Italy.

You will admire the grandeur and simplicity of the head of the Church, the servant of servants in the order of humility, and the first of men in the eyes of the Faithful. The cardinals who surround him will represent to you the twenty-four old men who encircle the throne of the Lamb, whom you will find equally modest in their manners, and edifying in their morals.

But these great and pleasing objects will be disgraced by the disgusting sight of groupes of Mendicants, whom Rome improperly supports, by bestowing misapplied charity, instead of employing them in useful labours; thus it is that

the thorn is seen with the rose; and vice too frequently by the side of virtue.

But if you wish to see Rome in all her splendour, endeavour to be there by the feast of St. Peter. The illumination of the church begins with a gentle light, which you may easily mistake for the reflection of the setting sun: it then sends forth some pieces of beautiful architecture, and afterwards finishes with waving flames, which make a moving picture, that lasts till day-break. All this is attended with double fire-works, the splendour of which is so bright, that you would think the stars had fallen from the heavens, and burst upon the earth:

I do not mention to you the strange metamorphosis which has placed the order of St. Francis even in the capitol, and has produced a new Rome from the ruins of the old; to shew the world, that christianity is truly the work of God, and that he has subdued the most famous conquerors to establish it in the very centre of their empire.

If the modern Romans do not appear warlike, it is because the nature or principle of their government does not inspire them with valour: but they have the seed of every virtue, and make as good soldiers as any, when they carry arms under a foreign power. It is certain that they have a great share of genius, a singular aptitude in acquiring the sciences; and you would imagine they were born Harlequins, so expressive are they in their gestures, even from their infancy.

You will next travel by the famous Appian Way, which from its

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its age is become wretchedly inconvenient, and you will arrive at Naples, the Parthenope of the Ancients, where the ashes of Virgil are deposited, and where you will see a laurel growing, which could not possibly be better placed.

Mount Vesuvius on one side, and the Elysian Fields on the other, present a most singular and contrasted view; and after being satisfied with this delightful prospect, you will find yourself surrounded by a multitude of Neapolitans, lively and ingenious, but too much addicted to pleasure and idleness, to become what they otherwise might be capable of. Naples would be a delightful place, if it was not for the multitude of the lower populace, who have the appearance of unhappy wretches, or banditti, though often without being either the one or the other.

The churches are magnificently decorated, but their architecture is in a wretched state, and by no means comparable to the Roman. You will have a singular pleasure in traversing the environs of this town, which is most delightful, from its delicious fruits, charming views, and fine situations. You will penetrate into the famous subterranean city of Herculaneum, which was swallowed up in a former age by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. If the mountain happens to be raging, you will see torrents of fire issuing from its bowels, and majestically spreading the country. You will see a collection of whatever has been recovered out of Herculaneum, at Portici; and the environs of Puzzuolo, sung by the Prince of Poets, will inspire you with a true passion for poetry.

You should walk with the *Aeneid* in your hand, and compare the cave of the Cumæan Sybil and Acheron with what Virgil has said of them.

You will return by Caserta, which from its decorations, marbles, extent, and aqueducts worthy of ancient Rome, is the finest place in Europe: and you will make a visit to Mount Caffino, where the spirit of St. Benedict has subsisted uninterruptedly, above a dozen ages, in spite of the immense riches of that superb monastery.

Florence, from whence the fine arts have issued, and where their most magnificent master-pieces are deposited, will present other objects to your view. There you will admire a city, which, according to the remark of a Portuguese, *should only be shewn on Sundays*, it is so handsome, and so beautifully decorated. You will every where trace the splendour and elegance of the family of Medici, inscribed in the annals of Tasta as the restorers of the fine arts.

Leghorn is a well inhabited seaport, of great advantage to Tuscany. Pisa always has men of learning, in every science, in its schools. Sienna, remarkable for the purity of its air and language, will interest you in a very singular manner. Parma, placed in the midst of fertile pastures, will shew you a theatre which can contain fourteen thousand people, and where every one can hear what is said, though spoken in a whisper. Placentia will appear to you worthy of the name it bears, as its delightful situation must captivate every traveller.

You

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You will not forget Modena, as it is the country of the famous Muratori, and a city celebrated for the name which it has given to its sovereigns.

You will find at Milan the second church in Italy, for size and beauty : more than a thousand marble statues decorate its outside, and it would be a master-piece, if it had a proportionable front. The society of its inhabitants is quite agreeable, ever since it was besieged by the French. They live there as they do in Paris, and every thing, even to the hospitals and burying-grounds, presents an air of splendour. The Ambrosian Library must attract the literati ; and the Ambrosian ritual no less engage the ecclesiastic, who wishes to know the usages of the church as well as those of antiquity.

The Borromean Isles will next attract your curiosity, from the accounts you must have had of them. Placed in the middle of a delightful lake, they present to your view whatever is magnificent or gay in gardens.

Genoa will appear to you truly superb in its churches and palaces. There you will see a port famous for its commerce, and the resort of strangers. You will see a doge changed almost as often as the superiors of communities, and with scarce any greater authority.

And lastly Turin, the residence of a court where the virtues have long inhabited, will charm you with the regularity of its buildings, the beauty of its squares, the straightness of its streets, and the spirit of the people ; and there you will agreeably conclude your travels.

I have been just making the tour

of Italy most rapidly and at little expence, as you see, to invite you to it in reality ;—'tis sufficient to sketch paintings to such a master as you.

I make no mention of our morals to you ; they are not more corrupt, than among other people, let malice say what it will ; they vary only their shades, according to the difference of the governments.—The Roman does not resemble the Genoese, nor the Venetian the Neapolitan ; but you may say of Italy, as of the whole world, that, with some little distinctions, it is here, as it is there, *a little good and a little bad*.

I do not attempt to prejudice you in favour of the agreeableness of the Italians, nor of their love of the arts and sciences : you will very soon perceive it when you come among them ; you of all men, with whom one is delighted to converse, and to whom it will always be a pleasure to say, that one is his most humble and most obedient servant.

I have taken the opportunity of a leisure moment, to give you some idea of my country ; it is only a coarse daubing, which in another hand would have been a beautiful miniature : the subject deserves it, but my pencil is not sufficiently delicate for the execution.

Rome, 12 Nov. 1756.

On Languages, by Mr. de Voltaire ;
in a Letter to Signor Tovari Deodati.

SIR,

I AM extremely sensible of the honour you have done me, by sending me your Treatise on the excel-

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excellency of the Italian language; it was like sending to a lover an encomium on his mistress.—However, allow me to offer some reflections in favour of the French tongue, which you seem to deprecate a little too much.—A man often takes the part of his wife, when she is not treated with sufficient respect by his mistress.

I believe, sir, that no language can lay claim to perfection;—we may say with regard to them as to many other things, the ignorant have prescribed laws to the learned.

All languages have been originally formed by the uncultivated vulgar. Workmen have imposed names on their tools.—Savage *Hordes*, as soon as they assembled, contrived words to express their wants, and after a number of ages were passed, men of genius arose, who made the best use they could of the terms their rude ancestors had by chance established.

In my opinion there are only two languages existing that have a claim to real harmony,—the Greek, and the Latin. In them alone we find a versification that can boast of a genuine measure,—a certain *Rhythmus*, a real mixture of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, and quantity in the syllables.—The rude inventors of those two languages, had certainly more musical heads, a juster ear, and more delicate organs than other nations.

You have, you say, sir, long and short syllables in your beautiful Italian language, and so have we in our French; but neither you nor we, nor any other nation, have real Dactyls and Spondees. Our verses are distinguished by the number, not the quantity of syl-

lables. *La belle lingua Toscana e la figlia primogenita del Latino.* “The beautiful Tuscan language is the eldest daughter of the Latin.” Enjoy your right of seniority, but allow your younger sisters some share in the succession.

I have already respected the Italians as your masters; but you will acknowledge that you have formed excellent scholars. Almost all the European languages have a mixture of beauties and faults which balance each other. You have not the melodious and stately terminations of the Spanish words, which are rendered so sonorous by a happy concourse of vowels and consonants: *los ríos, los hombres, las distancias, los costumbres*. Nor have you those diphthongs which in our language produce so harmonious an effect;—*les Rois, les Empereurs, les exploits, les histoires*: you reproach us with our *e* mute, as a flat, dull sound, which expires on our lips, but to that *e* mute are we principally indebted for the harmony of our prose and our verse. *Empire, couronne, diadème, flamme, tendresse, victoire*: all these terminations leave a sound, which dwells upon the ear even after the word is pronounced, as a harpsichord echoes after the finger is lifted off the keys.

Acknowledge, sir, that the prodigious variety of those terminations give our language some advantages over yours, the words of which end only with the five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, and even the last of these we ought to strike out, for you have not in the whole compass of your language, above seven or eight words that end in *u*.—There remain then only the four sounds, *a, e, i, o*, for the terminations of

all Italian words. ¶ Do you sincerely think, sir, that the ear of a foreigner can be pleased with hearing the following verses of Tasso ?

— il Capitano
Che'l grano sepolcro libero di Christo,
Molto egli opro col senno e colla mano.

Do you think such a frequent repetition of the vowel *o*, can be agreeable to any ear not accustomed to it ? Compare with this dull uniformity so tiresome to a stranger ; — compare with those dry, heavy lines, the following simple couplet of Corneille.

Le destin se déclare, et nous venons d'entendre.
Ce qu'il a résolu du beau-père & du gendre.

You see that every word has a different termination. Pronounce now these two verses of Homer.

Ἐγώ δέ τη μερόλα διατίνη ερωτάεις
Αἴγαδης οὐκέπει αὐθέντη καὶ δοξή Αχιλλεύς.

Pronounce these verses before a young lady, either of England or Germany, who has the least delicacy of ear, she will prefer the Greek. — she will tolerate the French, and she will be a little disgusted with the uniformity of the Italian terminations. 'Tis an experiment I have often tried.

Your poets, who assisted in forming your language, were so sensible of this radical defect in the termination of the Italian words, that they have cut off the letters *e* and *o*, in which your infinitives, preterites, and nominatives, constantly end. They say *amar*' instead of *amart*, *noqueron*, for *noquerono*, *la flagion* for *la flagioné*. *buon*' for *biou*, *malevol* for *malevole*. You were desirous to avoid a disagreeable sound, and you frequent-

ly fall into the error of terminating your verses with the canine letter *r*, which the Greeks never did.*

It is acknowledged that the Latin tongue must have long appeared rude and barbarous to the Greeks, from the frequent repetition of *ur* and *um*, and the multitude of proper names which terminated in *us*. We have succeeded better than you in getting rid of this uniformity. — If Rome was antiently filled with senators and knights in *us*, we at present meet only with the cardinals and abbés in *i*.

You boast, sir, and with great reason, of the copiousness of your language, but allow that we labour under no scarcity. 'Tis true, there is no Idiom existing which paints all the different shades of ideas. In this respect, all languages are poor ; for example, no language can express, by a single word, love founded on esteem, on beauty alone, on similarity of characters, or on constitution ; the case is the same with all the passions, all the qualities of our soul : what we perceive most distinctly, it is often impossible to express.

Yet, sir, do not imagine that in every thing we are reduced to the extreme indigence with which you reproach us. You have given us a catalogue of two columns to shew your own plenty and our poverty. You set on one side *orgoglio*, *alterigia*, *superbia*, and on the other the single word *orgueil*. But, sir, we have *orgueil*, *superbe*, *bauteux*, *fierté*, *morgue*, *elevation*, *dedain*, *arrogance*, *insolence*, *gloire*, *glorific*, *prétention*, *outre curdânce*. All these words express different modes of the same passion, in the same manner as your *orgoglio*, *superbia*,

* This is a very extraordinary mistake of M. Voltaire's. The Greek dramatic and lyric poets abound in such verses.

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alterigia, are not always precisely synonymous.

In your inventory of our mendicity, you reproach us with having only one word, *vaillant*, to signify valiant. I know, sir, that your nation is very valiant when it pleases itself, and when it is the pleasure of others; Germany and France have had the happiness of entertaining in their service, many Italian officers distinguished for their bravery and military skill. *L'italico valor non e ancor morto.* "The Italian valour is not yet extinct."

But if you have *valente*, *prode*, *animoſo*, we have *vaiſtant*, *valeureux*, *preux*, *courageux*, *intrepide*, *bardi*, *animé*, *audacieux*, *brave*, &c. Of that courage, that bravery, there are many different characters, each of which has its peculiar epithet. We would say that our generals are valiant, courageous, brave, but we would distinguish that keen, impetuous courage of the general who carried sword in hand all the works of Port-Mahon, which were cut in the living rock: from that unshaken, deliberate, and skilful firmness, with which one of our commanders preserved a whole garrison from the brink of ruin, and performed a march of thirty leagues in the face of an hostile army, composed of thirty thousand fighting men.

We would express in a still different manner the calm intrepidity which the connoisseurs admire in the grand nephew of the hero of the *Valtelline*, when, after his forces were put to the route by a panic terror which seized our allies, that general perceiving the regiment of *Diesbach*, and another making head against a victorious army, tho' they

were already attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and severely galed by their artillery, singly joined those regiments, praised their valour, their courage, their firmness, their intrepidity, their resolution, their steadiness, their boldness, their spirit, their bravery, their heroism, &c. See, sir, how many terms instead of one. He was afterwards daring enough, in defiance of the victorious enemy, to draw off those two regiments, at a slow pace, from the danger into which their gallantry had led them; and still had the spirit to bear the reproaches of a multitude always ill-informed. Believe then, sir, I intreat you, that our language has genius to express, what the defenders of our country have merit to perform.

You insult us, sir, on the word *ragout*, imagining that we have only that term to express our *meffes*, our *dishes*, our *entries*, our *services*. Would to heaven you were in the right, my health would be more robust; but, unhappily, we have terms of cookery enough to fill a whole dictionary.

You boast of two expressions for a glutton; but, sir, deign to pity our gormandizers, our belly-gods, our good livers, our great eaters, our gluttons.

You are only acquainted with the word *learning*, but we have men of *learning*, *erudition* and *letters*, enlightened, able and well instructed: You will find among us both the word and the thing.

Believe me, every reproach you have cast upon us, is equally unfair with those I have mentioned.—We have no *diminutives*. In the age of Marot, Rabelais, and Montaigne, we had as many as you; but such puerilities appeared to us

unworthy of a language enabled by the Pascals, the Bossuets, the Fenelons, the Polissons, the Corneilles, the Boileaus, the Massillons, the Fontaines, the Bruyeres. We have left to Marot, Ronfard, and Dubartas, the burlesque diminutives in *ote*, and in *ette*, scarce preserving any but *fleurette*, *amourette*, *fillette*, *grisette*, *grandelette*, *vieillotte*, *nabotte*, *wilotte*, and even these we employ only in the most familiar style.

Do not imitate *Buon' Matthei*, who in his discourse before the academy de la *Crusca*, so highly extols your exclusive advantage of expressing a hamper and a hand-basket, by *corbello* and *corbellino*; we have *corbeilles* and *corbeillons*.

You sir, possess much more solid advantages;—your language admits of inversion, and it is easier to compose a hundred good verses in Italian, than ten in French. The reason of that facility is your toleration of the *biasus*, that gaping of the syllables which is proscribed among us, and all your words being terminated by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, you have at least twenty times our stock of rhymes, and add to this, your Poets may dispense with rhyme altogether. You are less restricted than we to the Hemistich and Cesura; you dance at liberty and we in chains.

But believe me, sir, you ought not to reproach our language with roughness or want of prosody, nor with obscurity or dryness. Your own translations of some French works are sufficient to prove the contrary. Besides, peruse what has been written by Messrs. d'Olivet and du Marsais on the method of speaking our language with propriety. Read Mr. Du

Clos; observe the force, clearness, and energy, of Messrs. Diderot and d'Alembert; what picturesque expressions are often used by Messrs Buffon and Helvetius, in works which do not always appear susceptible of the ornaments of style.

I shall conclude this letter, which is already protracted to too great a length, with one reflection.—If languages were first formed by the vulgar, they have been brought to perfection by the excellent productions of men of exalted genius, and the first of all languages is that which can shew the finest compositions.

“ Étalés moins votre abondance,
“ Vôtre origine & vos honneurs:
“ Il ne fied pas aux Grand-Seigneurs
“ De se vanter de leur naissance.

“ L'Italie instruisit la France;
“ Mais par un reproche indiscret,
“ Nous serions forcés, à regret,
“ A manquer de reconnaissance.

“ Des longtems sortis de l'enfance,
“ Nous avons quitté les genoux
“ D'une nourrice en décadence,
“ Dont le lait n'est plus fait pour nous.

“ Nous pourrions devenir jaloux,
“ Quand vous parlez notre langage.
“ Puis qu'il est embelli par vous,
“ Cessez donc de lui faire outrage.

“ L'égalité contente un Sage:
“ Terminons ainsi le procès.
“ Quand on est égal aux François,
“ Ce n'est pas un mauvais partage.

On Montesquieu and Grotius.

Mr. Linguet, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, to Mr. De Voltaire,

SIR, Paris, 29th Feb. 1767.
IM WILLINGLY conform to a very laudable custom, which I

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see pretty generally established, viz. that young authors transmit to you a copy of their works, and court the honour of obtaining a place for their productions in your library.

It is very natural, that the first fruits of a tree should be gathered by the hand which contributed most to fix its roots. The progress of reason and of taste among us, is almost entirely your work. — They who have profited by it, cannot dispense from testifying their gratitude to you. The protection given to literature by our chancellors, is worth to them a copy of every new publication.—The same homage is due to you by the same title.

Le Dieu du goût, ce Dieu sensible & délicat,
Dont vous aves si bien fait connaître
l'Empire,
Vous a remis les sceaux de cet état.
Malgré les cris de la satire
Il vous en a nommé le premier magistrat.
Ce poste là pour la finance,
Ne vaut tant que je crois,
Que la garde des sceaux de France.
Et ce n'est pas la seule différence
Qui distingue ces deux emplois.
Chacun peut se croire capable
De bien garder ces derniers sceaux.
Aussi voit-on à ce post honorable.
Pretendre à chaque instant des concurrents
nouveaux.
Mais ici le cas est tout autre,
Vous n'aurez jamais de rivaux
Avez hardis pour demander le vôtre.

It is true that you are thus exposed from time to time to troublesome messages, and the perusal of very dull performances, but I suppose you use the privilege of other chancellors, and take care not to read all the petitions presented to you, and should you even think yourself in conscience obliged to it, after all it would be only one of the inconveniences of your

office, and you know there is no employment but has its mortifications.—Sinecures are no where to be found but in the church.

If for my sake you derogate from the prerogatives of your office, and deign to cast a glance upon the *Theory of Civil Laws*, you will perhaps find in it a great many things that are new, but there will be likewise not a few which you have certainly thought of before. I have read and understood you sufficiently to be assured, that you will not blame me for having combated the opinion of Mr. de Montesquieu. I have done justice to his great genius, while I attack his errors. He is a brilliant genius subject to frequent eclipses. I am far from saying of him all I might have done. I have materials enough remaining to form a volume. I shall find a proper place for them, in the sequel of my work, if ever I compleat the grand project I have formed, to attack in their source, the multiplicity of laws, tribunals, customs, &c.—to prove that simplicity and uniformity are, or ought to be, the springs of policy, and that complication of every kind, is the parent of monsters. You will perceive that in the course of developing such principles, it will be requisite frequently to refute Mr. de Montesquieu, and that task appears as easy as it is necessary.

I think with you, sir, that literature, the arts, and every thing that relates to them, are inventions highly useful for the rich; excellent resources for men of leisure who enjoy superfluity. These are corals which amuse them in the state of perpetual infancy, in which they are kept by their opulence.

Their vivacity evaporates upon those trifles with which they amuse themselves. The attention they pay to them, prevents their making use of their strength to more dangerous purposes. But I believe the case to be entirely different with that other, and infinitely more numerous portion of mankind, who are called the people. These intellectual corals become to them poisoned Amulets, which spoil and corrupt them without remedy. The actual state of society condemns them to have only hands;—all is lost the moment they are put in a condition of perceiving that they have a soul.

Could one of those divisions of mankind be singly illuminated; were it possible to intercept all the rays which proceed from the little to the great, and to cover with everlasting darkness only that of the two which is no longer useful than while it is totally blind, I would willingly applaud the labours of the philosophers and their partizans.

But reflect, sir, the sun cannot rise upon the first, without a twilight extending to the second, however distant it may be; and this class, when enlightened, necessarily inclines to depreciate, or to mix with the other. Hence it follows that light is fatal to both; and that an obscurity, in which they might live quietly, each within its respective limits, is infinitely preferable to a state of illumination, by which they only learn reciprocally to despise or detest one another.

This, sir, is my small profession of literary faith, which I shall ever maintain, to martyrdom exclusively,

Answer to Counsellor Linguet, as Montesquieu and Grotius.

I BELIEVE with you, sir, that the *spirit of laws* contains more than one inadvertency. Few people read attentively.—It has not been observed that almost all Montesquieu's quotations are false. He cites the pretended political testament of Cardinal Richelieu, and makes him say, Chap. VI. Book III. that if there be found among the people, an unfortunate man of virtue, he ought not to be employed.—That testament, which besides is not worth being cited, say: just the contrary; and that not in the sixth, but in the fourth chapter.

He makes Plutarch affirm, that women are incapable of real love. He does not consider that this sentiment is put into the mouth of one of Plutarch's Interlocutors, and that Greek, too fantastick in his opinions, is severely reprimanded by Daphneus, in favour of whom Plutarch decides. That dialogue is wholly consecrated to the honour of their sex: but Montesquieu read too superficially, and judged too hastily.

From the same negligence he says; *that the Grand Signor is not obliged by law to keep his word*—*That all low trades were infamous in Greece*.—*That he laments the blindness of Francis I., who rejected the proposal of Christopher Columbus for the discovery of the Indies*.—You will remark that Columbus had discovered America before Francis I. was born.

The vivacity of his genius makes him assert in the same place, Book IV. Chap. XIX, *that the council of Spain was guilty of false policy in probi-*

prohibiting the use of gold in embroidery, lace and gilding. Such a law, says he, would be similar to one we may suppose past in Holland, prohibiting cinnamon. He does not reflect that the Spaniards had no manufactures, that they would have been obliged to buy their stuffs and gold lace from other nations, and that the Dutch could purchase cinnamon only at their own markets, because it grows no where but in their dominions.

Almost all the examples that he adduces, are taken from unknown nations, in the remotest parts of Asia, upon the credit of ill-informed or lying travellers.

He affirms that there are no navigable rivers in Persia, except the Cirus; he forgets that they have the Euphrates, the Oxus, the Araxes, the Phrasis, the Cirus, and the Indus itself, whose stream has long flowed under the laws of the Kings of Persia. Chardin, in the third volume of his travels, assures us, that the river Zendroude, which runs through Ispahan, is as large as the Seine at Paris, and that it often drowns the houses on the Quays of the city.

Unluckily the whole system of the spirit of laws is built upon an antithesis which is false in fact. He maintains that Monarchies are established upon the principle of honour, and Republics upon that of virtue; and in order to support that pretended *bon mot*, he says, (Book III. Ch. VII.) *the nature of honour is to require preferences, and distinctions; therefore honour, from the nature of the thing, is properly placed in Monarchical Governments.*—He ought to reflect that from the nature of the thing, the Romans, in the time of the republic, intrigued

for the Praetorship, the Consulship, the Triumph, Crowns and Statues.

I have taken the liberty to point out several mistakes in that book, which, in other respects, is an admirable performance. I shall not be surprised if that celebrated work appear to you to contain more epigrammatic point than sound reasoning; and yet it abounds with so much wit and genius, that it will always be preferred to Grotius and Puffendorf:—their misfortune is to be tiresome; they are rather heavy than grave.

Grotius, whom you attack with so much justice, extorted from his age a reputation which he was far from deserving. His *Treatise on the Christian Religion* is not esteemed by men of real learning. He there says, book i. ch. xxii. *That the general conflagration is foretold in Hystaspes and the Sybilline Oracles.* To their testimony he adds those of Ovid and Lucan.—He quotes Lycophron to prove the history of Jonas.

If you would form a judgment of the character of Grotius's genius, read his harangue to Anne of Austria on the subject of her pregnancy. He compares her to the Jewess Anne, who had children in her old age. He says that the dolphins, when they frisk upon the water, announce an approaching calm, and for the same reason the little Dauphin that leaped in her womb, prognosticated a cessation of the troubles of the kingdom.

I could quote you a hundred examples of this pedantic eloquence in that Grotius; who has been the object of so great admiration. Time is requisite in order to appreciate

pretiate books, and fix the scale of reputations.

Be not afraid that people of the lower rank will read Puffendorf and Grotius; they are not fond of dull amusements. They would rather choose, if they were capable, to read some chapters of the spirit of laws, which are level to every capacity, because they are written with great ease and beauty. But let us make a distinction in what you call the *people*, between the professions which require a decent education, and those which require only the labour of the hands and daily fatigue. This last class is the most numerous, and the sole relaxation and pleasure of its members, are to go to high mas^s and the tavern, because there they hear singing and sing themselves.—But for artisans of a higher order, whose professions require a considerable degree of reflexion, to perfect their taste and extend their knowledge; they begin to apply themselves to reading all over Europe.—In Paris you scarce know the Swifs, but from those of that nation who serve as porters at noblemen's gates, or the characters which Moliere has introduced speaking an unintelligible jargon in some farces; but the Parisians would be amazed, were they to see the manufacturers in almost every town in Switzerland, especially in Geneva, devoting to study the time which cannot be consecrated to labour. No, sir, all is not lost, *the moment the people are put into a condition of perceiving that they have a soul*. On the contrary, all is lost when they are treated like a herd of bulls; for, sooner or later, they butt you with their horns. Do you believe that the people read and reasoned in the time of the wars between

the red and white rose in England; in that which brought Charles I. to the scaffold; in the horrors of the *Armagnacs* and *Bourguignons*, or even in those of the *League*? The people, ignorant and ferocious, were spirited on by a few fanatic doctors, who cried out, kill all in the name of the Lord. I would defy Cromwell now to turn England upside down by his jargon of an *Energumen*; John of Leyden to make himself King of Munster; and Cardinal de Retz to form the barricades at Paris. To conclude, sir, you ought not to prohibit men from reading:—you would lose too much by it.

Religious Persecution; a Fragment of the Book of Genesis, lately discovered by an eminent Philosopher.

1 AND Abraham was sitting at the door of his tent, under the shade of his fig-tree.

2 And it came to pass that a man, stricken with years, bearing a staff in his hand, journeyed that way. And it was noon-day.

3 And Abraham said unto the stranger, Pafs not by, I pray thee; but come in and wash thy feet, and tarry here until the evening; for thou art stricken with years, and the heat overcometh thee.

4 And the stranger left his staff at the door, and entered into the tent of Abraham.

5 And he repos'd himself; and Abraham set before him bread, with cakes of fine meal baked upon the hearth:

6 And Abraham blessed the bread, giving God thanks: But the stranger did eat, and refused to pray unto the most High; saying, thy Lord is not the God of my fathers.

7 And

9 And Abraham was exceeding wroth ; and he called his servants, and they beat the stranger, and drove him into the wilderness.

8 Now in the evening Abraham lifted up his voice and prayed unto the Lord : and the Lord said, Abraham, where is the stranger that sojourned this day with thee ?

9 And Abraham answered and said, Behold, O Lord ! he eat of thy bread, and would not give thee thanks ; therefore did I chastise him, and drive him from my presence into the wilderness.

10 And the Lord said unto Abraham, Thou hast done evil in my sight.

11 Have I not borne with thy transgressions these fourscore and ten years ; and couldst not thou bear for one day with the infirmities of thy brother ?

12 Arise, and follow the stranger ; and carry with thee oil and wine ; and anoint his bruises, and speak kindly unto him.

13 For I the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and judgment belongeth alone unto me.

14 And Abraham arose ; and he put on sackcloth and ashes, and went out into the wilderness to do as the Lord had commanded him.

*Of Sympathy.—From Dr. Beattie's
Essay on Music and Poetry.*

A S a great part of the pleasure we derive from poetry depends on our sympathetic feelings, the philosophy of sympathy ought always to form a part of the science of criticism. On this subject, therefore, I beg leave to subjoin a few brief remarks, that may possibly throw light on some of the foregoing, as well as subsequent reasonings.

When we consider the condition of another person, especially if it seem to be pleasurable or painful, we are apt to fancy ourselves in the same condition, and to feel in some degree the pain or pleasure that we think we should feel if we were really in that condition. Hence the good of others becomes in some measure our good, and their evil our evil ; the obvious effect of which is, to bind men more closely together in society, and prompt them to promote the good, and relieve the distresses, of one another. Sympathy with distress is called compassion or pity ; sympathy with happiness has no particular name ; but, when expressed in words to the happy person, is termed congratulation.

We sympathise, in some degree, even with things inanimate, To lose a staff we have long worn, to see in ruins a house in which we have long lived, may affect us with a momentary concern, though in point of value the loss be nothing. With the dead we sympathise, and even with those circumstances of their condition whereof we know that they are utterly insensible ; such as, their being shut up in a cold and solitary grave, excluded from the light of the sun, and from all the pleasures of life, and liable in a few years to be forgotten for ever.—Towards the brute creation our sympathy is, and ought to be, strong, they being percipient creatures like ourselves. A merciful man is merciful to his beast ; and that person would be deemed melancholy or hard-hearted, who should see the frisking lamb, or hear the cheerful song of

of the lark, or observe the transport of the dog when he finds the master he had lost, without any participation of their joy. There are few passages of descriptive poetry into which we enter with a more hearty fellow-feeling, than where Virgil and Lucretius paint so admirably, the one the sorrow of a steer for the loss of his fellow, the other the affliction of a cow deprived of her calf.—But our sympathy exerts itself most powerfully towards our fellow men: and, other circumstances being equal, is stronger or weaker, according as they are more or less nearly connected with us, and their condition more or less similar to our own.

We often sympathise with one another, when the person principally concerned has little sense of either good or evil. We blush for another's ill-breeding, even when we know that he himself is not aware of it. We pity a madman, though we believe him to be happy in his phrensy. We tremble for a mason standing on a high scaffold, though we know that custom has made it quite familiar to him. It gives us pain to see another on the brink of a precipice, though we be secure ourselves, and have no doubt of his circumspection. In these cases, it would seem, that our sympathy is raised, not so much by our reflecting on what others really feel, as by a lively conception of what they would feel if their nature were exactly such as ours; or of what we ourselves should feel, if we were in their condition, with the same sentiments, we have at present.

Many of our passions may be communicated and strengthened by sympathy. If we go into a cheerful company, we become cheerful; if into a mournful one, we become sad. The presence of a great multitude engaged in devotion, tends to make us devout. Cowards have behaved valiantly, when all their companions were valiant; and the timidity of a few has struck a panic into a whole army.—We are not, however, much inclined to sympathise with violent anger, jealousy, envy, malevolence, and other sanguinary or unnatural passions; we rather take part against them, and sympathise with those persons who are in danger from them; because we can more easily enter into their distresses, and suppose ourselves in their condition. But indignation

at vice, particularly at ingratitude, cruelty, treachery, and the like, when we are well acquainted with the case, awakens in us a most intense fellow-feeling: and the satisfaction we are conscious of, when such crimes are adequately punished, though somewhat stern and gloomy, is however sincere, and by no means dishonourable or detrimental to our moral nature; nor at all inconsistent with that pity which the sufferings of the criminal extort from us, when we are made to conceive them in a lively manner.

Of sympathy all men are not equally susceptible. They who have a lively imagination, keen feelings, and what we call a tender heart, are most subject to it. Habits of attention, the study of the works of nature, and of the best performances in art, experience of adversity, the love of virtue and of mankind, tend greatly to cherish it; and those passions whereof self is the object, as pride, self conceit, the love of money, sensuality, envy,

vy, vanity, have a tendency no less powerful to destroy it. Nothing renders a man more amiable, or more useful, than a disposition to rejoice with them that rejoice, and to weep with those that weep ; to enter heartily, not officiously, into the concerns of his fellow-creatures ; to comply with the innocent humour of his company, more attentive to them than to himself, and to avoid every occasion of giving pain or offence. And nothing but downright immorality is more disagreeable, than that person is, who affects bluntness of manner, and would be thought at all times to speak all that he thinks, whether people take it well or ill ; or than those pedants are, of whatever profession, (for we have them of all professions), who, without minding others, or entering into their views of things, are continually obtruding themselves upon the conversation, and their own concerns, and the sentiments and language peculiar to their own trades and fraternities. This behaviour, though under the name of plain-dealing it may arrogate a superiority to artificial rules, is generally the effect of pride, ignorance, or stupidity, or rather of all the three in conjunction. A modest man, who sympathetically attends to the condition and sentiments of others, will of his own accord make those allowances in their favour, which he wishes to be made in his own ; and will think it as much his duty to promote their happiness, as he thinks it theirs to promote his. And such a man is well principled in equity, as well as in good breeding : and though, from an imperfect knowledge of forms, or from his having

had but few opportunities to put them in practice, his manner may not be so graceful, or so easy, as could be wished, he will never give offence to any person of penetration and good-nature.

With feelings which we do not approve, or have not experienced, we are not apt to sympathise. The distress of the miser when his hoard is stolen, of the fop when he soils his fine jubilee cloaths, of the vaunting coxcomb when his lies are detected, of the unnatural parent when his daughter escapes with a deserving lover, is more likely to move laughter than compassion. At Sparta, every father had the privilege of correcting any child ; he who had experience of paternal tenderness being supposed incapable of wounding a parent's sensibility by unjust or rigorous chastisement. When the cardinal of Milan would expostulate with the Lady Constance upon her violent sorrow for the loss of her child, she answers, but without deigning to address her answer to one who she knew could be no competent judge of her case, " He speaks to me who never had a son." — The Greeks and Romans were as eminent for public spirit, and for parental affection, as we ; but, for a reason elsewhere assigned, knew little of that romantic love between unmarried persons, which modern manners and novels have a tendency to inspire. Accordingly the distress in their tragedies often arose from patriotism, and from the conjugal and filial charities, but not from the romantic passion whereof we now speak. But there are few English tragedies, and still fewer French, wherein some love-affair is not connected with the plot.

plot. This always raises our sympathy; but would not have been so interesting to the Greeks or Romans, because they were not much acquainted with the refinements of this passion.

Sympathy, as the means of conveying certain feelings from one breast to another, might be made a powerful instrument of moral discipline, if poets, and other writers of fable, were careful to call forth our sensibility towards those emotions only that favour virtue, and invigorate the human mind. Fictions, that breathe the spirit of patriotism or valour; that make us sympathise with the parental, conjugal, or filial charities; that recommend misfortune to our pity, or expose crimes to our abhorrence, may certainly be useful in a moral view, by cherishing passions, that, while they improve the heart, can hardly be indulged to excess. But those dreadful tales, that only give anguish to the reader, can never do any good: they fatigue, enervate, and overwhelm the soul: and when the calamities they describe are made to fall upon the innocent, our moral principles are in some danger of a temporary depravation from the perusal, whatever resemblance the fable may be supposed to bear to the events of real life. Some late authors of fiction seem to have thought it incumbent upon them, not only to touch the heart, but to tear it in pieces. They heap "misfortune on misfortune, grief on grief," without end, and without mercy: which discomposes the reader too much to give him either pleasure or improvement; and is contrary to the practice of the wiser ancients, whose most pathetic scenes were generally short.

It is said, that at the first representation of *the Furies* of Eschylus, the horror of the spectacle was so great, that several women miscarryed; which was indeed pathos with a vengeance. But though the truth of that story should be questioned, it admits of no doubt, that objects of grief and horror too much enlarged on by the poet or novellist may do more harm than good, and give more pain than pleasure, to the mind of the reader. Surely this must be contrary to the essential rules of art, whether we consider poetry as intended to please that it may instruct, or to instruct that it may the more effectually please. And supposing the real evils of life to be as various and important as is commonly believed, we must be thought to consult our own interest very absurdly, if we seek to torment ourselves with imaginary misfortune. Horace intinuates, that the ancient *Satyric Drama* (a sort of burlesque tragicomedy) was contrived for the entertainment of the more disorderly part of the audience; and our critics assure us, that the modern farce is addressed to the upper gallery, where, it is supposed, there is no great relish for the sublime graces of the Tragic Muse. Yet I believe these *little pieces*, if consistent with decency, will be found neither unpleasant nor unprofitable even to the most learned spectator. A man, especially if advanced in years, would not chuse to go home with that gloom upon his mind which an affecting tragedy is intended to diffuse: and if the play has conveyed any sound instruction, there is no risk of its being dissipated by a little innocent mirth.

Upon the same principle, I confess, that I am not offended with those

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those comic scenes wherewith our great dramatic poet has occasionally thought proper to diversify his tragedies. Such a licence will at least be allowed to be more pardonable in him, than it would be in other tragic poets. They must make their way to the heart, as an army does to a strong fortification, by slow and regular approaches; because they cannot, like Shakespeare, take it at once, and by storm. In their pieces, therefore, a mixture of comedy might have as bad an effect, as if besiegers were to retire from the out-works they had gained, and leave the enemy at leisure to fortify them a second time. But Shakespeare penetrates the heart by a single effort, and can make us as sad in the present scene; as if we had not been merry in the former. With such powers as he possessed in the pathetic, if he had made his tragedies uniformly mournful or terrible from beginning to end, no person of sensibility would have been able to support the representation.—As to the probability of these mixed compositions, it admits of no doubt. Nature every where presents a similar mixture of tragedy and comedy, of joy and sorrow, of laughter and solemnity, in the common affairs of life. The servants of a court know little of what passes among princes and statesmen, and may therefore, like the porter in Macbeth, be very jocular when their superiors are in deep distress. The death of a favourite child is a great affliction to parents and friends; but the man who digs the grave may, like Goodman Delver in Hamlet, be very cheerful while he is going about his work. A conspiracy may be dangerous; but the

constable who apprehends the traitors may, like Dogberry, be a ludicrous character, and his very absurdities may be instrumental in bringing the plot to light, as well as in delaying or hastening forward the discovery.—I grant, that compositions, like those I would now apologize for, cannot properly be called either tragedies or comedies: but the name is of no consequence: let them be called *Plays*: and if in them nature is imitated in such a way as to give pleasure and instruction, they are as well entitled to the denomination of *Dramatic Poems*, as any thing in Sophocles, Racine, or Voltaire.—But to return:

Love is another “tyrant of the throbbing breast,” of whom they who wish to see the stage transformed into a school of virtue, complain, that his influence in the modern drama is too despotic. Love, kept within due bounds, is no doubt, as the song says, “a gentle and a generous passion:” but no other passion has so strong a tendency to transgres the due bounds: and the frequent contemplation of its various ardours and agonies, as exhibited in plays and novels, can scarce fail to enervate the mind, and to raise emotions and sympathies unfriendly to innocence. And certain it is, that fables in which there is neither love or gallantry, may be made highly interesting even to the fancy and affections of a modern reader. This appears, not only from the writings of Shakespeare, and other great authors, but from the *Pilgrim’s Progress* of Bunyan, and the history of Robinson Crusoe: than which last, there is not perhaps in any language a more interesting narrative;

or

or a tale better contrived for communicating to the reader a lively idea of the importance of the mechanic arts, of the sweets of social life, and of the dignity of independence.

On the Utility of Classical Learning; by the same.

THE mental faculties of children stand as much in need of improvement, and consequently of exercise, as their bodily powers. Nor is it of small importance to devise some mode of discipline for fixing their attention. When this is not done, they become thoughtless and dissipated to a degree that often unfits them for the business of life.

The Greeks and Romans had a just sense of the value of this part of education. The youth of Sparta, when their more violent excercises were over, employed themselves in works of stratagem; which in a state, where wealth and avarice were unknown, could hardly be carried to any criminal excess. When they met together for conversation, their minds were continually exerted in judging of the morality of actions, and the expediency of public measures of government; or in bearing with temper, and retorting with spirit, the sarcasms of good-natured rillery. They were obliged to express themselves, without hesitation, in the fewest and plainest words possible. These institutions must have made them thoughtful, and attentive, and observant both of men and things. And accordingly, their good sense, and penetration, and their nervous and sen-

tentious style, were no less the admiration of Greece, than their sobriety, patriotism, and invincible courage. For the talent of saying what we call *good things* they were eminent among all the nations of antiquity. As they never piqued themselves on their rhetorical powers, it was prudent to accustom the youth to silence and few words. It made them modest and thoughtful. With us very sprightly children sometimes become very dull men. For we are apt to reckon those children the sprightliest, who talk the most: and as it is not easy for them to think and talk at the same time, the natural effect of their too much speaking is too little thinking.—At Athens, the youth were made to study their own language with accuracy both in the pronunciation and composition; and the meanest of the people valued themselves upon their attainments in this way. Their orators must have had a very difficult part to act, when by the slightest impropriety they ran the hazard of disgusting the whole audience: and we shall not wonder at the extraordinary effects produced by the harangues of Demosthenes, or the extraordinary care wherewith those harangues were composed, when we recollect, that the minutest beauty in his performance must have been perceived and felt by every one of his hearers. It has been matter of surprise to some, that Cicero, who had so true a relish for the severe simplicity of the Athenian orator, should himself in his orations have adopted a style so diffuse and declamatory. But Cicero knew what he did. He had a people to deal with, who, compared with the Athenians, might

might be called illiterate ; and to whom Demosthenes would have appeared as cold and uninteresting, as Cicero would have seemed pompous and inflated to the people of Athens. In every part of learning the Athenians were studious to excel. Rhetoric in all its branches was to them an object of principal consideration. From the story of Socrates we may learn, that the literary spirit was keener at Athens, even in that corrupted age, than at any period in any other country. If a person of mean condition, and of the lowest fortune, with the talents and temper of Socrates, were now to appear, inculcating virtue, dissuading from vice, and recommending a right use of reason, not with the grimace of an enthusiast, or the rant of a declaimer, but with good humour, plain language, and sound argument, we cannot suppose, that the youth of high rank would pay him much attention in any part of Europe. As a juggler, gambler, or atheist, he might perhaps attract their notice, and have the honour to do no little mischief in some of our clubs of young worthies ; but from virtue and modesty, clothed in rags, I fear they would not willingly receive improvement.—The education of the Romans, from the time they began to aspire to a literary character, was similar to that of the Athenians. The children were taught to speak their own language with purity, and made to study and translate the Greek authors. The laws of the twelve tables they committed to memory. And as the talent of public speaking was not only ornamental, but even a necessary qualification, to every man who wished

to distinguish himself in a civil or military capacity, all the youth were ambitious to acquire it. The study of the law was also a matter of general concern. Even the children used in their diversions to imitate the procedure of public trials ; one accusing, and another defending, the supposed criminal : and the youth, and many of the most respectable statesmen, through the whole of their lives, allotted part of their leisure to the exercise of declaiming on such topics as might come to be debated in the forum, in the senate, or before the judges. Their domestic discipline was very strict. Some ancient matron, of approved virtue, was appointed to superintend the children in their earliest years ; before whom every thing criminal in word or deed was avoided as a heinous enormity. This venerable person was careful both to infil good principles into her pupils, and also to regulate their amusements, and, by preserving their minds pure from moral turpitude, and intellectual depravation, to prepare them for the study of the liberal arts and sciences.—It may also be remarked, that the Greeks and Romans were more accurate students than the moderns are. They had few books, and those they had were not easily come at : what they read, therefore, they read thoroughly. I know not, whether their way of writing and making up their volumes, as it rendered the perusal more difficult, might not also occasion a more durable remembrance. From their conversation-pieces, and other writings, it appears, that they had a singular facility in quoting their favourite authors. Demosthenes is said

said to have transcribed Thucydides eight times; and to have got a great part of him by heart. This is a degree of accuracy which the greater part of modern readers have no notion of. We seem to think it more creditable to read many books superficially, than to read a few good ones with care; and yet it is certain; that by the latter method we should cultivate our faculties, and increase our stock of real knowledge, more effectually, and perhaps more speedily, than we can do by the former, which indeed tends rather to bewilder the mind, than to improve it. Every man, who pretends to a literary character, must now read a number of books, whether well or ill written, whether instructive or insignificant, merely that he may have it to say, that he had read them. And therefore I am apt to think, that, in general, the Greeks and Romans must have been more improved by their reading, than we are by ours. As books multiply, knowledge is more widely diffused; but if human wisdom were to increase in the same proportion, what children would the ancients be, in comparison of the moderns! of whom every subscriber to the circulating library would have it in his power to be wiser than Socrates, and more accomplished than Julius Cæsar.

I mention these particulars of the Greek and Roman discipline, in order to show, that, although the ancients had not so many languages to study as we have, nor so many books to read, they were however careful, that the faculties of their children should neither languish for want of exercise, nor be exhausted in frivolous employ-

ment. As we have not thought fit to imitate them in this; as most of the children in modern Europe, who are not obliged to labour for their sustenance, must either study Greek and Latin, or be idle; (for as to cards; and some of the late publications of Voltaire, I do not think the study of either half so useful or so innocent as shuttlecock). I should be apprehensive, that, if classical learning were laid aside, nothing would be substituted in its place, and that our youth would become altogether dissipated. In this respect, therefore, namely, as the means of improving the faculties of the human mind, I do not see how the studies of the grammar-schools can be dispensed with.

It may be observed that the study of a system of grammar, so complex and so perfect as the Greek or Latin, may, with peculiar propriety, be recommended to children; being suited to their understanding, and having a tendency to promote the improvement of all their mental faculties. In this science, abstract as it is commonly imagined to be, there are few or no difficulties which a master may not render intelligible to any boy of good parts, before he is twelve years old. Words, the matter of this science, are within the reach of every child; and of these the human mind, in the beginning of life, is known to be susceptible to an astonishing degree; and yet in this science there is a subtlety, and a variety, sufficient to call forth all the intellectual powers of the young student. When one hears a boy analyse a few sentences of a Latin author; and show that he not only knows the general meaning, and the import of the particular words,

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but also can instantly refer each word to its class; enumerate all its terminations; specifying every change of sense, however minute, that may be produced by a change of inflexion or arrangement; explain its several dependencies; distinguish the literal meaning from the figurative, one species of figure from another, and even the philosophical use of words from the idiomatical, and the vulgar from the elegant: recollecting occasionally other words and phrases that are synonymous, or contrary, or of different though similar signification; and accounting for what he says, either from the reason of the thing, or by quoting a rule of art, or a classical authority:—one must be sensible, that, by such an exercise, the memory is likely to be more improved in strength and readiness, the attention better fixed, the judgment and taste more successfully exerted, and a habit of reflection and subtle discrimination more easily acquired, than it could be by any other employment equally suited to the capacity of childhood. A year passed in this salutary exercise will be found to cultivate the human faculties more than seven spent in prattling that French which is learned by rote: nor would a complete course of Voltaire yield half so much improvement to a young mind, as a few books of a good classic author, of Livy, Cicero, or Virgil, studied in this accurate manner.

On the Constitution of Feudal Monarchy—The Dignity and Revenues of the King—and of his power as to the raising of Taxes and Subsidies.

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dies. From Sullivan's Lectures on the Laws of England.

As, in my former lectures, I drew a general sketch of the nature and form of the governments that prevailed among the northern nations whilst they remained in Germany, and what alterations ensued on their being removed within the limits of the Roman empire, it will be now proper to shew, in as brief a manner as may consist with clearness, the nature and constitution of a feudal monarchy, when estates were become hereditary, the several constituent parts thereof, and what were the chief of the peculiar rights and privileges of each part. This research will be of use, not only to understand our present constitution, which is derived from thence, but to make us admire and esteem it, when we compare it with that which was its original; and observe the many improvements it has undergone. From hence, likewise, may be determined that famous question, whether our kings were originally absolute, and all our privileges only concessions of theirs; or whether the chief of them are not originally inherent rights, and coeval with the monarchy; not, indeed, in all the subjects; for that, in old times, was not the case, but in all that were *freemen*, and, as all are such now, do consequently belong to all.

To begin with the king, the head of the political body. His dignity and power were great, but not absolute and unlimited. Indeed, it was impossible, in the nature of things, even if it had been declared so by law, that it could have continued in that state, when

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he had no standing force, and the sword was in the hand of the people. And yet it must be owned his dignity was so high, as to give a superficial observer some room, if he is partially inclined, to lean to that opinion. All the lands in his dominions were holden of him. For, by degrees, the *allodia* had been changed into, and supposed to have been derived from, his original grant, and consequently revertible to him. But then, the land proprietors had (on fulfilling the conditions they were bound to) a secure and permanent interest in their possessions. He could neither take them away at pleasure, nor lay taxes or talliages on them by arbitrary will, which would have been little different. Since, in Magna Charta, we find the people insisting that the king had no right to assails the quantity of escuse, which was a pecuniary commutation for military service, nor to lay talliages on his other subjects, but that both must be done in parliament. He was a necessary party to the making new laws, and to the changing and abrogating old ones; and from him they received their binding force, insomuch that many old laws, though passed in parliament, run in the king's name only. For, in those days, persons were more attentive to substance than forms; and it was not then even suspected, in any nation in Europe, that any king would arrogate to himself a power so inconsistent with the original freedom of the German nations. Nay, in France, to this day, the king's edicts are not laws until registered in parliament, which implies the consent of the people, though that consent is too often extorted by the violent power that monarch has assumed

over the persons and liberty of the members of that body.

The dignity of the king was supported, in the eyes of the people, not only by the splendor of his royalty, but by the lowly reverence paid him by the greatest of his lords. At solemn feasts they waited on him on the knee, or did other menial offices about his person, as their tenures required, and did their homage and fealty with the same lowly and humiliating circumstances that the meanest of their vassals paid to them. His person likewise was sacred, and guarded by the law, which inflicted the most horrible punishment for attempts against him; neither was he to be resisted, or accountable for any private injury done personally by himself, on any account whatsoever. For the state thought it better to suffer a few personal wrongs to individuals, than to endanger the safety of the whole, by rendering the head insecure.

But the greatness of the kingly power consisted in his being entirely entrusted with the executive part of the government, both at home and abroad. At home justice was administered in his name, and by officers of his appointment. He had, likewise, the disposal of all the great offices of the state, with an exception of such as had been granted by his predecessors in fee, and of all other offices and employments exercised in the kingdom immediately under him. Abroad he made war and peace, treaties and truces, as he pleased. He led his armies in person, or appointed commanders; and exercised, in time of war, that absolute power over his armies that is essential to their preservation and discipline. But how was he enabled

abled to support the expence of the government, or to provide for the defence of the kingdom, or carry on a foreign war; since, if he was not furnished in that respect, these high-sounding prerogatives had been but empty names, and the state might have perished; and if he could at pleasure levy the necessary sums, he being sole judge of the necessity, both as to occasion and quantity, as Charles the First claimed in the case of ship-money, the state of the subject was precarious, and the king would have been as absolute a monarch as the present king of France or Spain.

But abundant provision was made on this head, and that without overburdening the subject, for supporting the ordinary expences of the government. A vast demesne was set apart to the king, amounting, in England, to one thousand four hundred and twenty-two manors, as also many other lands, which had not been erected into manors. Besides these, he had the profits of all his feudal tenures, his worshipps, marriages, and reliefs; the benefits of escheats, either upon failure of heirs or forfeiture; the goods of felons and traitors; the profits of his courts of justice; besides many other casualties, which amounted to an immense revenue; insomuch, that, we are informed, that William the Conqueror had £. 1061. 10 s. a day, that is, allowing for the comparative value of money, near four millions a-year; so that Fortescue might well say, that, originally, the king of England was the richest king in Europe. Such a sum was not only sufficient for the occasions of peace, but out of it he might spare considerably for the exigencies of war.

This revenue, however great, was not sufficient to support a war of any importance and continuance, besides the extraordinary expence of government. It remains, therefore, to see what provision this constitution made, in addition to what the monarch might spare, for the defence of England, as it might be attacked either by land or sea. For the latter, every seaport was, in proportion to its ability, obliged to find, in time of danger, at their own expence, one or more ships properly furnished with men and arms; which, joined to such other ships as the king hifed, were, in general, an overmatch for the invaders. But if the enemy had got footing in the country, the defence at land was by the knights or military tenants, who were obliged to serve on horseback in any part of England: and by the socage tenants, or infantry, who, in case of invasion, were likewise obliged to serve, but not out of their own country, unless they themselves pleased, and then they were paid by the king.

With respect to carrying an offensive war into the enemy's country, the king of England had great advantages over any other feudal monarch. In the other feudal kingdoms the military vassals were not obliged to serve in any offensive war, unless it was just, the determination of which point was in themselves; but William the Conqueror obliged all to whom he gave tenures to serve him *ubique*; and though he had not above three hundred, if so many, immediate military tenants under him, yet these were obliged, on all occasions, to furnish fifty thousand knights completely equipped, and ready to serve forty days at their own expence;

pence. If he wanted their service longer, he was obliged to obtain it on what terms he could. There is, therefore, no reason to wonder that the King of England, though master of so comparatively small a territory, was, in general, an overmatch, in those early times, for the power of France. As for *infantry* in his foreign wars, he had none obliged to attend him. Those he had were *focage* tenants, whose services were certain; so that he was obliged to engage, and pay them, as hired soldiers. As the *focage* tenants in his dominions had a good share of property, and enjoyed it without oppression, it is no wonder the English archers in those days had a gallant spirit, and were as redoubtable as the English infantry is at present.

To support these military tenants, who served after the necessary time, and likewise his infantry, (as the surplus of his ordinary revenue would not suffice) he had *customs* and *tallages*, and *aids* and *subsidies* granted by parliament. These *customs*, or so much paid by merchants on the exportation of goods, were of two kinds; as paid either by *merchant strangers*, or by *merchant denizens*.

The *customs* paid by merchant strangers were not originally settled by act of parliament, but by a compact between the merchant strangers and king Edward the First. In the Saxon times the king had a power of excluding strangers from his kingdom, not merely with an intention of inducing their own people to traffick, but chiefly to keep out the Danes, who were the masters of the sea; lest, under pretence of trade, they might get footing in, and become acquainted with the state of the

kingdom. They were, accordingly, admitted by the kings upon such terms as the latter were pleased to impose; but Edward, who had the success and prosperity of his kingdom at heart, came to a perpetual composition with them; gave them several privileges, and they gave to him certain customs in return. What shews they had their origin from consent is, that the king could not raise them without applying to parliament. The customs of natives or denizens were, certainly, first given to the king by parliament; though this has been denied by some, merely because no such act is to be found, as if many of the antient acts had not been lost; but there are acts and charters still extant, which expressly say they were appointed and granted by parliament, without the power of which they could not be either altered or enlarged.

The difference between the *customs* and the other aids I have mentioned, *viz.* *tallages* and *subsidies*, is, that the latter were occasional, granted only on particular emergencies, whereas the *customs* were for ever. If it be asked how they came to be granted in that manner, we must refer back to the original state of boroughs and their inhabitants, traders, in the feudal law. In France, the Roman towns were taken into protection, and had their antient privileges allowed them; but in the series of wars that happened in that country for ages, every one of them in their turns were stormed, and reduced to vassalage, either to the king or some other great lord; and as, now, these lords had learned that the Roman emperor laid on taxes at his pleasure, it was but natural they should claim the same right, especially

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especially over towns they had taken in war. The burgesses, therefore, became in the nature of villains, not indeed of common villains, for that would absolutely have destroyed trade, but with respect to arbitrary taxation, which, however, if the lord was wise, was never exorbitant. In England, I apprehend, they became villains; for the Saxons were a murdering race, and extirpated the old inhabitants. However, wise kings, considering the advantages of commerce, by degrees, bestowed privileges on certain places, in order to render them flourishing and wealthy; and at length, about the time of Magna Charta, or before, when every uncertain service was varying to a certainty, this privilege was obtained for merchant adventurers. But the other burgesses, that did not import or export, and likewise villains, were still tallageable at will. This was restrained by Magna Charta, which declares all tallages unlawful, unless ordained by parliament.

To come to the latter head, whether taxes, aids, and subsidies can be assessed by the king, as sole judge of the occasion, and the *quantum*—or whether they must be granted by parliament, was the great and principal contest between the two first princes of the unfortunate house of Stuart and their people, and which, concurring with other causes, cost the last of them his life and throne. To say nothing of the divine hereditary right urged on the king's behalf, and which, if examined into strictly, no royal family in Europe had less pretensions to claim, both sides referred themselves to the antient constitution for the decision of this

point. The king's friends urged that all lands were holden from him by services, and that this was one of his prerogatives, and a necessary one to the defence of the state. They produced several instances of its having been done, and submitted to, not only in the times of the worst, but of some of the best kings; and as to acts of parliament against it, they were extorted from the monarchs in particular exigencies, and could not bind their successors, as their right was from God.

The advocates of the people, on the other hand, insisted, that, in England, as in all other feudal countries, the right of the king was founded on compact; that William the Conqueror was not master of all the lands in England, nor did he give them on these terms; that he claimed no right but what the Saxon kings had, and this they certainly had not; that he established and confirmed the Saxon laws, except such as were by parliament altered; that he gave away none but the forfeited lands, and gave them on the same terms as they were generally given in feudal countries, where such a power was in those days unknown. They admitted, that, in fact, the kings of England had sometimes exercised this power, and that, on some occasions, the people submitted to it. But they insisted, that most of the kings that did it were oppressors of the worst kind in all respects; that the subjects, even in submitting, insisted on their antient rights and freedom, and every one of these princes afterwards retracted, and confessed they had done amiss. If one or two of the best and wisest of them

kings had practised this, they insisted that their ancestors acquiescence once or twice, in the measures of a prince they had absolute confidence in, and at times when the danger, perhaps, was so imminent as to stare every man in the face, (for it was scarce ever done by a good prince) as when there was a fleet already assembled in the ports of France to waft over an army, should not be considered as conveying a right to future kings indiscriminately, as a surrender of their important privileges of taxation. They insisted that these good and wise kings had acknowledged the rights of the people; that they excused what they had done, as extorted by urgent necessity, for the preservation of the whole; that, by repeated acts of parliament, they had disavowed this power, and declared such proceedings should never be drawn into precedent. They observed, that there was no occasion for the vast demesne of the king, if he had this extraordinary prerogative to exert whenever he pleased. They denied the king's divine right to the succession of the crown, and that absolute unlimited authority that was deduced from it. They insisted that he was a king by compact, that his succession depended on that compact, though they allowed that a king intitled by that compact, and acting according to it, has a divine right of government, as every legal and righteous magistrate hath. They inferred, therefore, that he was a limited monarch, and consequently that he and his successors were bound by the legislative, the supreme authority.

The advocates of the king treated

the original compact as a chimera, and desired them to produce it; which the other side thought an unreasonable demand, as it was, they alledged, transacted when both king and people were utterly illiterate. They thought the utmost proof possible was given by quoting the real acts of authority, which the Saxon kings had exercised; among which this was not to be found; that the Norman kings, though some of them had occasionally practised it, had, in general, both bad and good princes, afterwards disclaimed the right, and that it never had (though perhaps submitted to in one or two instances) been given up by their ancestors; who always, and even to the face of their best princes, insisted that it was an encroachment on those franchises they were intitised to by their birthright.

Such, in general, were the principles on which the arguments were maintained on both sides: for to go into *minutiae*, would not consist with the design of this undertaking. I apprehend it will be evident from this detail of mine, though I protest I designed to represent both sides fairly, that I am inclined to the people in this question. I own I think that any one that considers impartially the few monuments that remain of the old Saxon times, either in their laws or histories, the constant course since the conquest, and the practice of nations abroad, who had the same feudal policy, must acknowledge, that though this right was claimed and exercised by John, Henry the Third, Edward the First, Second, and Third, Richard the Second, and Henry the Eighth, it was in the event dis-

disclaimed by every one of them, by the greatest of our kings, Edward the First and Third, and Henry the Eighth, with such candour and free will, as inforced confidence in them; by the others, in truth, because they could not help it. I hope I shall stand excused, if I add, that the majority of those who engaged in the civil war, either for king Charles, or against him, were of the same opinion. For, had he not given up this point, (and indeed he did it with all the appearances of the greatest sincerity) he would not have got three thousand men to appear for him in the field. But, unfortunately for his family, and us, (for we still feel the effects of it from the popish education his offspring got abroad) his concession came too late. He had lost the confidence of too many of his people, and a party of republicans were formed; all reasonable securities were certainly given; but, upon pretence that he could not be depended upon, his enemies prevailed on too many to insist on such conditions, as would have left him but a king in name, and unhinged the whole frame of government. Thus did the partizans of absolute monarchy on one side, and the republicans, with a parcel of crafty ambitious men, who for their own private views affected that character, on the other, rend the kingdom between them, and obliged the honest, and the friends to the old constitution, to take side either with one party or other, and they were accordingly, for their moderation and desire of peace, and a legal settlement, equally despised which ever they joined with.

I shall make but one observation

more; that though it is very false reasoning to argue from events when referred to the decision of God, as to the matter of right in question; I cannot help being struck with observing, that though this has been a question of five hundred years standing in England, the decision of Providence hath constantly been in favour of the people. If it has not been so in other countries for two hundred or two hundred and fifty years past, which is the utmost, let us investigate the causes of the difference, and act accordingly. The ancients tell us it is impossible that a brave and virtuous nation can ever be slaves, and, on the contrary, that no nation that is cowardly, or generally vicious, can be free. Let us bless God, who hath for so long a time favoured these realms. Let us act towards the family that reigns over us, as becomes free subjects, to the guardians of liberty, and of the natural rights to mankind; but above all, let us train posterity, so as to be deserving of the continuance of these blessings, that Montesquieu's prophecy may never appear to be justly founded.

"England (says he) in the course of things, *must* lose her liberties, and then she will be a greater slave than any of her neighbours."

The true Enjoyments of Life. From Moral Tales, &c. by Dr. Percival.

MAY be survive his relatives and friends! was the impression of a Roman, on the person who should destroy the monument of

of his ancestors.* A more dreadful curse could scarcely be denounced. I remember to have seen it somewhere recorded, that an emperor of China, on his accession to the throne, commanded a general release from the prisons, of all that were confined for debt. Amongst the number was an old man, who had been an early victim to adversity; and whose days of imprisonment, reckoned by the notches which he had cut on the door of his gloomy cell, expressed the annual revolution of more than fifty years. With faltering steps he departed from his mansion of sorrow; his eyes were dazzled with the splendor of light; and the face of nature presented to his view a perfect paradise. The goal, in which he had been imprisoned, was at some distance from Pekin; and he directed his course to that city, impatient to enjoy the gratulations of his wife, his children, and his friends.

With difficulty he found his way to the street, in which formerly stood his decent habitation; and his heart became more and more elated at every step which he advanced. He proceeded, and looked with earnestness around; but saw few of those objects with which he was formerly conversant. A magnificent edifice was erected on the site of the house which he had inhabited. The dwellings of his neighbours had assumed new forms;

and he beheld not a single face of which he had the least recollection. An aged pauper, who stood with trembling knees at the gate of a portico, from which he had been thrust by the insolent menial who attended it, struck his attention. He stopped to give him a pittance out of the bounty, with which he had been supplied by the emperor's liberality; and received, in return, the sad tidings that his wife had fallen a lingering sacrifice to penury and sorrow; that his children were gone to seek their fortunes in unknown climes; and that the grave contained his nearest and most valuable friends. Overwhelmed with anguish, he hastened to the palace of his sovereign, into whose presence his hoary locks and mournful visage soon obtained admission; and casting himself at the feet of the emperor, Great prince, he cried, remand me to the prison, from which mistaken mercy hath delivered me! I have survived my family and friends; and in the midst of this populous city, I find myself in dreary solitude. The cell of my dungeon protected me from the gazers at my wretchedness; and whilst secluded from society, I was less sensible of the loss of social enjoyments. I am now tortured with the view of pleasures in which I cannot participate; and die with thirst, though streams of delight surround me.

If the horrors of a dungeon, my

* The author alludes to an ancient monumental inscription found at Rome:

Quisqvis HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT
ULTIMUS NVRUM MORIATUR.

Fleetwood's Inscript. Antiq.

Alexis.

Alexis, be preferred to the world at large, by the man who is bereft of his kindred and friends; how highly should you prize, how tenderly should you love, and how studious should you be to please those near and dear relations, whom a more indulgent providence has yet preferred to you? Listen to the affectionate counsels of your parents; treasure up their precepts; respect their riper judgment; and enjoy, with gratitude and delight, the advantages resulting from their society. Bind to your bosom, by the most endearing ties, your brothers and sisters; cherish them as your best companions, through the variegated journey of life; and suffer no jealousies or feuds to interrupt the harmony which now reigns, and, I trust, will ever reign in this happy family. Cultivate the friendship of your father's friends; merit the approbation of the wife and good; qualify yourself, by the acquisition of knowledge and the exercise of the benevolent affections, for the intercourse of mankind; and you will at once be an ornament to society, and derive from it the highest felicity.

Philosophical Attention and Sagacity;
by the same.

AN attentive and inquisitive mind often derives very important instruction from appearances and events, which the generality of mankind regard as trivial and insignificant. Permit me, Alexis, to offer to you a few examples of the truth of this observation. You have frequently remarked, and perhaps admired,

the volubility and lustre of the globules of rain, that lie upon the leaves of colewort, and of other vegetables; but I dare say, you have never taken the trouble of inspecting them narrowly. Mr. Melville, a young philosopher of uncommon genius, was struck with the phenomenon, and applied his attention to the investigation of it. He discovered that the lustre of the drop is owing to a copious reflection of light, from the flattened part of its surface, contiguous to the plant; and that when the drop rolls over a part, which has been wetted, it instantly loses all its brightness, the green leaf being seen through it. From these two observations he concludes, that the drop does not really touch the plant, whilst it retains a mercurial appearance, but is suspended by the force of a repulsive power. For there could not be any copious reflection of white light, from its under surface, unless there was a real interval between it and the plant. And if no contact be supposed, it is easy to account for the wonderful volubility of the drop, and why no traces of moisture are left wherever it rolls.

From this reasoning we may conclude, that when a polished needle is made to swim on water, it does not touch the water, but forms around it, by a repulsive power, a bed, whose concavity is much larger than the bulk of the needle. And this affords a much better explanation of the fact, than the common one, deduced from the tenacity of the water. For the needle may be well conceived to swing upon a fluid lighter than itself, since the quantity of water thus displaced,

displaced, by repulsion, must be equal to the weight of it. And this instance leads us to a just and necessary correction of the hydrostatical law, that the whole swimming body is equal in weight to a quantity of the fluid, whose bulk is equal to that of the part immersed. For it should be expressed, that the weight of the swimming body is equal to that of the weight of the quantity of fluid displaced by it.

A very ingenious friend of mine, during his residence at the university, undertook a course of experiments, to ascertain the heat or cold produced by the solution of certain substances in spirit of wine. Whenever he withdrew the thermometer from the spirit, and suspended it in the air, he uniformly observed, that the mercury sunk two or three degrees, although the spirit of wine, in which the instrument had been immersed, was even colder than the surrounding atmosphere. This fact he communicated to the professor of chemistry; who immediately suspected, that fluids by evaporation generate cold; an hypothesis, which he afterwards verified by a variety of beautiful, and decisive trials.

When Sir John Pringle and Dr. Franklin were travelling together in Holland, they remarked, that the track-schuyl, or barge, in one of the stages, moved slower than usual, and inquired the reason of it. The boatman informed them, that it had been a dry season, and that the water was low in the canal. He was asked, if the water was so low that the boat touched the muddy bottom of the canal; to which he answered in the negative, adding, however, that the

difference in the quantity of water was sufficient to render the draught more difficult to the horse. The travellers, at first, were at a loss to conceive, how the depth of the water could affect the motion of the boat, provided that it swam clear of the bottom. But Dr. Franklin, having satisfied himself of the truth of the boatman's observation, began to consider it attentively; and endeavoured to account for it in the following manner. The barge, in proceeding along the canal, must regularly displace a body of water, equal in bulk to the space which she occupies; and the water so removed must pass underneath, and on each side of her. Hence if the passage, under her bottom, be strained by the shallows, more of the water must pass by her sides, and with greater velocity, which will retard her course, because she moves the contrary way. The water, also, becoming lower behind than before the boat, she will be pressed back by the weight of its difference in height; and her passage will be obstructed by having that weight constantly to overcome.

However satisfactory this reasoning might appear to be, Dr. Franklin determined to ascertain the truth of it by experiment; deeming the subject of considerable importance to the inhabitants of a country, in which so many projects for navigable canals have been adopted. And he concludes, from many well concerted trials, the relation of which would now be tedious to you, that if four men or horses be required to draw a boat, in deep water, four leagues in four hours, five will be necessary to draw

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draw the boat, the same distance in the same time, in shallow water.

I shall give you one instance more of the advantages of sagacious attention, which may, perhaps, be more amusing to you, than those which I have recited.

A playful boy, whose business it was to open and close alternately, the communication between the boiler and the cylinder of a fire engine, perceived that this trouble might readily be saved. Whenever, therefore, he wished to be at liberty to divert himself with his companions, he tied a string from the handle of the valve, which formed the communication, to another part of the machine that was in motion; and the valve then performed its office without assistance. The boy's idleness being remarked, his contrivance soon became known, and the improvement is now adopted in every fire engine.

been for a long time regarded as gay, was not always so. The emperor Julian says of the Parisians, "I like them, because their character, like mine, is austere and serious."

The characters of nations therefore change: but at what period is the alteration most perceptible? At the moment of revolution, when a people pass on a sudden from liberty to slavery. Then from bold and haughty they become weak and pusillanimous: they dare not look on the man in office: they are intrahled, and it is of little consequence by whom they are intrahled. This dejected people say, like the ass in the fable, *whoever be my master, I cannot carry a heavier load.* As much as a free citizen is zealous for the glory of his nation, so much is a slave indifferent to the public welfare. His heart deprived of activity and energy, is without virtue, without spirit, and without talents; the faculties of his soul are stupified; he becomes indifferent to the arts, commerce, agriculture, &c. It is not for servile hands, say the English, to till and fertilise the land. Simonides entered the empire of a despotic sovereign, and found there no traces of men. A free people are courageous, open, humane, and loyal. A nation of slaves are base, perfidious, malicious, and barbarous: they push their cruelty to the greatest excess. If the severe officer has all to fear from the resentment of the injured soldier on the day of battle, that of sedition is in like manner for the slave oppressed, the long expected

Of the Alterations that have happened in the Characters of Nations, and of the Causes by which they were produced. From Helvétius's Treatise on Man.

ACH nation has its particular manner of seeing and feeling, which forms its character: and in every nation its character either changes on a sudden, or alters by degrees, according to the sudden or insensible alterations in the form of its government, and consequently of its public education.*

That of the French, which has

* The form of government under which we live, always makes a part of our education.

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day of vengeance; and he is the more enraged in proportion as fear has held his fury the longer restrained.*

What a striking picture of a sudden change in the character of a nation does the Roman history present us. What people, before the elevation of the Cæsars, shewed more force, more virtue, more love for liberty, and horror for slavery? And what people, when the throne of the Cæsars was established, shewed more weakness and depravity? Their baseness disgusted Tiberius.

Indifferent to liberty, when Trajan offered it, they refused it; they despised that liberty their ancestors had purchased with so much blood. All things were then changed in Rome; and that determined and grave character which distinguished its first inhabitants, was succeeded by that light and frivolous disposition with which Juvenal reproaches them in his tenth satire.

Let us exemplify this matter by a more recent change. Compare the English of the present day with those under Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth: this people, now so humane, indulgent, learned, free, and industrious, such lovers of the arts and of philosophy, were then nothing more than a nation of slaves, inhuman and superstitious; without arts and without industry.

When a prince usurps over his people a boundless authority, he is sure to change their character; to enervate their souls; to render them

timid and base. From that moment, indifferent to glory, his subjects lose that character of boldness and constancy proper to support all labours and brave all dangers; the weight of arbitrary power destroys the spring of their emulation.

Does a prince, impatient of contradiction, give the name of factious to the man of veracity? he substitutes in his nation the character of falsehood for that of frankness. If in those critical moments the prince, giving himself up to flatterers, find that he is surrounded by men void of all merit, whom should he blame? Himself: for it is he that has made them such.

Who could believe, when he considers the evils of servitude, that there were still princes mean enough to wish to reign over slaves; and stupid enough to be ignorant of the fatal changes that despotism produces in the character of their subjects?

What is arbitrary power? The seed of calamities, that sown in the bosom of a state springs up to bear the fruit of misery and devastation. Let us hear the King of Prussia; *Nothing is better, said he, in a discourse pronounced to the academy of Berlin, than an arbitrary government, under princes just, humane, and virtuous: nothing worse, under the common race of kings.* Now how many kings are there of the latter sort! and how many such as Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus? These are the thoughts of a great man. What elevation of mind, what knowledge does not such a declara-

* The deposition of Nabob Jaffier-Ali-Kan, related in the Leyden Gazette of the 23d of June, 1761, is a proof of this,

tion suppose in a monarch? What in fact does a despotic power announce? Often ruin to the despot, and always to his posterity. The founder of such a power sets his kingdom on a sandy foundation. It is only a transient, ill-judged notion of royalty; that is, of pride, idleness, or some similar passion, which prefers the exercice of an unjust and cruel despotism over wretched slaves, to that of a legitimate and friendly power, over a free and happy people. Arbitrary power is a thoughtless child, who continually sacrifices the future to the present.

The most redoubtable enemy of the public welfare is not riot or sedition, but despotism: it changes the character of a nation, and always for the worse: it produces nothing but vices. Whatever might be the power of an Indian sultan, he could never form magnanimous subjects; he would never find among his slaves the virtues of free men. Chymistry can extract no more gold from a mixed body than it includes; and the most arbitrary power can draw nothing from a slave but the baseness he contains.

Experience then proves that the character and spirit of a people change with the form of government; and that a different government gives by turns, to the same nation, a character noble or base, firm or fickle, courageous or cowardly. Men therefore are endowed at their birth, either with no disposition, or with dispositions to all vices and all virtues; they are therefore nothing more than the produce of their education. If the Persian have no idea of liberty, and the savage no idea of servitude,

it is the effect of their different instruction.

Why, say strangers, do we perceive at once, in all the French, the same spirit, and the same character, like the same physiognomy in all Negroes? Because the French do not judge or think for themselves, but after the people in power. Their manner of judging for this reason must be sufficiently uniform. It is with Frenchmen as with their wives: when they paint themselves, and go to a public show, they all seem of the same complexion. I know that with attention we can always discover between the characters and understandings of individuals; but to do this requires time.

The ignorance of the French, the iniquity of their police, and the influence of their clergy, render them in general more like each other than men of other countries. Now if such be the influence of the form of government on the manners and character of a people, what alteration in the ideas and characters of individuals ought not to be produced by the alterations that happen in their fortune and situation!

On the Causes of the Decadency of an Empire; from the same.

THE introduction and improvement of the arts and sciences in an empire do not occasion its decadency; but the same causes that accelerate the progress of the sciences, sometimes produce the most fatal effects.

There are nations where, by a peculiar series of circumstances, the seeds of the arts and sciences do not

not spring up till the moment the manners begin to corrupt.

A certain number of men assemble to form a society. These men found a city : their neighbours see it rise up, with a jealous eye. The inhabitants of that city, forced to be at once labourers and soldiers, make use by turns of the spade and the sword. What in such a country is the necessary science and virtue ? The military art and valour ; they alone are there respected. Every other science and virtue is there unknown. Such was the state of rising Rome : when weak and surrounded by warlike nations, it with difficulty sustained their attacks. Its glory and power extended over the whole earth ; it acquired however the one and the other but slowly : ages of triumphs were necessary to subject their neighbours. Now when the surrounding nations were subdued, there arose, from the form of their government, civil wars, which were succeeded by those with foreigners ; so that it cannot be imagined, while the citizens were engaged in the different employments of magistrates and soldiers, and incessantly agitated with strong hopes and fears, they could enjoy the leisure and tranquillity necessary to the study of the sciences.

In every country where these events succeed each other in a regular series, the only period favourable to letters is, unfortunately, that when the civil wars, the troubles and factions being extinguished, liberty is expiring, as in the time of Augustus, under the strokes of despotism. Now this period precedes, but a short time,

the decadency of an empire. The arts and sciences however then flourish ; and that for two reasons.

The first is the force of men's passions. In the first moments of slavery, their minds, still agitated by the remembrance of their lost liberty, are like the sea after a tempest. The citizen still burns with a desire to render himself illustrious ; but his situation is altered. He cannot have his bust placed by that of Timoleon, Pelopidas, or Brutus. He cannot deliver his name down to posterity as the destroyer of tyrants, and the avenger of liberty. His statue may however be placed by those of Homer, Epicurus, or Archimedes. This he knows, and therefore, if there be but one sort of glory to which he can aspire, if it be with the laurels of the Muses alone, that he can be crowned, it is in the career of the arts and sciences he prepares to seek them, and it is then that arise illustrious men of every literary profession.

The second of these causes is the interest sovereigns then have to encourage the progress of the sciences. At the moment that despotism is established, what does the monarch desire ? To inspire his subjects with a love of the arts and sciences. What does he fear ? That they should reflect on their fetters, blush at their servitude, and again turn their looks towards liberty. He would therefore by employing their minds make them forget their base condition. He consequently presents them with new objects of glory. As an hypocritical fautor of the arts and sciences,

sciences, he shows the more regard to the man of genius the more he feels the want of his eulogies.

The manners of a nation do not change the moment despotism is established. The spirit of the people is free some time after their hands are tied. During these first moments illustrious men still preserve some consideration. The tyrant therefore loads them with favours, that they may load him with praises, and men of great talents are too often seduced to become the panegyrists of usurpation and tyranny.

What motives can induce them to it? Sometimes meanness, and frequently gratitude. It must be confessed, that every great revolution in an empire supposes great talents in him by whom it is produced, or at least some brilliant vice, that astonishment and gratitude metamorphose into virtue.

Such is, at the time of the establishment of despotism, the productive cause of great accomplishments in the arts and sciences. The first moments past, if the same country become barren in men of talent, it is because the tyrant being then well established on his throne is no longer in want of their assistance. So that the reign of the arts and sciences in a state seldom extends above a century or two. The aloe is an emblem of the production of the sciences in every state; a hundred years are necessary to strengthen its root and make it put forth its branches; it then shoots up, flowers, and dies.

If in each empire the sciences just shoot up and then wither, it is because the motives proper to

produce men of genius, do not commonly exert themselves there more than once. It is at the highest period of grandeur, that a nation commonly produces the fruits of the arts and sciences. While three or four generations of illustrious men pass away, the people change their manners and sink into servitude; their minds have lost their energy; there is no strong passion remains to put them in action. The tyrant no longer excites the people to the pursuit of any kind of glory. It is not talents, but baseness, he now honours: and genius, if it still remain, lives and dies unknown to its own country: it is like the orange-tree, that flourishes, perfumes the air, and dies in a desert.

Despotism, while it is gaining ground, suffers men to say what they will, while they suffer it to do what it will: but once established, it forbids all talking, writing, or thinking. The minds of men then sink into an apathy: all the inhabitants become slaves, curse the breast that gave them milk, and under such a government, every new birth is an increase of misery.

Genius, there chained, drags its irons heavily along; it does not fly, it creeps. The sciences are neglected; ignorance is honoured, and every man of discernment declared an enemy to the state. In the kingdom of the blind, who is the most odious? He that can see clearly. If the blind seize him, his destruction is certain. Now, in the empire of ignorance, the same fate attends the enlightened inhabitant. The press is there the more restrained, as the views

views of the minister are more confined. Under the reign of a Frederick, or an Antoninus, we may say what we will, think and write what we will: under other reigns we must be silent.

The understanding of the prince is always manifested by the esteem and consideration he pays to talents. The favour he shows them, far from injuring, benefits the state.

The arts and sciences are the glory of a nation, and increase its prosperity. It is, therefore, to despotism alone, which is interested at first in protecting them, and not to the sciences themselves, we should attribute the decadence of an empire. When the sovereign of a mighty nation has put on the crown of arbitrary power, the people become daily more enfeebled.

The pomp of an Eastern empire can without doubt impose on the vulgar, who may estimate the force of the nation, by the magnificence of its palaces. The wise man judges differently; it is by that very magnificence he estimates its weakness. He sees nothing more in that imposing pomp, in the midst of which the tyrant sits enthroned, than a sumptuous and mournful decoration of the dead; than the apparatus of a fastuous funeral, in the center of which is a cold and lifeless body, a lump of unanimated earth; in short, a phantom of power, ready to disappear before the enemy by whom it is despised. A great nation, where despotic power is at last established, resembles an oak that has been crowned by ages. Its majestic trunk, and the largeness of its branches, still declare its prif-

tine force, and grandeur; it seems still to be the monarch of the woods; but its true state is that of decay; its branches despoiled of their leaves, and destitute of the spirit of life, are half-withered, and some of them continually broken off by the wind. Such is the state of a nation subtitled by arbitrary power.

Letters from Lord Chesterfield to Alderman George Faulkner.

Bath, Nov.
11, 1752.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

I ALWAYS expect your packets with impatience, and receive them with pleasure; but that pleasure would be much more complete, if some productions of your own now and then accompanied the excellent ones which you send me of other people. I must freely tell you, that you have been long enough the celebrated and successful man-midwife of other people's conceptions, and it is now high time that you should take up the other end of the business, and beget, conceive, and bear fruit yourself. The most illustrious of your predecessors did so. The Stephens's, the Aldus's, and many others, acted as men-midwives to the greatest authors; but then they acted as men too, and begot, as well as delivered: and indeed there is such a relation and connection between those two operations, that it is next to impossible that one who has been so able as you have been in the one, should be deficient in the other. You have moreover one advantage which the greatest of your typographical predecessors had not. They were ne-
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ver personally acquainted with Horace, Virgil, Cicero, and others, whose productions they brought to light, but were obliged to exhibit them in the always-imperfect, often-deformed, state in which they found them, in ragged and worm-eaten vellum and parchment. Whereas you have been always at the fountain head; you have not only printed and read, but you have heard Swift, Berkeley, and all the best authors of the Irish Augustan age. You have conversed with, you have been informed, and to my knowledge consulted by them. Should you ask me, my friend, what sort of work I would particularly point out to you, I can only answer, consult your genius, which will best direct you; if it does not lead you, or rather hurry you, whether you will or not into poetry, do not attempt verse, but take the more common manner of writing, which is prose. Cicero himself had better have done so. A *Typographia Hibernica*, which no man in the kingdom is more capable of doing well than yourself, would be a useful work, and becoming your character. I do not recommend to you any ludicrous performance: they must flow naturally, or they are good for nothing; and though, were it only by your long and amicable collision with Sheridan, Delany, Swift, and others, you must be very strongly impregnated with particles of wit and humour, yet I take your natural turn to be grave and philosophical. A collection of *Anas* would admit of all subjects, and, in a volume or two of *Swiftiana*, you might both give and take a sample of yourself, by slipping in some *Faulkneriana*; the

success of which would, I am persuaded, engage you to go further. Biography should, in my mind, be your next step, for which you appear to be thoroughly qualified, by the clear and impartial accounts, which your hebdomadal labours give of the deaths of all people of note. History would soon follow, which in truth you have been writing these many years, though perhaps without thinking so: what is history but a collection of facts and dates? your Journal is a collection of facts and dates; then, what is your Journal but history? Our friend, the chief baron, with whom I have often talked upon this subject, has always agreed with me, that, in the fitness of things, it was necessary you should be an author, and I am very sure that if you consult him, he will join with me in exhorting you to set about it forthwith. Whenever you assume that character, I claim a very strong dedication with the first copy of the work, as an old friend, which, joking apart, I sincerely am, and

Your humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Blackheath,
My worthy Friend, Sept. 15. 1763.

THOUGH I am very sorry for your quarrels in Ireland, by which I am sure the public must suffer, let who will prevail, I gladly accept your kind offer of sending me the controversial productions of the belligerent parties. Pray do not think any of those polemical pieces too low, too grub-street, or too scurrilous to send me; for I have leisure to read them all, and prefer them infinitely to all other contro-

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controversial performances. I have often wished, and wish it now more than ever, that you were in parliament, where, in my opinion, your coolness, gravity, and impartiality, would greatly contribute to calm if not to cure those animosities. Virgil seems prophetically to have pointed at you, in his description of a person qualified to soothe and moderate popular tumults. These are the lines, which will perhaps be more intelligent to us both in Dryden's translation, than in the original :

If then some grave and pious man appear,
They hush their noise, and lend a listening ear;
He sooths with sober words their angry mood,
And quenches their innate desire of blood.

I am not very superstitious; but I am persuaded that, if you were to try the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, you would open the book at the very place. That incomparable and religious prince, king Charles the first, consulted them with great faith, and to his great information.

There is one thing which I would rather know, than all the contending parties in Ireland say or write against each other, and that is, your real sentiments upon the whole; but all that I know of them is, that I shall never know them; such is your candour, and such is your caution. The celebrated Atticus seems to have been your prototype. He kept well with all parties, so do you; he was trusted and consulted by individuals on all sides, so are you; he wrote some histories, so have you; he was the most eminent bookseller of the age he lived in, so are you;

and he died immensely rich, and so will you. It is true he was a knight, and you are not, but that you know, is your own fault; and he was an epicurean, and you are a stoic.

For the next seven weeks, pray direct your pacquets to me at Bath, where I am going next week, as deaf as ever your friend the dear was, and full as much, though not so profitably,

Your friend and servant,
CHESTERFIELD

Pray make my compliments to your friend Mr. Britton, when you see him.

My worthy Friend, London, Jan.
4, 1763.

MANY thanks to you for your letter, many thanks to you for your almanack, and more thanks to you for your friend Swift's Works, in which last, to borrow an expression of Cibber's, you have outdone your usual outdoings; for the paper is whitish, and the ink is blackish. I only wish that the margin had been a little broader; however, without flattery, it beats Elziver, Aldus, Vascofan, and I make no doubt but that, in seven or eight hundred years, the learned and the curious in those times, will, like the learned and curious in these, who prefer the impression of a book to the matter of it, collect with pains and expence all the books that were published ex Typographia Faulkneriana.—But I am impatient to congratulate you upon your late triumph; you have made (if you will forgive a quibble upon so serious a subject) your enemy your foot-stool; a victory which the divine Socrates had not influence

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influence enough to obtain at Athens over Aristophanes, nor the great Pompey at Rome, over the actor who had the insolence to abuse him under the name of Magnus, by which he was universally known, and to tell him from the stage, *Miseris nostris Magnus Magnus es.* A man of less philosophy than yourself, would, perhaps, have chastised Mr. Foote corporally, and have made him feel that your wooden leg which he mimicked, had an avenging arm to protect it; but you scorned so inglorious a victory, and called justice and the laws of your country to punish the criminal, and to avenge your cause. You triumphed; and I heartily join my weak voice to the loud acclamations of the good citizens of Dublin upon this occasion. I take it for granted that some of your many tributary wits have already presented you with gratulatory poems, odes, &c. upon this subject: I own I had some thoughts myself of inscribing a short poem to you upon your triumph: but to tell you the truth; when I had writ not above two thousand verses of it, my muse forsook me, my poetic vein stopped, I threw away my pen, and I burned my poem, to the irreparable loss not only of the present age, but also of latest posterity.

I very seriously and sincerely wish you a great many very happy new years, and am

Your most faithful
friend and servant,
CHESTERFIELD.

I like your messenger, young Dunkin, mightily: he is a very sensible well-behaved young man.

* To the apprehensions of canine madness; see Dr. Percival's Moral Tales, vol. ii. pag. 62.

† A monument, in Lord Temple's gardens at Stowe, suggested this inscription.

An EPITAPH, by Dr. PERCIVAL.

To the Memory
of
SYLVIA ——,
A cheerful companion;
faithful friend;
and
real Philosopher,
if
Obedience to God,
Conformity to Nature,
and Benevolence to Man;
with unaffected indifference
to
Profit, Power, or Fame,
be true philosophy.
She
mingled in all companies,
yet preserved
her native simplicity of manners;
and
was carefed by the profligate,
whilst she reproved their
Vices,
by her good example.
Her Religion
was untainted by Bigotry,
although she doubted of no
Articles of Faith;
and
she steadily maintained
Passive Obedience and Non-resistance,
without becoming
a Partizan in Politics.
Spotless as a Saint
she lived; and died a Martyr.*
This Monument
blazons no feigned Virtues of the
Dead,
to flatter the Vanity of the
Living;
for it is erected not to a
WOMAN,
but
a SPANIEL.†

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW-YEAR, 1777.

Written by W. WHITEHEAD, Esq.

AGAIN imperial Winter's sway
 Bids the earth and air obey,
 Throws o'er yon hostile lakes his icy bar,
 And, for a while, suspends the rage of war.
 O may it ne'er revive ! — Ye wise,
 Ye just, ye virtuous, and ye brave,
 Leave fell contention to the sons of vice,
 And join your powers to save.
 Enough of slaughter have ye known,
 Ye wayward children of a distant clime;
 For you we heave the kindred groan,
 We pity your misfortune and your crime.
 Stop, parricides, the blow,
 O find another foe !
 And hear a parent's dear request,
 Who longs to clasp you to her yielding breast.
 What change would ye require ? What form
 Ideal, floats in fancy's sky ?
 Ye fond enthusiasts, break the charm,
 And let cool reason clear the mental eye.
 On Britain's well-mix'd state alone
 True liberty has fix'd her throne,
 Where law, not man, an equal rule maintains :
 Can freedom e'er be found where many a tyrant reigns ?
 United, let us all those blessings find,
 The God of nature meant mankind.
 Whate'er of error, ill redrest,
 Whate'er of passion, ill represt,
 Whate'er the wicked have conceiv'd,
 And folly's heedless sons believ'd,
 Let all lie buried in oblivion's flood,
 And our great cement be, the public good.

ODE

ODE for his MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, 1777.

Written by W. WHITEHEAD, Esq.

DRIVEN out from Heav'n's ethereal domes,
On earth infatiate Discord roams,
And spreads her baleful influence far :
On wretched man her scorpion stings
Around th' insidious fury flings,
Corroding every bliss, and sharp'ning every care.
Hence, demon, hence ! in tenfold night
Thy Stygian spells employ,
Nor with thy presence blast the light
Of that auspicious day, which Britain gives to joy.

But come, thou foster deity,
Fairest Unanimity !
Not more fair the star that leads
Bright Aurora's glowing steeds,
Or on Hesper's front that shines
When the garish day declines ;
Bring ghy usual train along,
Festive dance and choral song,
Loose-robd sport, from folly free,
And mirth, chaffis'd by decency.

Enough of war the penfive Muse has sung,
Enough of slaughter trembled on her tongue ;
Fairer prospects let her bring
Than hostile fields and scenes of blood ;
If happier hours are on the wing,
Wherfore damp the coming good ?
If again our tears must flow,
Why forestal the future woe ?
Bright-ey'd Hope, thy pleasing power
Gilds at least the present hour,
Every anxious thought beguiles,
Dresses every face in smiles,
Nor lets one transient cloud the bliss destroy
Of that auspicious day, which Britain gives to joy.

EPILOGUE to the Tragedy of SEMIRAMIS.

Written by R. B. SHERIDAN, Esq.

Spoken by Mrs. YATES.

DISHEVELL'D still, like Afia's bleeding Queen,
Shall I with jests deride the tragic scene ?

1777.

cast eyes—

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To wit, reviving from its author's dust,
Be kind, ye judges, or at least be just ;
For no renew'd hostilities invade
Th' oblivious grave's inviolable shade.
Let one great payment every claim appease,
And him who cannot hurt, allow to please ;
To please by scenes unconscious of offence,
By harmless merriment, or useful sense.
Where aught of bright, or fair, the piece displays,
Approve it only—'tis too late to praise.
If want of skill, or want of care, appear,
Forbear to hisse—the poet cannot hear.
By all, like him, must praise and blame be found,
At best, a fleeting gleam, or empty sound.
Yet then shall calm reflections bless the night,
When liberal pity dignify'd delight ;
When pleasure fir'd her torch at Virtue's flame,
And Mirth was Bounty with a humbler name.

PROLOGUE to the SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL. By Mr. GARRICK.

Spoken by Mr. KING.

A SCHOOL for Scandal ! Tell, me, I beseech you,
Needs there a School—this modish art to teach you ?
No need of lessons now—the knowing think
We might as well be taught to eat and drink.
Caus'd by a dearth of Scandal, should the vapours
Distress our fair-ones—let 'em read the papers :
Their pow'rful mixtures such disorders hit,
Crave what they will, there's *quantum sufficit*.
Lord ! cries my *Lady Wormwood*, (who loves tattle,
And puts much salt and pepper in her prattle)
Just ris'n at noon, all night at cards, when threshing
Strong tea and Scandal—blesst me, how refreshing !
Give me the papers, Lisp—how bold and free—(*sips*).—
“ Last night Lord L.—(*sips*)—was caught with Lady D.”
—For aching heads, what charming sal volatile !—(*sips*).—
If Mrs. B. will still continue flirting,
“ We hope she'll draw, or we'll undraw, the curtain.”
Fine satire, poz—in public all abuse it,
But by ourselves—(*sips*)—our praise we can't refuse it.
Now, Lisp, read you—there at that dash and star—
Yes, Ma'am—“ A certain Lord had best beware,
“ Who lives not twenty miles from Grov'nor-square ;
“ For should he, Lady W— find willing—
“ Wormwood is bitter ;”—Oh ! that's me—the villain !

Throw it behind the fire, and never more
 Let that vile paper come within my door.
 Thus at our friends we laugh, who feel the dart ;
 To reach *our* feelings, we ourselves must smart.
 Is our young bard so young—to think that he
 Can stop the full spring-tide of calumny ?
 Knows he the world so little, and its trade ?
 Alas ! the Devil's sooner rais'd than laid.
 So strong, so swift, the monster, there's no gagging ;
 Cut Scandal's head off—still the tongue is wagging.
 Proud of your smiles, once lavishly bestow'd,
 Again your young Don Quixote takes the road ;
 To shew his gratitude—he draws his pen,
 And seeks this Hydra Scandal in its den ;
 From his fell gripe the frightened fair to save,
 Tho' he should fall—th' attempt must please the brave ;
 For your applause, all perils he would thro'
 He'll fight—that's write—a cavalliero true,
 'Till ev'ry drop of blood—that's ink—is split for you.

EPILOGUE to the SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL.

Written by G. COLMAN, Esq.

And spoken by Mrs. ABINGTON, in the Character of Lady Teazel.

I Who was late so volatile and gay,
 Like a trade wind, must now blow all one way.
 Bend all my cares, my studies, and my vows,
 To one old rusty weather-cock—my spouse ;
 So wills our virtuous bard !—the pyebald Bayes
 Of crying epilogues and laughing plays.
 Old bachelors, who marry smart young wives,
 Learn from our play to regulate your lives !
 Each bring his dear to town—all faults upon her—
 London will prove the very source of honour ;
 Plung'd fairly in, like a cold bath, it serves
 When principles relax, to brace the nerves.
 Such is my case—and yet I must deplore
 That the gay dream of dissipation's o'er ;
 And say, ye fair, was ever lively wife,
 Born with a genius for the highest life,
 Like me, untimely blasted in her bloom,
 Like me, condemn'd to such a dismal doom ?
 Save money—when I just knew how to waste it !
 Leave London—just as I began to taste it !

Mell

Must I then watch the early-crowing cock !
 The melancholy ticking of a clock ?
 In the lone rustic hall for ever bounded,
 With dogs, cats, rats, and squalling brats, surrounded ?
 With humble Curates can I now retire ?
 (While good Sir Peter boozes with the 'Squire,)
 And at back-gammon mortify my soul,
 That pants for loo, or flutters at a vole ?
 Seven's the main !—dear sound !—that must expire,
 Lost at hot-cockles round a Christmas fire !
 The transient hour of fashion too soon spent,
 " Farewel the tranquil mind, farewel content !
 " Farewel the plumed head—the cushion'd sete,
 " That takes the cushion from its proper seat !
 " The spirit-stirring drum !—card-drums I mean——
 " Spadille, odd trick, pam, basto, king and queen !
 " And you, ye knockers, that with brazen throat
 " The welcome visitor's approach denote,
 " Farewel !—all quality of high renown,
 " Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious town,
 " Farewel !—your revels I partake no more,
 " And Lady Teazel's occupation's o'er."
 —All this I told our bard—he smil'd, and said 'twas clear
 I ought to play deep tragedy next year :
 Meanwhile he drew wise morals from his play,
 And in these solemn periods stalk'd away :
 " Blest were the fair, like you her faults who stopt,
 " And clos'd her follies, when the curtain dropt !
 " No more in vice or error to engage,
 " Or play the fool at large on life's great stage !".



E P I T A P H., by Mr. GARRICK, on PAUL WHITEHEAD, Esq; who
 was born Jan. 25, 1710, and died Dec. 30, 1774.

HERE lies a man misfortune could not bendl,*
 Prais'd as a Poet, honour'd as a friend !
 Tho' his youth kindled with the love of fame,
 Within his bosom glow'd a brighter flame !
 Whene'er his friends with sharp afflictions bled,
 And from the wounded deer the herd was fled,
 Whitehead stood forth, the healing balm applied,
 Nor quitted their distresses—till he died,

D. G.

* Alluding, it is imagined, to his long imprisonment for Mr. Fleetwood.

*To a LADY who loved Dancing.**Written by the late Judge BURKE.*

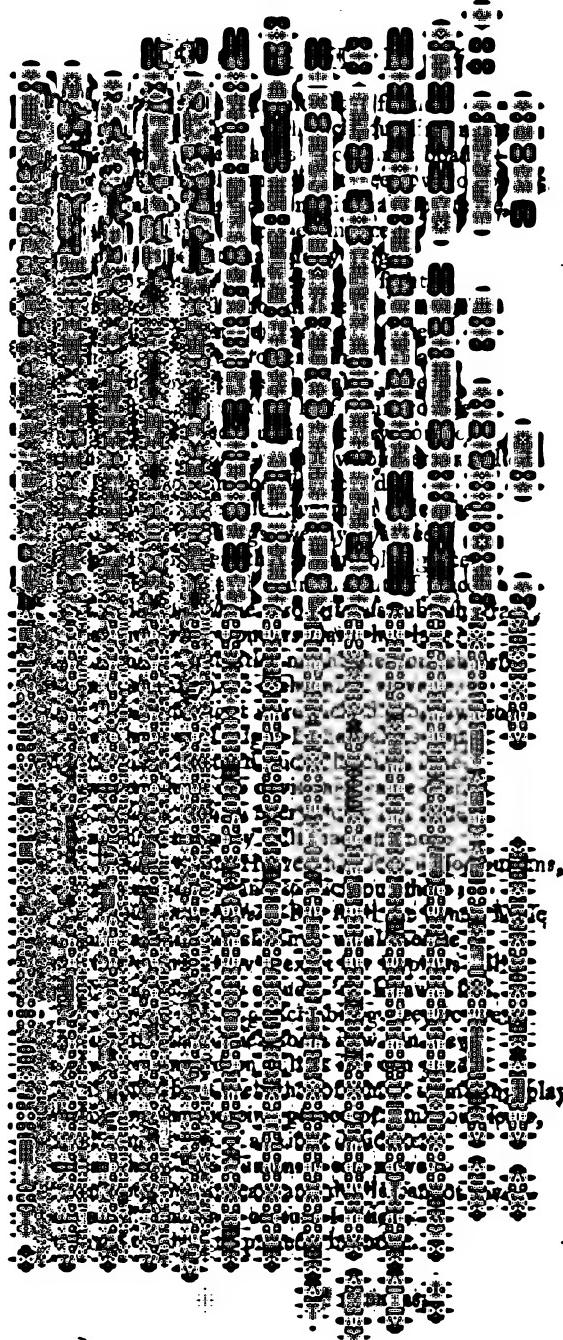
MA Y I presume, in humble lays,
My dancing fair, thy steps to praise &—
While this grand maxim I advance,
That all the world is but a *dance*.
That human-kind, both man and woman,
Do dance, is evident and common;
David himself, that God-like King,
We know could *dance* as well as *sing*:
Folks who at Court would keep their ground,
Must *dance* the year attendance round:
Whole nations *dance*; gay frisking France
Has led the nation many a *dance*;
And some believe both France and Spain
Resolve to take us out again.
All Nature is *one ball*, we find;
The water *dances* to the wind;
The sea itself, at night and noon,
Rises and capers to the moon;
The moon, around the earth does tread;
A Cheshire round in bottom red;
The earth and planets round the sun
Dance; nor will their *dance* be done
Till Nature in one mass is blended;
Then we may say, the *ball* is ended.

BATH; its BEAUTIES and AMUSEMENTS.

Parve (sic invide) fise me libet ibis in igem.

OThou, who erst from Baia's smoking plain,
Didst to these rocks transfer thy healing reign?
Lord of each stagnant: and sulphureous ditch,
Great foe to vegetation and the itch!
Assist my song, inspire my votive lays,
For Bath demands, and Bath deserves my praise.
Bath, the divine *Hyggea*'s favour'd child,
Where Pigs were once, and Princes now are boil'd,
Where Arts and Elegance have fix'd their seat,
And Graces ply, like chairmen, in the streets.
Where free from ling'ring Education's plan,
By which the brute is polish'd into man,
We learn a shorter and more pleasing road,
And grow (like beef) by stewing—Alamode.

'Tis



But soft—behold new game appears in view—
 Observe that busy, fluttering, noisy crew!
 They're all Apollo's sons from top to bottom—
 Tho' poor Apollo wonders where he got them!
 See how they hurry to that hallow'd shrine—
 That sacred seat of Sappho and the Nine;
 Where plac'd on quarries of the purest stone,
 The red brick shines unrival'd and alone;
 Bless us—what toil, what cost has been bestow'd,
 To give that prospect—of the London road!
 Our admiration knows not where to fix—
 Here a cascade, and there a coach and six!
 Within a mystic vase with laurel crown'd—
 Hence ye profane!—tis consecrated ground!
 Here Sappho's hands the last sad rites dispense
 To mangled poetry and murder'd sense;
 Here jests were heard, “at which even Juno smil'd,
 “When crack'd by Jove magnificently mild *,”
 Jests, so sublimely void of sense and thought,
 Poor simple mortals cannot find them out;
 Rhime,—like Scotch cousins,—in such order plac'd,
 The first scarce claims acquaintance with the last!

But see, at length the cold dull scene to cheer,
 Kind Nature bids her Jerningham appear.
 See on the bed of sickness and despair,
 Eliza's form and Yorick's alter'd air;
 The last tear glitters in his sleepless eye,
 While on his lip hangs quiv'ring the cold sigh!
 At ev'ry pang our tears unbidden flow,
 Till the heart sickens at the pictur'd woe.
 But now 'tis past—the dream is done away,
 And banish'd Dulness reassumes her sway.
 Go then, my Muse! to her direct thy lays,
 Be dull, be noisy, and expect the bays.
 No more shall merit strive that prize to win,
 “She was a stranger, and was taken in †.”
 Go—with M'Pherson in Teutonic roar,
 With Mallet whine, with blust'ring K— roar;
 Retail like Cumberland the holy writ,
 And bid the Ten Commandments pass for wit.
 Should all Parnassus 'gainst thy efforts join,
 Vain were the force of Phœbus and the Nine;
 E'en Sappho's self before thy pow'r shall bend,
 And crown thy nonsense—tho' she can't commend.

* ————— Jove magnificently mild,
 Crack'd his blythe jests, at which e'en Juno smil'd. *Judgment of Apollo.*
 † Sappho's speech to Lord Abingdon.

*The END of WRITING; an Imitation of some French Verses:
Addressed to Authors.*

THESE fair sheets of *foolscap* which thus ye are soiling,
 Still cutting, and scribbling, and blotting, and spoiling ;
 This paper, I say, had an honest beginning,
 Being born of good flax, and begotten by spinning ;
 To the loom in due time, and the rag-shop it past,
 Into leaves of fine *foolscap* converted at last,
 Now, seiz'd by the Wits, it incessantly teems
 Or with visions in verse, or political dreams ;
 Till his Worship, just rous'd from his afternoon's doze,
 With a pipe of Virginia regaleth his nose ;
 Then twisted, and twirl'd, and condemn'd to the taper,
 In a puff is consum'd this unfortunate paper.

It is thus, my good friends, that Truth setteth before ye,
 Of your boasted employment—the tragical story :
 Your choicest productions, whate'er be their name,
 Will end, at the best, in the vapour of fame :
 That vapour, my friends, do ye think it will stay ?
 —Like his *Worship's* last *wbiff*, it will vanish away.

VERSES sent by a Gentleman to his Lady with a Present of a Knife.

A Knife, dear girl, cuts love, they say ;
 Mere modish love, perhaps, it may ;
 For any tool of any kind,
 Can sep'rate what was never join'd.
 The knife that cuts our love in two
 Will have much tougher work to do :
 Must cut your softness, worth and spirit,
 Down to the vulgar size of merit ;
 To level your's with modern taste,
 Must cut a world of sense to waste ;
 And from your single beauty's store,
 Clip what would dizen out a score.
 The self-same blade from me must sever
 Sensation, judgment, sight for ever ;
 All mem'ry of endearments past,
 All hope of comforts long to last,
 All that makes fourteen years with you
 A summer ;—and a short one too :
 All that affection feels and fears
 When hours, without you, seem like years.—
 Till that be done (and I'd as soon
 Believe this knife will chip the moon)

Accept

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Accept my present undeterr'd,
And leave their proverbs to the herd.
If in a kiss—delicious treat !—
Your tips acknowledge the receipt ;
Love, fond of such substantial fare,
And proud to play the glutton there,
All thoughts of cutting will disdain,
Save only—cut and come again.

BROLOGUE *spoken by Sir GEORGE BEAUMONT, Bart. at the Opening
of the new Theatre at North Afton, Oxon.*

Written by Wm. WHITEHEAD, Esq.

SURE some infection hovers in the air !
For every man and woman is turn'd play'r !
No age escapes it—antiquated dames
And reverend Rômeos breathe fictitious flames ;
Pale misses antedate love's future force
And school boy Richards lisp " a horse a horse !"
No rank escapes it—with a Garrick art
Right Honourable Hamlets stare and start ;
And Lady Belvideras every where,
Pat the starch'd handkerchief, and squeeze a tear.
What wonder then, in this theatric age,
If we too catch the epidemic rage ?
If with the rest we play the mimic's part,
And drive to our own barn the Thespian cart ;
For we confess this pageant pomp you see
Was once a barn—the seat of industry ;
And time may come, when all this glittering show
Of canvas, paint, and plaster, shall lie low ;
These gorgeous palaces, yon cloud-capt scene,
This barn itself, may be a barn again :
The spirit-stirring drum may cease to roar,
The prompter's whistle may be heard no more ;
But echoing sounds of rustic toil prevail,
The winnowing hiss and clapping of the flail ;
Hither once more may unhou'sd vagrants fly,
To shun th' inclement blast and peiting fly ;
On Lear's own straw may gypsies rest their head,
And trulls lie snug in Desdemona's bed.

JUPITER and MERCURY. *A Fable.*

Written some Time since by D. G——, Esq.

H ERE, *Hermes*, says *Jove*, who with nectar was mellow,
Go fetch me some clay—I will make an odd fellow ;—
Right and wrong shall be jumbled,—much gold and some dross ;
Without cause be he pleas'd, without cause be he cross ;

Be sure, as I work, to throw in contradictions,
 A great love of truth, yet a mind torn'd to fictions ;
 Now mix these ingredients, which warm'd in the baking,
 Turn to *keaping* and *gaming*, *religion* and *raking*.
 With the love of a wench, let his writings be chaste ;
 Tip his tongue with strange matter, his pen with fine taste ;
 That the rake and the poet o'er all may prevail,
 Set fire to the head, and set fire to the tail :
 For the joy of each sex, on the world I'll bestow it,
 This *Scholar*, *Rake*, *Christian*, *Dupe*, *Gamester* and *Poet* :
 Tho' a mixture so odd, he shall merit great fame,
 And among brother mortals—be *GOLDSMITH* his name !
 When on earth this strange meteor no more shall appear,
 You, *Hermes*, shall fetch him,—to make us sport here !

D. G.

On Dr. GOLDSMITH's CHARACTERISTICAL COOKERY.

A Jeu D'Esprit.

By D. G. Esq.

ARE these the choice dishes the Doctor has sent us ?
 Is this the great poet whose works so content us ?
 This Goldsmith's fine feast, who has written fine books ?
 Heaven sends us good meat—but the Devil sends cooks.

D. G.

LINES from Dr. BARNARD, Dean of Derry, to Dr. GOLDSMITH
and Mr. CUMBERLAND.

DEAR Noll and dear Dick, since you've made us so metry,
 Accept the best thanks of the poor Dean of Derry !
 Tho' I here must confess, that your meat and your wine
 Are not quite to my taste, tho' they're both very fine ;
 For sherry's a liquor monastic, you own ;
 Now there's nothing I hate so—as drinking alone—
 It may do for your monks, or your curates and vicars,
 But, for my part, I'm fond of more sociable liquors.
 Your ven'son's delicious—tho' too sweet your sauce is—
Sed non ego maculis offendar paucis.
 So soon as you please, you may serve me your dish-up,
 But instead of your sherry, pray make me a—*Bishop* !

Bishop

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Bishop CORBET to his Son VINCENT CORBET, two Years of Age.*

W H A T I shall leave thee none can tell,
But all shall say I wish you well ;
I wish thee, Vin, before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghostly health :
Not too much wealth nor wit come to thee—
Too much of either may undo thee.
I wish thee learning, not for show,
Enough for to instruct and know ;
Not such as gentlemen require,
To prate at table and at fire.
I wish thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes and his places.
I wish thee friends, and one at Court,
Not to build on, but to support ;
To keep thee not in doing many
Oppressions, but from suff'ring any.
I wish thee peace in all thy ways,
Nor lazy nor contentious days ;
And when thy soul and body part,
As innocent as now thou art.

CHARACTERS of Mr. GRANVILLE, (*Nephew to Lord Lansdown,*) and of WILLIAM HARRISON, Esq; from an Epistle of Dr. YOUNG's, not yet inserted among his Works.

Y E T still one bliss, one glory, I forbear,
A darling friend whom near your heart you wear :
That lovely youth, my Lord, whom you must blame,
That I grow thus familiar with your name.
He's friendly, open, in his conduct nice,
Nor serve these virtues to atone for vice :
Vice he has none, or such as none will less,
But friends indeed, good-nature in excess.
You cannot boast the merit of a choice
In making him your own, 'twas Nature's voice,
Which call'd too loud by man to be withstood,
Pleading a tie far nearer than of blood ;
Similitude of manners, such a mind,
As makes you less the wonder of mankind.
Such ease his common converse recommends,
As he ne'er felt a passion, but his friends ;

* Made Bishop of Norwich, in 1632.

Yet

Yet fix'd his principles, beyond the force
Of all beneath the sun to bend his course *.

Thus the tall cedar, beautiful and fair,
Flatters the motions of the wanton air ;
Salutes each passing breeze with head-reelin'd ;
The pliant branches dance in every wind :
But fix'd the stem her upright state maintaine,
And all the fury of the North disdains.

How are you bless'd in such a matchless friend !
Alas ! with me the joys of friendship end ;
O Garrison ! I must, I will complain ;
Tears soothe the soul's distress, tho' shed in vain :
Didst thou return, and bless thy native shore
With welcome peace, and is thy friend no more ?—
Thy task was early done, and I must own
Death kind to thee, but, ah ! to thee alone.
But 'tis in me a vanity to mourn,
The sorrows of the great thy tomb adorn ;
Strafford and Bolingbroke the loss perceive,
They grieve, and make thee envy'd in thy grave.

With aching heart, and a foreboding mind,
I night to day in painful journey join'd,
When first inform'd of his approaching fate,
But reach'd the partner of my soul too late † ;
'Twas past ; his cheek was cold ; that tuneful tongue
Which lis charm'd with its melodious song,
Now languish'd, wanted strength to speak his pain,
Scarce rais'd a feeble groan, and funk again :
Each art of life, in which he bore a part,
Shot like an arrow thro' my bleeding heart.
To what serv'd all his promis'd wealth and pow'r,
But more to load that most unhappy hour ?

Yet still prevail'd the greatness of his mind ;
That, not in health, or life itself, confin'd,
Felt thro' his mortal pangs Britannia's peace,
Mounted to joy, and smil'd in Death's embrace.

His spirit how just ready to resign,
No longer now his own, no longer mine,
He grasps my hand, his swimming eye-balls roll,
My hand he grasps, and enters in my soul ;
Then with a groan—support me, O ! beware
Of holding worth, however great, too dear !

* His lordship's nephew, who took orders.

† Swift gives a similar affecting account of his calling on him *too late* in his *Journal to Stella*.

Extract from MASON's English Garden.

NOR is that Cot, of which fond Fancy draws
 This casual picture, alien from our theme.
 Revisit it at morn ; its opening latch,
 Tho' Penury and Toil within reside,
 Shall pour thee forth a youthful progeny
 Glowing with health and beauty : (such the dower
 Of equal heav'n) see how the ruddy tribe
 Throng round the threshold, and, with vacant gaze,
 Salute thee ; call the loiterers into use,
 And form of these thy fence, the living fence
 That graces what it guards. Thou think'st, perchance,
 That, skill'd in nature's heraldry, thy art
 Has, in the limits of yon fragrant tuft,
 Marshall'd each rose, that to the eye of June
 Spreads its peculiar crimson ; do not err,
 The loveliest still is wanting ; the fresh rose
 Of Innocence, it blossoms on their cheek,
 And, lo, to thee they bear it ! striving each,
 In panting race, who first shall reach the lawn,
 Proud to be call'd thy shepherds. Want, alas !
 Has o'er their little limbs her livery hung,
 In many a tatter'd fold, yet still those limbs
 Are shapely ; their rude locks start from their brow,
 Yet, on that open brow, its dearest throne,
 Sits sweet Simplicity, Ah, clothe the troop
 In such a russet garb as best befits
 Their pastoral office ; let the leathern scrip
 Swing at their side, tip thou their crook with steel,
 And braid their hat with rushes, then to each
 Assign his station ; at the close of eve,
 Be it their care to pen in hurdled cote
 The flock, and when the matin prime returns,
 Their care to set them free ; yet watching still
 The liberty they lend, oft shalt thou hear
 Their whistle shrill, and oft their faithful dog
 Shall with obedient barkings fright the flock
 From wrong or robbery. The livelong day
 Meantime rolls lightly o'er their happy heads ;
 They bark on sunny hillocks, or disport
 In rustic pastime, while that loveliest grace,
 Which only lives in action unrestrain'd
 To ev'ry simple gesture lends a charm.

A NEW

NEW YEAR'S ODE, To Queen Mary, 1562. The Part,
ALEXANDER SCOTT.

To Queen Mary, when she first came Home.

WELCUM, illustrat lady, and our Quene,
Welcum our Lyone with the Floure-dy-Lyce ;
Welcum our Thistle with the Lorane Grene,
Welcum our rubent rose upon the ryce :
Welcum our Jem and joyfull Gentryce,
Welcum our Beil of Albion to beir ;
Welcum our pleasand Princes maist of prayce ;
God give you grace agains this gude NEW YIER.

Found on the first four Vertues *Cardinall*,
On Wisdom, Justice, Force, and Temperance,
Applaud to prudent folk, and principall
Of verteous life, thy glory to advance ;

Wey Justice equal with Discrepance !
Strengthen thy State, with stedfastnes to steer,
To temper Tyne with true continuance,
God give thee grace agains this gude NEW YIER.

Fresch, fulgent, flurift, fragrant flower formose !
Lantern to lufe, of lady's lamp and lot :
Cherry maist sweet ! chief carbuncle and choise :
Chaft smilng Sovraign ! shining beautie spot !

Blest ! beautifull ! benygn ! and beft begot !
To this indyte please to incline thine eir,
Sent by thy simble servant, Sanders Scott,
Greiting, God grant thy Grace a gude NEW YIER.

EPITAPH on a Lady, who died of a Consumption at Bristol Wells:
By her Husband.

WHOE'ER, like me, with trembling angish brings
His heart's whole treasure to fair Bristol's springs ;
Whoe'er, like me, to foote the disease and pain,
Shall pour thofe salutary springs in vain ;
Condemn'd, like me, to hear the faint reply,
To mark the fading cheek, the sinking eye,
From the chill'd brow to wipe the damps of death,
And watch in dumb despair the short'ning breath ;
If chance directs him to this akeles line,
Let the sad mourner know his pangs were mine :

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Ordain'd to lose the partner of my breast,
Whose virtue warm'd me, and whose beauty blest,
Frath'd ev'ry tie, that binds the soul, to prove,
Her duty friendship; and her friendship love—
But yet remembering that the parting sigh,
Appoints the just to slumber, not to die,
The starting tear I check'd, I kiss'd the rod,
And not to earth resign'd her,—but to God.

SONNET by Mr. WARTON, *To the River Lodon.*

AH! what a weary race my feet have run,
Since first I trod thy banks: with alders crown'd,
And thought my way was all through fairy ground,
Beneath thy azure sky, and golden sun:
Where first my Muse to lisp her notes begun!
While penitive memory traces back the round,
Which fills the varied interval between;
Much pleasure, more of sorrow marks the scene.
Sweet native stream! whose skies and suns so pure
No more return, to cheer my evening road!
Yet still one joy remains, that not obscure,
Nor useless, all my vacant days have flow'd,
From youth's gay dawn to manhood's prime mature;
Nor with the Muse's laurel unbeflow'd—

The two following additional ODES of the First Book of Horae made their first Appearance in the Gentleman's Magazine, and are there said to have been lately discovered in the Palatine Library, and communicated by GASPER PALLAVICINI, Sub-Librarian.

CARMINUM, LIB. I. ODE 32. *Ad Julium Florum.*

DISCOLOR grandem gravat uva ramum;
Instat Autumnus: glacialis anno
Mox Hyems volvente aderit, capillis
Horrida canis.

Jam licet Nymphas trepidè fugaces
Insequi, lento pede detinendas;
Et labris captæ, simulantis iram,
Ocula figi.

Jam licet vino madidos vetusto
De die lætum recitare carmen;
Flore, si te des hilarem, licebit
Semere noctem.

Jan

Jam vide Curas Aquilone sparsas !
 Mens viri fortis sibi constat, utrum
 Serius lethi, citiusve trifis
 Advolat hora,

QU. HORATII PLACCI, Ode 40. Ad Librum suum.

DULCI libello nemo sodalium
 Forsan meorum charior extitit:
 De te merenti quid fidelis,
 Officium Domino rependas?

Tu Roma cautum territat ardual,
 Depopla vanos invidiae metus;
 Urbisque fidens dignitati,
 Per plateas animosus audi.

En quo furentes Eumenidum chorus
 Disjecit almo fulmine Jupiter!
 Huic ara stabit, fama cantu
 Perpetuo celebranda crescat.

CHARTAM unicam hanç Libri certè vetustissimi in Bibliothecâ Pa-
 latinâ repartam accuratisq[ue] transcripti, verbum de verbo, et literam
 de literâ. Chartam ipsam in Archivis tutissimè recondidi; transcriptionem
 tibi amoris ergo committo. Clarissimè apparet è titulis superne paginae
 notis, aliisque iudiciis lacerata excepitamque ex aliquâ editione
 Horatianâ olim fuisse, et forsitan primâ, quando nusquam alibi, vel
 antea has Qdas in memoriam revocare possum. Mecum ergo literatos
 omnes gratulari yidebitur, recuperatis his elegantissimis carminibus Ho-
 ratianis. Vale & fruere.

GASPAR PALLAVICINI,
 PALAT. BIBL. SUB-LIBR.

An ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1777.

The History of America. By William Robertson, D. D. Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland. 2 Vols. Quarto.

THERE have been few literary works which excited the curiosity, or raised the expectation of the public, in a greater degree than the present. The nature of the subject, the high reputation of the writer, with the long and general knowledge of the design, all concurred in calling forth the attention of the learned and curious at home and abroad. Such a situation would have been alarming, if not dangerous, to an author less secure of satisfying that expectation which he had raised, and of doing justice to the interesting subject which he had undertaken.

The subject, indeed, demanded all the writer's abilities; but it afforded, at the same time, a full scope to his genius. It represents splendid, romantic, and poetical scenes. All the marvellous of ancient fable, excepting when it departs from nature and reason, is here realized or exceeded. The great events of history are blended with the adventure of travel, and all the surprize, novelty, and pleasure of discovery. Nature here appears in her grandest manner. All her works are bold,

great, and magnificent. Her oceans are boundless, her mountains stupendous, her rivers appear like great arms of the ocean, and her lakes are large seas of fresh water.

With respect to our own species, the discovery, indeed, is not flattering to our vanity; it is not, however, the less interesting. We are brought acquainted with man in every state of his existence. We view, at this day, what our ancestors once were. We see the first rudiments of society, and behold nations in every stage of their progress, from infancy to adolescence. Our own continent supplies the rest. The history of man was still imperfect, and the memorials of his transactions of a late date. He was far advanced in society and cultivation, before he was capable of making any observation on his condition, or of transmitting his ideas or transactions to posterity. Poets, philosophers, and politicians, had in vain exerted their genius, wisdom, and talents, to describe or discover the state of simplicity, innocence, and nature, the origin of society, and the source of laws. As they all wandered in the dark, their songs and theories were equally erroneous. That chasm is now filled up. That age, which was supposed to be golden, we now behold; and discover that it

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it affords only a state of weakness, imperfection, and wretchedness, equally void of innocence, and incapable of happiness. If we find man without property, and feeding on acorns, we also find him a sullen, suspicious, solitary, and unhappy being; a creature endued with few good, and cursed with numberless ill qualities; unjust and cruel from nature and habit, treacherous on system, implacable in revenge, and incapable of gratitude, friendship, or natural affection.

The consequences attending the discovery of the New World, are among the most important, extensive, and, from their nature, must be among the most permanent, of those produced by any event in the history of mankind. It has produced such a revolution in the affairs of both the hemispheres, that it may not be easy to determine which has undergone the greater alteration. If the cultivation, arts, and violence of the Europeans, has changed the face of Nature, thinned the race of man, and established new varieties of the species in the one, the torrents of gold and silver poured out by America, the variety, bulk and quantity of new commodities which it affords, the length and nature of the navigation, the wonderful commerce which sprung from these circumstances, with the new interests and connections formed by colonial jurisdiction, has caused a wonderful change in the manners, habits, modes of life, and state of policy, in the other. As new sources of power were discovered, all ancient systems of policy were of course deranged or done away. The comparative political importance, the

relative strength of nations, no longer depend on their ancient extent or properties. Commerce has pervaded the globe, and has changed the affairs of men, and the state of nations, almost every where. In a word, whatever America originally suffered from the power and violence of the Europeans, it seems not now improbable, that she will to all future times have a great share in influencing the affairs, and perhaps in controlling the destiny of Europe.

Such was the extent and importance of the subject that was to be delineated. The number, variety, and richness of the materials, did not, however, lessen the difficulty of the execution. It required the ability of a great master, to arrange the different parts of this magnificent picture in their proper places, to bestow on each its due proportion of light, shade and colouring, and to oblige the smallest to contribute its exact share, and no more, to the great effect of the whole. The delineation of human nature in such a variety of new situations, and the nice discrimination of those shades that mingle imperceptibly in so many different gradations of savage life, required no common combination of qualities. Besides a great degree of penetration and sagacity, and an extensive knowledge of man in his artificial state, this part of the subject required a mind turned, and accustomed to philosophical disquisition, an acute, critical, and discriminating spirit, with a temper capable of the most patient investigation and research.

It will be sufficient to say, that our author was equal to the undertaking, and that this history of

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America will not be found at all inferior to the former works of this celebrated writer. We find the pen of the writer equal to the dignity, and suited to the nature of his subject; and whilst the majesty of history is blended with the truth, philanthropy, and discernment of philosophy, the whole is enriched and beautified with a manly and flowing eloquence.

Our author's industry, in procuring all possible information relative to his subject, deserves much commendation. The celebrity of his name, and the high rank he holds in the republic of letters, greatly facilitated his success in this research. Spain contains a large stock of valuable materials, consisting in scarce books and manuscripts. Queries too were addressed to persons of distinction, who had held eminent offices in the New World, and in many particulars satisfactory answers were received. No assistance from public authority was, however, afforded; the court still proceeding in that narrow system of policy, of endeavouring to keep all matters relative to America wrapt up in silence and obscurity. The courts of Vienna and Petersburg were more liberal, and entered with good will, and a becoming grace, into the views of literature. He has also received liberal aids and communications from men of letters of different nations. As Dr. Robertson has upon many occasions departed from the accounts given by former historians, places characters and events in a new light, and relates facts, which either contradict, or seem to have been unknown to them, he thought it necessary to acquaint the public with

the sources of his information. For this purpose, besides the obligations he acknowledges to particular persons, he has subjoined to the second volume a catalogue of the Spanish books which he consulted.

We doubt not but other readers have participated in the regret we experienced, upon discovering that the present work is only a part of the whole, and that the two volumes before us contain no more than an account of the discovery of the New World, and of the progress of the Spanish arms and colonies. The present state of the British colonies, induced our author to alter his resolution upon this subject. He was of opinion, and with very good reason, that while they are engaged in civil war with Great Britain, inquiries and speculations concerning ancient forms of policy and laws, which now no longer exist, could not be interesting. That the attention and expectation of mankind are now turned towards their future condition. And that in whatever manner this unhappy contest may terminate, a new order of things must arise in North America, and its affairs assume another aspect. He waits, he says, with the solicitude of a good citizen, until the ferment subsides, and regular government be re-established: when he will return to that part of his work, in which he had already made some progress. The history of the British colonies, together with that of Portuguese America, and of the settlements made by the several nations of Europe in the West-India islands, will complete our author's plan, and be the subject of the remaining history.

Dr. Robertson has divided the present

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present history into eight books, and has added a copious and most valuable collection of notes and illustrations at the end of each volume.

In the first book he takes a most comprehensive, learned, and accurate view, of the progress of navigation from the earliest ages, tracing all that is known of its history, and of the attempts or improvements made by the Egyptians, Phenicians, Jews, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans. In stating the revival of commerce and navigation by the modern nations of Europe, he delineates the causes which led to that spirit of discovery, that operated so strongly in the fifteenth century. Our author attributes much of this to the Crusades, which brought the Europeans acquainted with the western parts of Asia, to the wars of the Portuguese with the Moors of Barbary, and, above all, to the discovery of the mariners compass. Having traced the operation of these causes with equal accuracy and brevity, through the great and spirited efforts of the Portuguese in exploring the coasts of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, we are led almost to the opening of their last great effort, in the discovery of the New World, and of the passage by sea to the East Indies.

The second book gives a curious sketch of the history of Columbus; proceeds with him to the discovery of the New World; relates his different voyages thither; his establishment of the first Spanish colony in Hispaniola; and after recounting his various adventures, and unparalleled hardships and sufferings, concludes with his death.

It also includes the other great discovery of the same period, the first voyage of the Portuguese to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama.

The third book contains an account of various discoveries and settlements made by the Spaniards; of their wars, cruelties, and the extraordinary diminution of the Indians under their subjection; of the conquest of Cuba, discovery of the South Sea, and preparation for the invasion of Mexico.

In the fourth book, which concludes the first volume, our author makes a pause in his narrative, to take a view of the state of the New World at its first discovery. In this he considers America, with respect to its extent, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view, the favourable circumstances attending its form, in regard to commerce, with its climate, soil, animals, and various natural properties. He enters into the enquiry how America was peopled; examines the various theories upon that subject; and lays down that which appears to himself the most probable. He then proceeds to a most curious and philosophical enquiry into the manners, policy, condition, and character of the various savage tribes which were scattered over the continent and islands of the New World, reserving the state of the more civilized inhabitants of the two empires of Mexico and Peru, to be the subject of future investigation. In this enquiry, he adopts an arrangement of the subject equally simple and luminous, and places it under the following heads of consideration.—The bodily constitution of the Amer-

Americans—The qualities of their minds—Their domestic state—Their political state and institutions—Their system of war and public security—The arts with which they were acquainted—Their religious ideas and institutions—Such singular and detached customs as are not reducible to any of the former heads—With a general review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

The fifth book includes the history of the conquest of Mexico, or New Spain, by Cortes, and contains many curious particulars of that enterprizing conqueror, who, with very extraordinary abilities, and uncommon qualities, possessed a greatness of soul, which seems incompatible with those cruelties that so much disgrace his character.

The sixth book gives an account of the conquest of Peru, by Pizarro and his associates. These inhuman subverters of the empire of the Incas, destitute of the genius and greatness of mind of Cortes, exceeded him so far in cruelty, that their barbarous actions, if they cannot lessen the enormity, at least take away from the effect produced by the recital of the worst parts of his conduct. These cruelties appear the more lamentable, as the manners, disposition, government, the civil and religious institutions of the Peruvians, were moderate, mild, and equitable; far removed from the harshness of government, fierceness of disposition, gloomy superstitions, and bloody rites of the Mexicans.

In the seventh book, Dr. Robertson takes a curious and valuable view of the institutions and manners of the Mexicans and Pe-

ruvians; of their policy in its various branches; progress in civilization; genius of their religion; singular effects produced by the policy of the Peruvian monarchy being founded on religion; peculiar state of property among the Peruvians; their public works and arts; roads; bridges; buildings; and unwarlike spirit. This book and the fourth will be considered by readers of a philosophical turn, as the most valuable parts of the whole, and are undoubtedly a great acquisition to our knowledge of the history of mankind:

In the eighth book, which to politicians and men of the world will appear as curious, and perhaps more interesting than any of the former, our author gives an accurate account of the Spanish system of colonization, and of the interior government and present state of Spanish America.

Such is the comprehensive plan, and judicious arrangement, of the present work. It has been regretted, and indeed is an omission which cannot fail to excite some surprize, that Dr. Robertson has taken no notice of the eloquence or poetry of the Americans, which are among the most distinguished properties of mankind in a state of savage nature. This omission is the more extraordinary, as the North-American Indians are celebrated for a peculiar kind of eloquence.

Some of this ingenious author's theories will undoubtedly be controverted. It is impossible that mankind should ever agree in matters of mere opinion. But these theories, however ingenious and rational, are still mere theories, and are so stated. They are not laid

laid down as dogmas. They are too numerous not to admit of mistakes in some of their parts. And if they were totally free from error, it is probable that the same, or an equal degree, of difference of opinion, would still continue. Upon the whole, there cannot be a doubt, that the work before us will ever hold a high rank among the histories of mankind.

We shall conclude our observations with an extract from this work, and as we have already, in another part, given several curious particulars from our author, of the manners of the savage tribes which were scattered over the continent of America, we shall now lay before our readers some sketches from the account which he gives of the state of improvement, in the comparatively highly civilized empires of Mexico and Peru.

"The right of private property was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. Among several savage tribes, we have seen, that the idea of a title to the separate and exclusive possession of any object was hardly known; and that among all, it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between real and moveable possessions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one person to another by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a free man had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The ti-

tle of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common storehouse, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *Calpulli*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.

"The number and greatness of the cities in the Mexican empire is one of the most striking circumstances, that distinguish it from those nations in America which we have already described. While society continues in a rude state, the wants of men are so few, and they stand so little in need of mutual assistance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their industry at the same time is so imperfect, that it cannot secure subsistence for any considerable number of families settled in one spot. They live dispersed, at this period, from choice as well as from necessity, or

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at the utmost assemble in small hamlets on the banks of the river which supplies them with food, or on the border of some plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accustomed to this mode of habitation among all the savage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were astonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives residing in towns of such extent as resembled those of Europe. In the first fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the second or third size, to the cities of greatest note in their own country. When, afterwards, they visited in succession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itself, their amazement increased so much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populousness bordering on what is incredible. Even where there is leisure for observation, and no interest that leads to deceive, conjectural estimates of the number of people in cities are extremely loose, and usually much exaggerated. It is not surprising, then, that Cortes and his compa-

nions, little accustomed to such computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and have raised their descriptions considerably above truth. For this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they have done; but still they will appear to be cities of such consequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made some considerable progress in the arts of social life*.

"The separation of professions among the Mexicans is a symptom of improvement no less remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of society, are so few and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. The savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful

* The early Spanish writers were so hasty and inaccurate in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with any degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply, that it was not inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houses, or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion. Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 43; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, asserts, that there were a hundred and twenty thousand houses or families in Mexico, and consequently about six hundred thousand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramuño, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

than

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than his own. Time must have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art become so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education is requisite towards forming the artificer to expertness in contrivance and workmanship. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Among the Mexicans, this separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a considerable extent. The functions of the mason, the weaver, the goldsmith, the painter, and of several other crafts, were carried on by different persons. Each was regularly instructed in his calling. To it alone his industry was confined; and by assiduous application to one object, together with the persevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatness and perfection in work far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the stated markets held in the cities, their mutual wants were supplied, in such orderly intercourse as characterises an improved state of society.

"The distinction of ranks established in the Mexican empire is the next circumstance that merits attention. In surveying the savage tribes of America, we observed, that consciousness of equality, and impatience of subordination, are sentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During

peace, the authority of a superior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition resulting from it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that it can be acquired. The form of society was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people were in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayegues*, nearly resembled in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were considered, during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labour attached to the soil. The *Mayegues* could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled; from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform several kinds of servile work. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigour of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed to be of so little value, that a person who killed one of those slaves was not subjected to any punishment. Even those considered as freemen, were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of these titles, like their lands, descended from father to son in perpetual

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tual succession. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of personal distinction. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extensive power and supreme dignity. Thus the distinction of ranks was completely established, in a line of regular subordination, reaching from the highest to the lowest member of the community. Each of these knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign, they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience of their sovereign, entered bare-footed, in mean garments, and, as his slaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This respect due from inferiors to those above them in rank, was established with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with their language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtesy. The stile and appellations, used in the intercourse between equals, would have been so unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an insult. It is only in societies, which time and the institution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find such an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and such nice attention paid to their various rights.

"The spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to subordination, was prepared for submitting to monarchical government. But the descriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overthrown them, are so inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their constitution with any precision. Sometimes they represent the monarchs of Mexico as absolute, deciding according to their pleasure, with respect to every operation of the state. On other occasions, we discover the traces of established customs and laws, framed in order to circumscribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which seem to be opposed as barriers against its encroachments. This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the ancient system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded their laws, violated their privileges, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves. The chiefs, or nobles of the first rank, submitted to the yoke with such reluctance, that, from impatience to shake it off, and hope of recovering their original rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power against their domestic oppressor. It is not then under the reign of Montezuma, but under those of his predecessors, that we can discover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it seems to have subsisted

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sisted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be distinguished by the name of nobility, formed the chief and most respectable order in the state. They were of various ranks, as has already been observed, and their honours were acquired and transmitted in different manners. Their number seems to have been great. According to an author accustomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thousand people; and subordinate to these, there were about three thousand nobles of a lower class. The territories belonging to the chiefs Tezcuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to those of the Mexican monarch. Each of these possessed complete territorial jurisdiction, and levied taxes from their own vassals. But all followed the standard of Mexico in war, serving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and most of them paid tribute to its monarch as their superior lord.

"In tracing those great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy in its most rigid form rises to view, and we discern its three distinguishing characteristics, a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into the lowest state of subjection, and a king entrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World, in the same manner, as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in

their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to excess of their own rights, they guarded with most vigilant anxiety against the encroachments of their sovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the king should not determine concerning any point of general importance without the approbation of a council composed of the prime nobility. Unless he obtained their consent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he dispose of the most considerable branch of the public revenue at pleasure, it was appropriated to certain purposes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority. In order to secure full effect to those constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crowns to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election. The right of election seems to have been originally vested in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to six electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tacuba were always two. From respect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon some person sprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince was of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a strict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or distinguished merit were often preferred to those who were nearer the throne in direct descent. To this maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for such a succession of able and warlike princes, as raised their empire in a short period to that extraordinary height of power, which

it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

" While the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exercised with little ostentation. But as their authority became more extensive, the splendour of their government augmented. It was in this last state that the Spaniards beheld it, and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the silence, and the reverence with which they served him; the vast extent of his royal mansion; the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the ostentation with which his grandeur was displayed, whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him, seem to resemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

" But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifested it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal administration and police of their dominions. Complete jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vassals, was vested in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity, resembling what

takes place in societies highly civilized.

" Their attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties, though considerable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art were collected in the public store-houses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with cloaths, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their fatigued labour the crown-lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built, and kept in repair.

" The improved state of government among the Mexicans is conspicuous not only in points essential to the being of a well-ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with respect to police. The institution, which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police

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police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no less ingenuity than labour, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water, from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the causeways*. The appointment of a considerable number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrol as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

"The progress of the Mexicans in various arts is considered as the most decisive proof of their superior refinement. Cortés, and the early Spanish authors, describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not surpass, or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship. They re-

presented men, animals, and other objects, by such a disposition of various coloured feathers, as is said to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and silver have been described to be of a fabric no less curious. But in forming any idea, from general descriptions, concerning the state of arts among nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the same with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude; we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts;"

Our author, after an enquiry into the state of their arts, and seve-

* Cortes, who seems to have been as much astounded with this, as with any instance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it: Along one of the causeways, says he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty; that when it is necessary to clean, or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the causeway, through which the salt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Rainsf. 241, A.

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ral curious particulars of the method of *Pictura Writing*, practised by the Mexicans, gives the following instance of even a philosophical observation with respect to the order of time and the face of the heavens.

" Their mode of computing time may be considered as a more decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each consisting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and sixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *superannuary* or *wafes*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime. This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations, to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts."

We shall now select some curious particulars from our author's account of the policy and civilization of the empire of the Incas.

" The people of Peru, as I have already observed, had not advanced beyond the rudest form of savage life, when Manco Capac, and his consort Mama Ocollo, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraordinary personages were, whether they imported their system of legislation and knowledge of arts from some country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas so

far superior to those of the people whom they addressed, are circumstances with respect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his consort, taking advantage of the propensity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their instructions in his name and authority. The multitude listened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians ascribe to those founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his consort, their ancestors gradually acquired some knowledge of those arts, and some relish for that industry, which render subsistence secure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Those blessings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the first Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in process of time, his successors extended their dominion over all the regions that stretch to the west of the Andes from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions.

" The most singular and striking circumstance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make such a feeble impression on the mind of a savage, that their effect upon his sentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a considerable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in

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in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be sacred; and in order to preserve it distinct, without being polluted by any mixture of inferior blood, the sons of Manco Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such a pure descent. To those *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated.

" From those ideas two consequences resulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute, in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to control a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the

blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greatest power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders; as an emblem of their servitude, and willingness to bear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their subjects, force was not requisite to second their commands. Every officer entrusted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian manners, might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *Borla*, an ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his disposal.

" Another consequence of establishing government in Peru on the foundation of religion, was, that all crimes were punished capitally. They were not considered as transgressions of human laws, but as insults offered to the Deity. Each, without any distinction between such as were slight and such as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Consonantly to the same ideas, punishment followed the trespass with inevitable certainty, because an offence against Heaven was deemed such an high enormity as could not be pardoned. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more

apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unsuspecting faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders were extremely small. Veneration for monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

" The system of superstition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The moon and stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to secondary honours. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a wilder and more atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. They had not, indeed, made such progress in observation or inquiry, as to have attained just conceptions of

the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the world. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its universal and vivifying energy, is the best emblem of divine beneficence, the rites and observances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They sacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, some of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They presented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the sun would be delighted with such horrid victims. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with those barbarous rites which extinguish sensibility, and suppress the feelings of nature at the sight of human sufferings, were formed, by the spirit of the superstition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

" Its influence operated even upon their civil institutions, and tended to correct in them anything that was adverse to gentleness of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the most absolute of all despotisms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not hambled and depressed

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prefixed by the idea of a forced subjection to the will of a superior ; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The sovereign, conscious that the submissive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly descent, was continually reminded of a distinction which prompted him to imitate that benevolent power which he was supposed to represent. In consequence of those impressions, there hardly occurs in the traditional history of Peru, any instance of rebellion against the reigning prince, and, among twelve successive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

" Even the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a spirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like savages, to destroy and exterminate ; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished, and to diffuse the knowledge of their own institutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the insults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they subdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects. This practice, so repugnant to American ferocity, and resembling the humanity of the most polished nations, must be ascribed, like other peculiarities which we have observed in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The In-

cas, considering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly powers which they adored, as impious, were fond of gaining proselytes to their favorite system. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, and placed there as trophies of the superior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and instructed in the religious tenets of their new masters, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

" The state of property in Peru was no less singular than that of religion, and contributed, likewise, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the sun, and whatever it produced was applied towards the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The other belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No person, however, had a right of exclusive property in the portion allotted to him. He possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people, summoned by a proper officer, repaired

repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labour. By this singular distribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common interest, and of mutual subserviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse, than subsisted under any form of society established in America. From this resulted gentle manners, and mild virtues, unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

" But, though the institutions of the Incas were so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Tancones*, were held in a state of servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of free-men. Like the *Tamemes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery. Next to them in rank, were such of the people as were free, but distinguished by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raised, those whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the

ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace, as well as war, held every office of power or trust. At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high descent, and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the *Orejones*, as these were elevated beyond the people.

" Such a form of society, from the union of its members, as well as from the distinction in their ranks, was favourable to progress in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved state of various arts in Mexico, several years before they discovered Peru, were not so much struck with what they observed in the latter country, and describe the appearances of ingenuity there with less warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheless, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the necessary arts of life, and in such as have some title to the name of elegant.

" In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with none of those dismal scenes of distress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was

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was but little felt, for the product of the lands consecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Inca, being deposited in the *tambos*, or public storehouses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity. As the extent of cultivation was determined with such provident attention to the demands of the state, the invention and industry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and soil. All the vast rivers that flow from the Andes take their course eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by some streams which rush down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is sandy and barren, and never refreshed with rain. In order to render such an unpromising region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourse to various expedients. By means of artificial canals conducted, with much patience and considerable art, from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields. They enriched the soil by manuring it with the dung of sea-fowls, of which they found an inexhaustible store on all the islands scattered along their coasts. In describing the customs of any nation thoroughly civilized, such practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable, but in the history of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as singular proofs of industry and of art. The use of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the

earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood. Nor was this labour deemed so degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both sexes joined in performing this necessary work. Even the children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

"The superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewise, in the construction of their houses and public buildings. In the extensive plains which stretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the sky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild, their houses were very properly of a fabric extremely slight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitude of seasons is known, and their rigour felt, they were constructed with greater solidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the sun, the door low and strait, and without any windows. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may seem to be of which they were formed, they were so durable, that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestic state of the other American nations has vanished from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by such of the Spanish

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with writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them while, in some measure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated; if the ruins, which still remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. These ruins of sacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonstrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who must have subsisted, during a period of some extent, in a state of no inconsiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices, various in their dimensions. Some of a moderate size, many of immense extent, all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the style of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected together as to form one great structure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the same singular taste in building is conspicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the use of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks which they employed in building to any considerable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they seem to have made their greatest effort towards magnificence, did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or stones were joined with so much nicety, that the seams can hardly be discerned. The apartments, as far as the distribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-disposed, and afforded little ac-

commodation. There was not a single window in any part of the building, and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largest dimension must either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by some other means. But with all these and many other imperfections that might be mentioned, in this art of building, the works of the Peruvians which still remain must be considered as stupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

These, however, were not the noblest or most useful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted stretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to still higher praise. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the sea-coast. From the language of admiration in which some of the early writers express, their astonishment when they first viewed those roads, and from the more pompous descriptions of later writers, who labour to support some favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: but in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never used for draught, and but little as a beast of burden, where the high roads were seldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour and art was requisite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet

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In breadth, and in many places so slightly formed, that time soon effaced every vestige of the course in which they ran. In the low-country little more seems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix posts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous task. Eminencies were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preservation of the road, it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper distances, Tambo, or storehouses, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progress through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its course may still be traced. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this description, divested of every circumstance of manifest exaggeration, or of suspicious aspect, it must be considered as a striking proof of an extraordinary progress in improvement and policy. To the savage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a distance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known.

Even in the most civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form such roads as render intercourse commodious.

"The formation of those roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the rest of America. In its course from south to north, the road of the Incas was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. From the rapidity of their course, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, these were unnavigable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for passing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the use of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not construct bridges either of stone or timber. But necessity, the parent of invention, suggested a device which supplied that defect. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable withs or osiers, with which their country abounds; six of which they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together by interweaving smaller ropes so close, as to form a compact piece of network, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security*. Proper persons were appointed

* The appearance of those bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents of Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They form those hanging bridges so strong and broad that loaded mules pass along

pointed to attend at each bridge, to keep them in repair, and to assist passengers. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in *Balsas*, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no farther in naval skill than the use of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raise a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their balsas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity."

A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World. Performed in his Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775. Written by James Cook, Commander of the Resolution. In which is included Captain Furneaux's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Adventure during the Separation of the Ships. Illustrated with Maps and Charts, and a Variety of Portraits of Persons and Views of Places, drawn during the Voyage by Mr. Hodges, and engraved by the most eminent Masters. In 2 Vols. 4to.

THE former attempts that had been made, under the auspices of his present majesty, for extending the knowledge and intercourse of mankind, by the dis-

along the n. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of such a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more simple contrivance was employed in passing smaller streams: a basket, in which the traveller was placed, being suspended from a strong rope stretched across the stream, it was pushed or drawn from one side to the other. Ibid.

sphere,

covery of the unknown regions of the southern world, are fresh in every memory. Of these, the three years voyage round the world, performed in the Adventure by the author of the present work, and in which he was accompanied by those celebrated naturalists, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, was upon many accounts particularly interesting. Though the observation of the transit of the planet Venus over the sun, which was taken in the newly-discovered island of Otaheite, was the leading object of that voyage in the outset, it became in its progress not less valuable in other respects, by the fund of knowledge and speculation which it opened to the navigator, the naturalist, and the philosopher.

Notwithstanding the ability and spirit of enterprize which eminently distinguished our late discoverers, one important point of enquiry with respect to the southern part of the globe still remained undetermined. It had long been a subject of discussion with the learned, whether the unexplored parts of the southern hemisphere contained another continent, or whether so great a part of the globe exhibited only an immense mass of water. The former opinion prevailed, and was so well supported by philosophical reasoning, and inferences drawn from analogy, that the existence of a vast continent, which was supposed to extend far within the temperate climates of the southern hemi-

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sphere, became generally believed. This new world naturally became an object of consideration with the maritime and commercial powers who hold possessions in America, and has at different periods, for near two hundreds years past, excited, by turns, the spirit of enterprise and discovery, in the Spaniards, Dutch, English, and French.

Though these navigators failed in their principal object, the pursuit led to other discoveries, and there was always matter of encouragement left for the further prosecution of the original design. New Zealand, and other islands, were at different times supposed to be parts of the New Continent; and fog banks, and floating ice, were at others mistaken and marked for land. These errors of navigators received a sanction from the hypothetical conclusions of philosophers, who held such a continent to be necessary, in order to counterbalance the immense weight of earth in the northern hemisphere, whilst, on the other hand, the imaginary discoveries of the former, served in turn to support the philosophic system.

The late British navigators were too accurate, and too fully determined in the prosecution of their design, to take any thing upon trust, or to be deceived by appearances; and they traversed the Pacific Ocean in so many directions, without falling in with any part of the expected continent, that its existence became more problematical than it had been hitherto considered. It was at least pretty evident, that if it existed in the vast extent that had been supposed, it must spread more under the frozen skies

of the southern pole, than within the range of the moderate climates. The question was, however, still undecided; the new continent held its place in a speculative geography, and its numerous abettors were by no means disposed to relinquish their favourite system.

The present voyage was undertaken with the same enlarged and liberal views of promoting knowledge, science, and the interests of philosophy, that the former were; but particularly to ascertain the fact, and put an end to all diversity of opinion upon the question, relative to the existence of the supposed continent. The provision of every sort, exceeded all that had been known upon any similar occasion. Every circumstance and situation that could be foreseen or apprehended was provided for; and nothing was omitted, which could be deemed necessary for the subsistence, security, health, or comfort, of the voyagers. A considerable sum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen eminent in natural philosophy, to sacrifice their time, and encounter the toils and dangers of such a voyage. In the same scientific spirit, a landscape painter of merit, and two able astronomers, were also engaged.

Capt. Cook, already so much distinguished by his experience and ability, was, with great propriety, appointed to conduct this expedition; and Capt. Furneaux, who had gone round the world as lieutenant to Capt. Wallis, commanded the second vessel, the Adventure. The general plan of the voyage was, to explore the southern latitudes of the temperate zone with such accuracy, as to ascertain whether any considerable body of

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of land lay in that range, to penetrate as far as it was possible towards the antarctic pole; and if it could be done, to discover whether the passage to it was barred up by land, or only guarded by an ocean, rendered impracticable by the severity of the climate.

Such splendid and extraordinary events as attended the discoveries of Columbus, de Gama, and other early navigators, who had not only a new world before them to explore, but a great part of the old continent, which was equally hid from the knowledge of Europeans, are not to be expected at the present day. This voyage was not undertaken to explore a certain, though unknown, region. Its great object was to decide a question; to determine a nullity, or to establish a reality. This object has been fully attained; but it has been attained in the former sense, by determining the nullity; it must therefore of course be deficient, in that glare, which the opposite result would have afforded. It is now evident, that no such continent, as was supposed, exists in the Southern Pacific Ocean. That there may be a continent within the antarctic circle, and perhaps extending to the pole, seems not improbable; but if there be, nature has most effectually guarded it from human enquiry or observation.

This voyage is, however, peculiarly interesting and valuable, upon many other accounts besides the attainment of its principal object. Some considerable discoveries have been made; and many places which had been barely touched at or seen by former navigators, have been explored, traced, and described,

with an accuracy and care which carry the merit of original discovery. Many mistakes have been rectified, and several supposed discoveries shewn to have been founded only in error. If we are not brought acquainted with many new people, we acquire a much better knowledge of those, who had before appeared to us through the medium of a doubtful or imperfect information. We find the author every where actuated by a spirit of enterprise and enquiry, which can neither be subdued by toil, nor dismayed by danger; whilst his unwearied zeal for the promotion of general, as well as nautical knowledge, deserves every commendation.

It is now pretty generally known, that the severity of the climate in the high southern latitudes, so far exceeds what is experienced under equal parallels in the northern hemisphere, as scarcely to admit of comparison. Yet such was the industry and spirit, the contempt of toil, danger, and cold, shewn by our present navigators, that they penetrated at three different periods within the antarctic polar circle, and, at the last time, advanced to the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes south; which was probably a much nearer approach to the southern pole, than any mortal had ever ventured before.

Their progress was at length stopped by an apparently boundless tract of solid ice, which stretched from the northward towards the pole, and carried the appearance of a vast continent. It exhibited a level margin to the open sea, from whence it rose gradually, at first into smaller hills, and at length into stupendous mountains

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of ice, which ascended in great ridges one above another to the south, until their tops were lost in the clouds. It is said, that no known part of the northern seas produce any phenomena at all equal, or even approaching in point of magnitude, and as a natural wonder, to these prodigious ice mountains. Our navigators concluded, that this vast tract of ice either extended to the pole, or that it adhered to some more southern frozen continent, to which it had been fixed from the earliest times. In either case, all farther discovery to the south would be equally hopeless or fruitless; for if the land could even be approached in any other part, it must still be as impracticable, and as impervious to human observation and enquiry, as the ice.

It being impossible to penetrate any higher to the south in this quarter, and evidently useless, if it could be done in any other, our navigators returned to explore with greater accuracy the temperate and tropical climates of the Pacific Ocean. In this course, they discovered a very considerable island, being in point of extent the next to New Zealand, of any yet known in that sea, to which they gave the name of New Caledonia. They also completed the discovery, and explored with accuracy, a considerable Archipelago of islands, to which, from these circumstances, they thought themselves entitled to give a name, and accordingly called them the New Hebrides. One of these had been first touched at in the year 1606, by the celebrated Spanish navigator, Quiros, who took it to be a part of the unknown continent, which he was

then seeking; and they were lately failed through by M. de Bougainville, who called them the Great Cyclades.

The purposes of the voyage with respect to the Pacific Ocean being now fully attained, and the non-existence of a continent in its practicable parts clearly decided, Capt. Cook proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the southern parts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, to complete the knowledge of the southern hemisphere. Here they soon encountered winter under its most dreary aspect, and in its most hideous form, both of which it here displayed, more than ten degrees of latitude earlier than in the Pacific Ocean. Between the latitude of 54 and 55 south, they discovered and landed at an island, which they named South Georgia. It is not easy to conceive any thing more dismal than the face of nature in this island. Though it was in the midst of the summer of that climate, the island seemed in a manner walled round with ice, and must have been nearly inaccessible in any other season. Yet this island, which exhibited such specimens of antarctic cold at so great a distance from the pole, is not above seventy leagues in compass.

Between the latitudes of 59 and 60 south, they discovered a still more frozen land, which presented an elevated coast, whose lofty snow-clad summits were seen above the clouds. To this land they gave the name of the Southern Thule, as the most southern land that ever has, or that, possibly, ever may be discovered. Nothing can be conceived more inexpressibly horrid than the aspect of this country;

country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the warmth of the sun's rays; and where all life and vegetation are for ever shut up in eternal frost. The forbidden coast admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a port or harbour was blocked or filled up with ice.

Such were some of the seas and regions which our navigators explored or discovered in the southern hemisphere. We shall be enabled to form some idea of their industry in research, and perseverance in toil, by the immense quantity of space which they traversed in this circumnavigation of the globe. From the 22d of November, 1772, which was the day of their departure from the Cape of Good Hope, to the 22d of March 1773, which was that of their return to the same place, being exactly two years and four months, they sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues; an extent of voyage, nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which it is highly probable was never sailed by any other ship in an equal space of time.

This voyage was happily distinguished by the establishment of a fact of the greatest importance, and which there is every reason to hope will prove of the greatest benefit to mankind. It has shewn, by the clearest evidence, that a sea-faring life is not necessarily inimical to man, nor pernicious to his health; and it demonstrates experimentally, that those long voyages and distant navigations, which had hitherto proved so destructive to the human race, might, with proper care, and under necessary regulations, be prosecuted with as great security to the health of the under-

takers, as any other course of life equally laborious could be pursued on shore. In a voyage of above three years, in which the navigators had experienced every variety of climate, from 52 degrees north latitude, to 71 south, and were continually exposed to every species of fatigue and hardship, the aumerous ship's company on board the Resolution, preserved a more uninterrupted state of good health, than perhaps could have been shewn on shore in the most temperate climates of the earth. In that long course, of near 120 persons, only four were lost; and of that four, only one fell a victim to sickness. A fact unparalleled in the history of navigation.

This voyage was also distinguished by another discovery of singular importance, as well as curiosity, and which, like the former, reflects the greatest honour on Capt. Cook, for his industry, ingenuity, and the unremitting attention which he paid to the preservation and comfort of his people, as well as to the general objects of his expedition. Under all the rigour of the antarctic sky, and encloled in the dangers of its frozen sea, during several months absence from land, and cast off from it by a prodigious expanse of ocean, he procured for his people inexhaustible sources of excellent fresh water, from those islands of ice, which seemed to threaten them with nothing less than destruction. It is true, that Crantz had some years ago advanced, that those great masses, called Ice Islands, dissolved into fresh water, from whence he inferred that they owed their origin to the vast rivers of the northern regions; but it was reserved for the present voyage to establish the know-

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knowledge, that the freezing of sea-water into ice, not only deprives it of all its salt particles, but that it will thaw into soft, potable, and most wholesome water, and to apply that knowledge experimentally to the most useful practice. It has also shewn, that the bad qualities which had for many ages been attributed to melted snow and ice-water were totally unfounded. This happy method of obtaining fresh water without limitation at the greatest distance from land, not only enabled our navigators to persevere in their discoveries for a length of time which would have been otherwise impossible, but it contributed wonderfully to that unparalleled degree of health which they preserved during the voyage.

Before we attempt to give any account of the execution of this work, it may not be amiss to recite in his own words what our author says upon the subject.

" And now it may be necessary to say, that, as I am on the point of sailing on a third expedition, I leave this account of my last voyage in the hands of some friends, who in my absence have kindly accepted the office of correcting the press for me; who are pleased to think, that what I have here to relate is better to be given in my own words, than in the words of another person; especially as it is a work designed for information, and not merely for amusement; in which, it is their opinion, that candour and fidelity will counterbalance the want of ornament.

" I shall therefore conclude this introductory discourse with desiring the reader to excuse the inaccuracies of style, which doubtless he will frequently meet with in the

following narrative; and that, when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man, who has not had the advantage of much school education, but who has been constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a Post Captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the Public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his country; and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings."

The work itself will be the best comment upon this apology; and will afford sufficient cause for acknowledging the modesty of the writer. It is highly embellished and illustrated with sixty-three copper-plates, of which fourteen are charts and plans; seven are representations of boats, weapons, and utensils; five are filled with subjects of natural history; eighteen are portraits of the natives of various islands; and nineteen are views and landscapes. The portraits, views, and landscapes, were taken upon the spot by Mr. Hodge*, the painter who went out in the Resolution, and have been elegantly engraved by the most eminent artists. Many of these plates have great merit; but through some unaccountable omission, there are no explanations of them, nor references to them in the text. This defect is, however,

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in some degree rectified, by a list of them prefixed to the first volume, in which they are numbered, and the page pointed out to which they separately refer; but even this remedy is far from being satisfactory.

As we have in former volumes given large extracts from the journals of our southern navigators, and curious descriptions of the customs and manners of the natives of the newly discovered islands, as well as of the inhabitants of New Zealand and other places, it will be the less necessary to be diffuse in the present article. Perhaps we could not select for so much, any thing that will appear more curious to many of our readers, than an account of the naval force of Otaheite, in its state of preparation for the invasion of a neighbouring island. From some jealousy of our people, they deferred proceeding on the expedition during their stay, which, with some mistakes and misapprehensions on both sides, prevented the following accounts from being so perfect as they might otherwise have been. Their marine will, however, appear much more considerable, than could have been well imagined, from any ideas we had hitherto conceived of these people.

Our author says, "In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As we drew near, we observed a number of large canoes in motion; but were surprised, when we arrived, to see upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for some distance, along the shore, all completely equipped, and manned, besides a

vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the space of one night, gave rise to various conjectures. We landed, however, in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learnt, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops present. The moment we landed, I was met by a chief whose name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime ministers, of whom I enquired for Otoo. Presently after, we were met by Towha, who received me with great courtesy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me, as it were, through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which professed themselves my friends by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the usual place of audience, a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I should sit down, partly insisting on my going with him; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refused to comply. Presently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpose. This Towha opposed: so that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces; and was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and to leave me to the admiral and his party,

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party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As soon as we came before the admiral's vessel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I supposed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which was between me and her, an excuse. This did not answer; for a man immediately squatted himself down at my feet, offering to carry me; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myself round I saw Tee, who, I believe, had never lost sight of me. Inquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country Mataou, and advised me to go to my boat; which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together. For Mr. Edgcumbe was the only person that could keep with me; the others being jostled about in the crowd, in the same manner we had been.

" When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The vessels of war consisted of an hundred and sixty large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not sure that they had their full complement of men or rowers; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits; that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breast-plates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to incumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of

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battle, and to be designed more for shew than use. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the prospect, as they were so complaisant as to shew themselves to the best advantage. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c.; so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as we had never seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close along-side of each other, with their head ashore, and their stern to the sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were an hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These, we judged, were designed for transports, victuallers, &c.; for in the war canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these three hundred and thirty vessels I guessed there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men; a number which appears incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain, that the most of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but, at this time, I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was first here, that the whole island

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island raised only between six and seven thousand men ; but we now saw two districts only raise that number ; so that he must have taken his account from some old establishment ; or else he only meant *Taratos*, that is warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and those necessary to navigate the other vessels. I should think he only spoke of this number as the standing troops or militia of the island, and not their whole force. This point I shall leave to be discussed in another place, and return to the subject.

" After we had well-viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have seen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war canoes. We inquired for him as we rowed past the fleet to no purpose. We put ashore and inquired ; but the noise and crowd was so great that no one attended to what we said. At last Tee came and whispered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Mata-vai, advising us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We, accordingly, proceeded for the ship ; and this intelligence and advice received from Tee, gave rise to new conjectures. In short, we concluded that this Towha was some powerful disaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war against his sovereign ; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reason for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

" We had not been long gone from Oparree, before the whole fleet was in motion, to the westward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us, that this fleet was part of the armament intended to

go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otahcite, and assumed an independency. We were likewise informed that Otoo neither was nor had been at Mata-vai ; so that we were still at loss to know why he fled from Oparree. This occasioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him, and now understood that the reason of his not seeing me in the morning was, that some of his people having stolen a quantity of my clothes, which were on shore washing, he was afraid I should demand restitution. He repeatedly asked me if I was not angry ; and when I assured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was satisfied. Towha was alarmed, partly on the same account. He thought I was displeased when I refused to go aboard his vessel ; and I was jealous of seeing such a force in our neighbourhood without being able to know any thing of its design. Thus, by mistaking one another, I lost the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this isle, and making myself better acquainted with its manœuvres. Such an opportunity may never occur ; as it was commanded by a brave, sensible, and intelligent chief, who would have satisfied us in all the questions we had thought proper to ask ; and, as the objects were before us, we could not well have misunderstood each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidice was not with us in the morning ; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual presents having passed between Otto and me,

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me, we took leave and returned on board."

We shall enlarge and conclude this article, with our author's review of another war squadron, and his computation of the naval strength of the island.

" We had no sooner dispatched our friends than we saw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being desirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, I hastened down to Oparree, which we reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of seeing in what manner they approached the shore. When they got before the place where they intended to land, they formed themselves into divisions, consisting of three or four, or perhaps more, lashed square and close along-side of each other; and then each division, one after the other, paddled in for the shore with all their might, and conducted in so judicious a manner that they formed, and closed a line, along the shore, to an inch. The rowers were encouraged to excite their strength by their leaders on the stages, and directed by a man who stood with a wand in his hand in the fore-part of the middlemost vessel. This man, by words and actions, directed the paddlers when all should paddle, when either the one side or the other should cease, &c.; for the steering paddles alone were not sufficient to direct them. All these motions they observed with such quickness as clearly shewed them to be expert in their business. After Mr. Hodges had made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the shore, we landed, and took a nearer view of

them by going on board several. This fleet consisted of forty sail, equipped in the same manner as those we had seen before, belonged to the little district of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been. There were attending on this fleet some small double canoes, which they called *Marais*, having on their fore-part a kind of double bed-place laid over with green leaves, each just sufficient to hold one man. These, they told us, were to lay their dead upon; their chiefs, I suppose they meant, otherwise their slain must be few. Otoo, who was present, caused, at my request, some of their troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began with clubs, but this was over almost as soon as begun; so that I had no time to make my observations upon it. They then went to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with great alertness; parrying off the blows and pushes, which each combatant aimed at the other, with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and spears; the latter they also use as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs, were evaded by leaping over it; and those intended for the head, by couching a little and leaping on one side; thus the blow would fall to the ground. The spear or dart was parried, by fixing the point of a spear in the ground right before them, holding it in an inclined position, more or less elevated according to the part of the body they saw their antagonist intending to make a push, or throw his dart at, and by moving the hand a little

a little to the right or left, either the one or the other was turn'd off with great ease. I thought that when one combatant had parried off the blows, &c. of the other, he did not use the advantage which seemed to me to accrue. As, for instance; after he had parried off a dart, he still stood on the defensive, and suffered his antagonist to take up another, when I thought there was time to run him through the body. These combatants had no superfluous dress upon them; an unnecessary piece of cloth or two, which they had on when they began, were presently torn off by the by-standers, and given to some of our gentlemen present. This being over, the fleet departed; not in any order, but as fast as they could be got afloat; and we went with Ooco to one of his dock-yards, where the two large *pabies* or canoes were building, each of which was an hundred and eight feet long. They were almost ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double *pabie* or canoe. The king begged of me a grapping and rope, to which I added an English jack and pendant (with the use of which he was well acquainted), and desired the *pabie* might be called Britannia. This he very readily agreed to; and she was named accordingly.

"I never could learn what number of vessels were to go on this expedition. We knew of no more than two hundred and ten, besides smaller canoes to serve as transports, &c. and the fleet of Tiarabou, the strength of which we never learnt. Nor could I ever learn the number of men necessary to man this fleet; and whenever I asked the question, the answer was,

Warou, warou, warou te Tata, that is many, many, many men; as if the number far exceeded their arithmetic. If we allow forty men to each war canoe, and four to each of the others, which is thought a moderate computation, the number will amount to nine thousand. An astonishing number to be raised in four districts; and one of them, viz. Matavai, did not equip a fourth part of its fleet. The fleet of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other districts might be arming, which we knew nothing of. I, however, believe, that the whole isle did not arm on this occasion; for we saw not the least preparations making in Oparree. From what we saw and could learn, I am clearly of opinion that the chief, or chiefs, of each district superintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that district; but, after they are equipped, they must pass in review before the king, and be approved of by him. By this means he knows the state of the whole, before they assemble to go on service.

"It hath been already observed, that the number of war canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata was an hundred and sixty, to Teitaha forty, and to Matavai ten, and that this district did not equip one-fourth part of their number. If we suppose every district in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Teitaha, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip one thousand seven hundred and twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able men, allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as these cannot amount to above

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above one-third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole island cannot contain less than two hundred and four thousand inhabitants ; a number which, at first sight, exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the richness and fertility of Ota-heite (not forty leagues in circuit) than its supporting such a number of inhabitants."

A Code of Gentoos Laws or Ordinations of the Pundits. From a Persian Translation, made from the Original, written in the Shanscrit Language.

THE extent and population of our territorial acquisitions in the East Indies far exceed every thing that in Europe has been hitherto generally conceived of them. The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, are said to contain near ten millions of inhabitants, and the other settlements are supposed to contain two millions more. But it is not the magnitude alone of this great branch of our empire that deserves our attention.—The manners, the history, the religion, of the natives, are all of them objects worthy the most minute investigation.

The Hindoos are of a timorous, mild, and peaceable disposition. Before the invasion of the Mahomedans they were governed by laws, to which they uniformly ascribe the most remote and divine origin. Their Mahomedan con-

querors established, as far as their ravages extended, both the religion and laws of Mahomet.—“Hence,” as the Pundits express themselves in the prefatory discourse, “a contrariety of customs arose, and all affairs were transacted according to the principles of faith in the conquering party; upon which, perpetual oppositions were engendered, and continual differences in the decrees of justice; so that in every place the immediate magistrate decided all causes according to his own religion; and the laws of Mahomed were the standard of judgment for the Hindoos: hence terror and confusion found a way to all the people, and justice was not impartially administered.” The settlement of European nations in India did not contribute to lessen these disorders. On the contrary, as they too were desirous of introducing their several systems of jurisprudence, the disorder has been augmented, and the confusion worse confounded.

Such has been one class of hardships under which that unhappy country has laboured. We are, however, glad to find, that it has at length been thought an object worthy of the most serious attention of the company, to adopt some mode of conciliating the affections, by paying a proper regard to the institutions, the customs, and prejudices of the natives. With a view of forwarding so laudable an intention, a thought suggested itself to Mr. Hastings, of procuring a code of the laws and customs of the Gentoos. For this purpose bramins, learned in the Shastra, were invited from all parts of the kingdom to Fort William in Calcutta, which is the capital

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capital of Bengal and Bahar; and the most authentic books, both ancient and modern, (a list of which is given in the work) were collected, and the original text, delivered in the Hindoo language, was faithfully translated into the Persian idiom. They began their work May 1773, and finished it by the end of February 1775.

Such is the account given us of the rise and execution of this curious and interesting volume, from which, to use the translator's words, "a precise idea may be formed of the customs and manners of these people, which, to their great injury, have been long misrepresented in the western world." From hence also materials may be collected towards the legal accomplishment of a new system of government in Bengal, wherein the British laws may in some degree be softened and tempered by a moderate attention to the peculiar and national prejudices of the Hindoo; some of whose institutes, however fanciful and unaccountable, may perhaps be preferable to any which could be substituted in their room. They are interwoven with the religion of the country, and are therefore revered as of the highest authority: they are conditions by which they hold their rank in society: long usage has persuaded them of their equity, and they will always gladly embrace the permission to obey them; to be obliged to renounce their obedience would probably be esteemed amongst them a real hardship."

In the preliminary discourse, after a few general and introductory observations upon the mythology of the Gentoos, the translator has given a short account of the Shanicrit language, and an explanation

of such passages in the body of the code as might appear by their peculiarity or repugnance to our sentiments, to lie most open to objection. Amongst these, we could have wished, as we should be sorry to entertain, in any respect, a less favourable opinion of the author's understanding, than his great ingenuity seems to deserve, that he had not professed himself so serious an advocate for the wild and extravagant chronology of the bramins.

The Hindoos, he says, reckon the duration of the world by four jocques or distinct ages. The 1st is said to have lasted 3,200,000 years, and they hold, that the life of man was in that age extended to 400,000 years, and that his stature was 21 cubits,

| | lasted. | Life of man. |
|------|-----------|--------------|
| 2d, | 2,400,000 | 10,000 |
| 3d, | 1,600,000 | 1,000 |
| 4th, | 400,000 | 100 |

Of this last or present age 5000 years are supposed to be past. Computation, as the author justly observes, is lost, and conjecture overwhelmed in the attempt to adjust such astonishing spaces of time to our own confined notions of the world's epoch. And yet, extravagant as this may appear, the translator seems inclined to think that it comes recommended to us with at least equal marks of authenticity with any other history of the creation. We are afterwards told of one Munnoo, an author who flourished early in the sutttee joque, or first age, and of Jage Bulk who lived at the beginning of the tirtal, or second age, whose works are still extant, and from which a considerable part of the present compilation has been made. It does not fall in with our design to attempt

to convince Mr. Halhed of the extravagancy of these assertions. Had he given himself but a little time to reflect upon the absurdities of their geography (Vid. page civ.) with regard to which I apprehend he would not be thought to entertain any doubts, it might have led him at least to have suspected that a people who could be so grossly ignorant in things which lay perpetually before them, and which were palpable to their senses, might be equally extravagant in a science, the object of which is fleeting and transient.

The code is divided into twenty-one chapters, the heads of which are as follows. 1. Lending and borrowing. 2. The division of inheritable property. 3. Justice. 4. Trust & deposit. 5. Selling a stranger's property. 6. Shares. 7. Gift. 8. Servitude. 9. Wages. 10. Rent. 11. Purchase. 12. Boundaries. 13. Shares in the cultivation of lands. 14. Cities and towns. 15. Scandal. 16. Assault. 17. Theft. 18. Violence. 19. Adultery, 20. Women. 21. Sundry articles..

Amongst many other curious particulars, the reader, no doubt, will be astonished to meet with a prohibition of the use of fire-arms, in records, which lay a claim to such unfathomable antiquity. It certainly gives some colour to the conjectures of those commentators, who have supposed, from a well known passage in Quintus Curtius, that Alexander absolutely met with some weapons of that kind in India: and the extraordinary accounts which are given of the *Feu Grégeois* of the Crusades, will also gain some degree of probability from the description given of the Indian *Agneé-Afri*.

We might transcribe the whole book, were we to attempt to give an account of all the peculiarities contained in this code of bramini-cal jurisprudence. The laws, as might be imagined, are for the most part local and characteristic. They frequently bear strong marks of the remotest antiquity, and seem in many instances calculated for the crude conceptions of an almost illiterate people, upon their first civilization. We must therefore be content with laying before our readers, as a specimen of the ingenuous translator's abilities, his observations upon some of the most remarkable passages in the work.

"The rights of inheritance, in the second chapter, are laid down with the utmost precision, and with the strictest attention to the natural claim of the inheritor in the several degrees of affinity. A man is herein considered but as tenant for life in his own property; and, as all opportunity of distributing his effects by will, after his death, is precluded, hardly any mention is made of such kind of bequest. By these ordinances also, he is hindered from dispossessing his children of his property in favour of aliens, and from making a blind and partial allotment in behalf of a favourite child, to the prejudice of the rest; by which the weakness of parental affection, or of a misguided mind in its dotage, is admirably remedied. These laws also strongly elucidate the story of the prodigal son in the Scriptures, since it appears from hence to have been an immemorial custom in the east for sons to demand their portion of inheritance during their father's life-time, and that the parent, however aware of the dissipated inclinations of his child, could

could not legally refuse to comply with the application.

" Though polygamy has been constantly practised and universally allowed under all the religions that have obtained in Asia, we meet with very few instances of permitted polyandry, or a plurality of husbands, such as mentioned in the fourteenth section of this chapter: but a gentleman, who has lately visited the kingdoms of Boutan and Thibet, has observed, that the same custom is almost general to this day in those countries; where one wife frequently serves all the males of a whole family, without being the cause of any uncommon jealousy or disunion among them.

" The chapter of justice, in its general tendency, seems to be one of the best in the whole code. The necessary qualifications for the arbitrator, the rules for the examination of witnesses, and the requisites for propriety of evidence, are stated with as much accuracy and depth of judgment as the generality of those in our own courts. In this chapter mention is made of the Purrekeh, or trial by ordeal, which is one of the most ancient institutes for the distinguishing criterion of guilt and innocence that hath been handed down to us by sacred or profane history: fire or water were the usual resources upon these occasions, and they were constantly prepared and sanctified by the solemnities of a religious ceremonial. The modes of this ordeal are various, in India, according to the choice of the parties or the nature of the offence; but the infallibility of the result is to this day as implicitly believed, as it could have

been in the darkest ages of antiquity:

" We find a particular injunction and description of a certain water ordeal among the first laws dictated to Moses by God himself; it is contained in the fifth chapter of Numbers, from the twelfth to the thirtieth verse, and is for the satisfaction of jealous husbands, in the immediate detection, or acquittal of their wives.

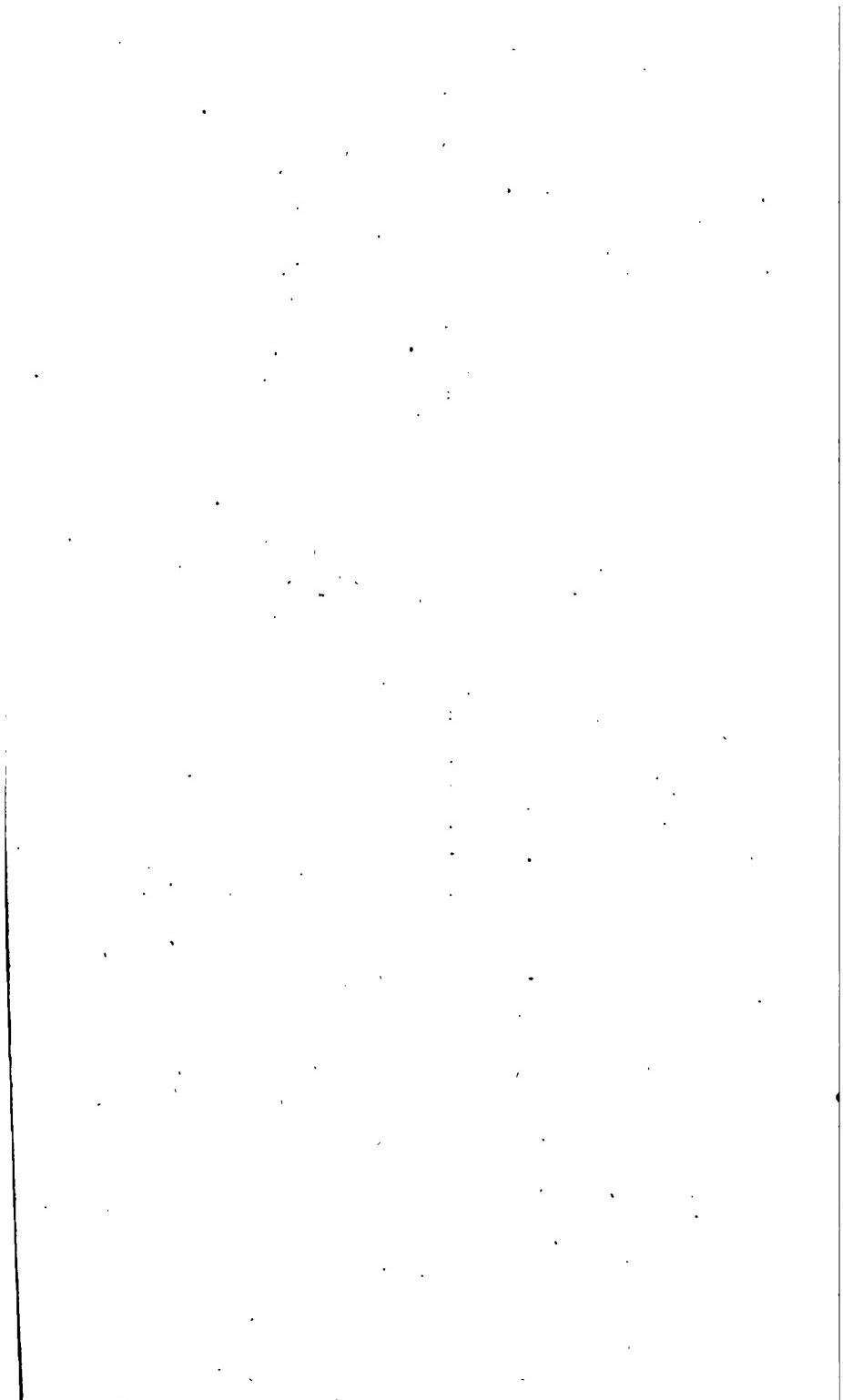
" In the two succeeding chapters no unusual matter occurs, but such as good sense and a freedom from prejudice will easily develope: but, in the second section of the sixth chapter, a passage appears, which, upon a slight examination, might give the reader a very indifferent opinion of the Gentoos system of government, viz. " A law to regulate the shares of robbers." This ordinance by no means respects the domestic disturbers of the tranquillity of their own countrymen, or violators of the first principles of society, but only such bold and hardy adventurers as sally forth to levy contributions in a foreign province. Unjust as this behaviour may appear in the eye of equity, it bears the most genuine stamp of antiquity, and corresponds entirely with the manners of the early Grecians, at or before the period of the Trojan war, and of the western nations, before their emersion from barbarism; a practice still kept up among the piratic states of Barbary to its fullest extent by sea, and probably among many herds of Tartars and Arabian banditti by land. However, the known existence and originality of this savage system will justify the Gentoos magistrate of those ancient periods

periods in assisting the freebooters with his advice, and participating in their plunder, when, at that time, such expeditions were esteemed both legal and honourable.

"The many rules laid down in the 20th chapter, for the preservation of domestic authority to the husband, are relics of that characteristic discipline of Asia, which sacred and profane writers testify to have existed from all antiquity; where women have ever been the subjects, not the partners of their lords, confined within the walls of a harem, or busied without doors in drudgeries little becoming their delicacy. The Trojan princesses were employed in washing linen; and Rebecca was first discovered by Abraham's servant with a pitcher upon her shoulder to water camels. "Two women shall be grinding at the mill," says the prophet; but the notoriety of this fact obviates the necessity of quotations: it may just be observed, that Solomon, in praising a good wife, mentions, that "She rises while it is yet night," which we must suppose to be before her husband; and we find this to be one of the qualifications for a good Gentoo wife also.

"The latter part of this chapter relates to the extraordinary circumstance of women's burning them-

selves with their deceased husbands: —The terms of the injunction as there set forth are plain, moderate, and conditional: "It is proper for a woman to burn with her husband's corps;" and a proportionate reward is offered in compensation for her sufferings. Notwithstanding the ordinance is not in the absolute style of a command, it is surely sufficiently direct to stand for a religious duty; the only proof that it is not positive is the proposal of inviolable chastity as an alternative, though it is not to be taken for an equivalent. The bramins seem to look upon this sacrifice as one of the first principles of their religion, the cause of which it would hardly be orthodox to investigate. There are, however, several restrictions with respect to it, as that a woman must not burn herself if she is with child, nor if her husband died at a distance from her, unless she can procure his turban and girdle to put on at the pile, with other exceptions of the same nature, which they closely conceal from the eyes of the world, among the other mysteries of their faith: but we are convinced equally by information and experience, that the custom has not for the most part fallen into disuse in India, as a celebrated writer has supposed."



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